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Greek and Roman sculpture

Walter Copland Perry

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE

*A POPULAR INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY
OF GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE*

BY

WALTER COPLAND PERRY

With Two Hundred and Sixty-eight Illustrations on Wood



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TO H.I.H. THE
CROWN PRINCESS OF GERMANY AND PRUSSIA
PRINCESS ROYAL OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
WHOSE SKILL AS AN
ARTIST
HAS MADE HER A DISCRIMINATING
PATRONESS OF ART

This Work is Dedicated

WITH PROFOUND RESPECT
BY HER LOYAL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT

THE AUTHOR

ΦΙΛΕΙ ΔΕ ΜΙΝ ΠΑΛΛΑΣ ΑΕΙ

P R E F A C E.

THE principal objects which the Author has had in view in the present work are :—

1. To supply the first step to the student of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture,

2. To set before the artist the principles by which the greatest masters in the greatest period of art were guided, and the influences to which they were subjected.

3. To furnish the inexperienced amateur with the knowledge requisite to enable him to understand and appreciate the remains of ancient plastic art in the museums of his own and foreign countries.

4. To direct the attention of the student of ancient history to one of the most interesting and characteristic sides of Greek life, and to show him the intimate relation between Greek art and the religious, political, and social life of the Greek people.

The prosecution of these objects necessarily implies a popular treatment of the subject. It also precludes the Author from entering at any length into controversial dis-

cussions, or exhaustive descriptions and analyses of works of art, which his scope and limits render at once unnecessary and impossible.

The work is mainly based, as all such works must be, on the researches and criticisms of German archæologists. But while the Author has gladly availed himself of their aid, as well as that of the many distinguished writers on the same subject in England, France, and Italy, he has endeavoured, by a diligent study of the sources of art-history, and, above all, by a familiar and loving acquaintance with the originals of all the works of art referred to in the following pages, to free himself from the tyranny of great names and to form an independent judgment.

It is hardly necessary to say that the illustrations are not offered as works of art, or as representative of the *beauty* of the originals from which they are taken. With some exceptions they aim at nothing more than to remind one class of readers of what they have already seen, and to indicate to another what they are to look for on entering for the first time a museum of ancient marbles.

The Author has an apology to offer in reference to the orthography of the Greek names which occur in his work. He began with a resolution to be strictly consistent—a resolution which he has not altogether adhered to. After wavering between a purely Greek and a purely Latin orthography, between the Scylla of *Thoukudides* on the one side and the Charybdis of *Samus* on the other, he has been betrayed into

some inconsistencies, for which he can only ask to be forgiven.

Whatever may be thought of the Author's mode of treating his subject, few will deny the importance of the subject itself. The interest it awakens is altogether independent of the view which we may take of the future of modern sculpture. If, as many think, and notably the more eminent sculptors themselves, Sculpture is a lost art, it has, at any rate, the interest and value of a dead language—a language in which the noblest thoughts and tenderest feelings of the most highly gifted people of the world have been written in characters of surpassing clearness and beauty.

In the hope that his efforts may do something to promote the study of a subject hitherto too much neglected, the Author commits his work to the indulgence of the public.

ATHENÆUM CLUB :

October, 1881.

Errata.

Page	59,	last line,	<i>for</i> Glaucus <i>read</i> Glaucias
"	79,	line 20,	<i>for</i> ringlets <i>read</i> ear-rings
"	89,	" 24,	<i>after</i> was <i>insert</i> (?)
"	96,	" 10,	<i>for</i> celetizontes <i>read</i> kelētizontes
"	101,	" 9,	<i>for</i> forelegs of a man <i>read</i> forelegs like the legs of a man
"	105,	" 7	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> p. 88 <i>read</i> p. 95
"	157,	" 3,	<i>for</i> Belmina <i>read</i> Belemina
"	163,	" 20,	<i>for</i> Illyria <i>read</i> Thrace
"	164,	" 6,	<i>for</i> Bursian <i>read</i> Brusian
"	164,	" 6, 7,	<i>for</i> of Here <i>read</i> of Athene
"	165,	" 24,	<i>for</i> convention <i>read</i> conventionality
"	199,	" 3	from foot, second column, <i>for</i> p. 196 <i>read</i> p. 198
"	205,	" 26,	<i>for</i> derives <i>read</i> derive
"	217,	" 5	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> Stuart <i>read</i> Stewart
"	224,		<i>omit</i> last two lines, <i>from</i> We shall speak to Louvre
"	265,	line 25,	<i>for</i> σχιστή <i>read</i> σχιστός
"	288,	" 2	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> not given <i>read</i> not here given
"	291,	" 2	from foot, <i>for</i> H. A. <i>read</i> S. A.
"	295,	" 12,	<i>for</i> fig. 120, π. <i>read</i> fig. 117, π.
"	304,	" 6	from foot, second column, <i>for</i> p. 106 <i>read</i> p. 105
"	336,	fig. 148,	<i>for</i> Cresilas <i>read</i> Amazon by Cresilas
"	359,	line 19,	<i>for</i> Demeas <i>read</i> Dameas
"	370,	" 2	from foot, <i>for</i> p. 106 <i>read</i> p. 105
"	378,	" 4,	<i>delete</i> as we have seen
"	381,	" 8	from foot, second column, <i>for</i> Urlicns <i>read</i> Ulrichs
"	420,	" 2	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> dauhgter <i>read</i> daughter
"	429,	" 1	from foot, second column, <i>for</i> p. 299 <i>read</i> p. 301
"	433,	" 11,	<i>for</i> same game <i>read</i> same somewhat cruel game
"	452,	" 3	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> Alcophron <i>read</i> Alciaphron
"	495,	" 7	from foot, <i>for</i> Aliptera <i>read</i> Alipherai
"	496,	lines 2, 3,	<i>delete</i> Hypatodorus and Aristogeiton
"	510,	line 13,	<i>for</i> Parthenon <i>read</i> Parthenos
"	512,	" 23,	<i>for</i> chyselephantine <i>read</i> chryselephantine
"	515,	" 11,	<i>for</i> Bernice <i>read</i> Berenice
"	515,	" 4	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> Muller <i>read</i> Müller
"	521,	" 2	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> D. <i>read</i> O.
"	564,	" 8,	<i>read</i> The <i>before</i> Spinario
"	573,	" 6,	<i>after</i> Cephisodotus <i>insert</i> II.
"	577,	" 16,	<i>for</i> Albanian <i>read</i> Athenian
"	608,	" 6	from foot, <i>for</i> Batryomachia <i>read</i> Batrachomyomachia
"	631,	" 6,	<i>for</i> probaby <i>read</i> probably
"	636,	" 4	from foot, first column, <i>for</i> Achan <i>read</i> Ælian
"	646,	" 12,	<i>for</i> own <i>read</i> inner
"	651,	" 7,	<i>for</i> Navus <i>read</i> Navius
"	651,	" 32,	<i>for</i> Porcia <i>read</i> Portia

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GREEK AND ROMAN SCULPTURE.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

ART IN GENERAL ; GREEK ART.

THE pleasure derived from the execution or contemplation of a work of art arises partly from the mere love of imitation natural to all men. The savage and the child delight in the most realistic imitations of the sights and sounds of external nature ; and even in civilised communities, and among men of mature age, the untutored mind finds greater pleasure in a wax-work figure, or a panorama in which the form or the scene is reproduced with an exactitude sufficient to deceive the senses, than in the noblest works of Pheidias or Raphael.

But the mere imitation of nature is not art in any real sense of the word, although the artist must make use of it to express his thoughts. Art is a representation—an operation by which the preconceived idea of the artist's mind enters into the world of phenomena, where it assumes its own proper visible or audible shape. The number of channels by which the artist can convey his meaning to us is, of course, a limited one ; he must use a language, so to speak, which we can understand. There can be nothing arbitrary or irregular in true art ; it can only affect us, it can only do its work, so long as it remains in alliance with nature, and acts in strict conformity with her laws. But the artist is by no means limited to a mere reproduction of what he sees around him. Working on the lines which nature has laid down,

he transcends her bounds, and passes into the ideal ; he becomes as it were a creator ; and his work is a new creature, not exactly corresponding to anything in external nature, yet not unnatural but supernatural, and in strict conformity with the laws of his higher being. This higher ideal may, of course, be attained in various ways, by the poet, musician, painter, and sculptor. By words, by tones in their mathematical division and arrangement, by form and colour, and by form alone, the conceptions of genius may be made manifest to the world. No one will say that a play of Shakspeare, a symphony of Beethoven, a picture of Raphael, or such a statue as rises before the mind's eye as we contemplate a shattered torso from the Parthenon, is an exact copy of what we see and hear around us, in the lives of men, in the music of the woods, in the landscape or the human form. We know that it is *nowhere* but in the work of art before us, and yet we do not regard it as unnatural. It is in harmony with our nature, it appeals to feelings unexercised in the ordinary affairs of life, it awakens in us a new and exalted sense of pleasure, it oftentimes reveals to us the higher nature within us of which we have hitherto been hardly conscious, and carries us, as it were, out of and beyond ourselves into the regions of the infinite.

This intimate connexion between the external and the spiritual world lies outside the range of our comprehension. The spiritual significance of a succession of musical tones which fill our hearts with rapture and devotion, and our eyes with tears ; the exquisite pleasure we derive from the contemplation of a harmonious arrangement of colours, from the curves of a vase, or the outlines of a statue, can never be explained, any more than the effect produced on us by the lineaments and expression of certain living human faces. Nature herself has established this sympathy between external forms and our thoughts and feelings which is the everlasting basis of all true art. The artist knows not, and does not need to know, the natural laws and principles on which he acts. He addresses us in the language which his genius dictates ; he uses exactly the right tone or form to convey to us the message of his spirit to ours, and we understand his language, 'never having learned.' We understand him because the creative faculty, which in its highest manifestation ennobles the artist,

is in a lower degree the common possession of us all ; and because in the poem, the picture, the statue, we recognise the full and appropriate interpretation of our own deepest thoughts and feelings which have vainly struggled to express themselves.¹

The same message, as we have already said, may be conveyed in different language by different arts, as, for instance, by the dithyramb of the poet and the bacchanalian group of the sculptor. But each art must strictly confine itself to its own proper limits, and work in accordance with its own unchanging laws.

There is, then, no essential distinction, much less, as many suppose, antagonism, between nature and true art. 'The beauty of the soul,' says Schelling, 'blended with graceful forms (*mit sinnlicher Anmuth*) is the highest deification of nature.' And this is art. 'In nature,' says the same writer, 'life *seems* indeed to penetrate more deeply, and to unite more closely with matter. But the constant change of matter shows that there is no intimate fusion, and so does death. Art, therefore, only represents the non-existent as non-existent.' In one sense we might almost say that the work of art is a truer representation of the spirit than the living body. How many beautiful living forms have ripened, faded, and decayed since the golden age of Grecian art ! But the marble forms of Demeter, Niobe, and Aphrodite still remain to move and delight the hearts of all beholders.²

The plastic art, to which we shall confine our attention, is that by which the conceptions of genius are incorporated with organic forms, and principally, and in its highest development almost exclusively, with the most perfect organism, the form of man. This branch of art too must necessarily be imitative, and rest on a careful and comprehensive study of the structure and forms of living men. Yet here, again, we must repeat that a statue is only a work of art, in the higher sense, when it is the embodiment and representation of an art-idea. The sculptor studies the forms and motions of a thousand living men, but he copies no one of them. He is able to conceive and to create a

¹ K. O. Müller, *Archæol. der Kunst.* p. 4. gainer, when he changed his marble mistress

² Was Pygmalion, after all, so great a for one of perishable flesh and blood ?

form which is far above his actual experience, and which he uses as the fitting expression of his sublimest thoughts. The natural world produces nothing in absolute perfection—not a leaf, not a flower, not one of the infinite variety of living animals, not a man, not even a woman. ‘The perfectly developed organic form,’ says O. Müller,¹ ‘is no more to be met with in our experience than a pure mathematical proportion (*ein reines mathematisches Verhältniss*), but we may feel our way to it by the help of experience, and grasp it in a moment of inspiration. On this effort after such a conception of the perfect organism rests the genuine ideality of Grecian art.’

GREEK ART.

The clearer our conception of the true nature of Art, and especially of plastic art, the better able shall we be to understand that extraordinary development of it in ancient Greece, which is one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the human race.

How are we to account for the fact that in Greece, and in Greece alone, the plastic art was carried to the very highest perfection of which it is capable? How is it that no succeeding age has ever pretended, or even so much as hoped, to rival the works of Grecian artists, even of the second grade, which are almost all that have escaped the ravages of time?

The answer is a long one and cannot be fully given here, because it can only be deduced from a consideration of the whole internal and external history of the Greek people. Greek art is no isolated phenomenon in the Greek world, but is inseparably connected with the peculiar national characteristics of the Greek people, with their physical conformation, their political and domestic institutions, their foreign relations, their commerce, and, above all, their religion. The art-faculty within us, as we have said, is the tendency to give to our ideas a bodily form, and the Greeks possessed this faculty in a degree inconceivable to us.² The

¹ *Arch. d. K.*

² The Greeks built and moulded as if by an instinct of a higher nature, as the birds

their nests and the bees their comb. They stood nearer to Nature than we do, and they formed, like Nature, with beauty and truth.

spiritual always assumed to their vision a sensible corporeal form, and, on the other hand, every corporeal form had to them a spiritual import. Not only the mysterious forces and powers of external nature, but every thought of their minds, every feeling of their hearts, was invested with a suitable form, and into every form of what seems to us inanimate and soulless nature they breathed the breath of life and intelligence. Sculpture, as we have said, deals almost exclusively with the form of man, and the chief aim and object of the enlightened Greek, his highest ambition and his greatest joy, was to be a *man* in the fullest sense of the word—man in the most complete development of his bodily strength and beauty, in the active exercise of the keenest senses, in the greatest because tempered enjoyment of sensual pleasure, in the free and joyous play of an intellect strong by nature, graced and guided by the most exquisite taste, and enlightened by the sublimest philosophy.

An all-important element in the artistic nature of the Greek was his innate and unbounded love of beauty. To him the beautiful and the good were one and inseparable, and beauty and goodness interchangeable terms. To have beautiful children was the burden of every parent's prayer; and the names of those who were distinguished by their beauty were engraved on pillars and painted on vases, and made the theme of song and panegyric. 'Every pillar in Argos, Corinth, Megara, as far as Oropus,' says a poet, 'bears the name of the beautiful Philocles'¹ The city of Eggesta built a monument to Philippus, the Crotonian, on account of his beauty, and sacrificed to him as a hero. 'I swear by the gods,' says Critobulus,² 'that I would prefer beauty to a kingdom.'³ Competitions for the prize of beauty (*καλλιστεία*) were instituted in Elis in the time of the Heracleidæ by Cypselus, king of Arcadia. The natural inmate of the handsome and well-developed body was the active intellect and the beautiful soul. To Plato and Xenophon a snub-nosed philosopher like Socrates seemed to be a deplorable mistake of nature, a ludicrous anomaly; yet they

¹ O. Jahn, *Pop. Aufsätze*, p. 320. Conf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* :

ὥστε καὶ ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις ἔγραψ' Ἀθηναῖοι κάαιοι.

² Xenoph. *Symp.* cap. iv. apud Winckelman, vol. iv.

³ Plato, *De Legibus*, ii. 1, 631, apud Winckelman.

proved that they loved beauty not for itself alone, as their successors did, but as the reflex of virtue, by loving wisdom and virtue in the ugliest man of Athens ; they saw in him something that was

Better than beauty or than youth.

After what has been said, it seems almost superfluous to enlarge on the value of the Gymnasium as a school of plastic art. We need only imagine what it would be to a sculptor of genius in the present day to be a frequent witness of the contests of the Pentathlon—in leaping, running, throwing the discus, hurling the spear and wrestling—carried on by hundreds of unclothed athletes in the flower of youthful beauty or the prime and pride of manly strength !

Nor was it only by what we may call in comparison the ruder and coarser exercises of the Gymnasium that Greek education sought to make the body the mirror of the soul. These were complemented by the *ὄρχησις* (mimetic dancing),¹ which corresponds but little with the wretched shuffling of the feet alone which we call dancing, but denotes the art of expressing, by the gestures and motions of every part of the body, the thoughts and feelings of the heart.² So little was this dancing confined, as with us, to the legs and feet that Ovid speaks of the arms as the chief agents in the dance, ‘*Si mollia brachia, salta* ;’³ and Apuleius talks of ‘dancing with the eyes alone.’⁴ An important branch of this art was the *χειρονομία*, or the significant movement of the hands and fingers, which played so great a part in the expressive and graceful orchestral and choral dances of the Greeks, and of which those who are old enough to have seen a Taglioni or an Ellsler in the ballet may form a faint idea. This lost art is founded in nature itself. Among ourselves, the tongue, the most perfect index of the thoughts, has usurped a complete monopoly as the medium of expression ; but every natural movement and gesture of our bodies is expressive of some feeling—a fact which especially comes

¹ Plutarch, *Sympos.* ix. 15, 2. Xenoph. *Sympos.* vii. 5 ; ix. 3-6.

² Schön geschlungenen seelenvolle Tänze.
Schiller's *Götterlehre*.

Greek dancing, being a more dignified and graceful proceeding than ours, was not

despised by the wise. ‘Socrates,’ says Xenophon, ‘when blamed for dancing, replied by saying, “*παντὸς εἶναι μέλους τὴν ὄρχησιν γυμνάσιον*.”’

³ Ovid, *Ars Am.* i. 955.

⁴ Apul. *Met.* x. 251.

home to us in our intercourse with the dumb. It was one of the objects of Greek education to regulate this involuntary representation of our spiritual life, and reduce it to a science, because the Greeks believed, and believed rightly, that the motions of the body may be made to react on the mind and heart, and that habits of external dignity of carriage, and a noble grace, may help to form the soul to temperance and virtue.

When we speak of the form and movements of the human body as the outward and visible signs of the life and spirit of man, we refer, of course, chiefly to the body in its natural or nude state. Whatever covers it must to a certain extent hide its expression from us, and it was not possible that the Greeks, who sought beauty and expression above all things, could long submit to clothe their statues. It was therefore fortunate that their love of gymnastic exercises led them at an early period to lay aside the dress which impeded their activity, and that they soon learned to regard the natural limbs as the noblest costume of the free spirit.¹ In this respect the Hellenes differed widely from the Oriental nations, who considered it shameful 'even for a man' to be seen nude.² The Ionian Greeks followed the Asiatic custom,³ and long retained their ample flowing robes, which they introduced into Athens itself. Complete nudity appears to have come first from Crete and Lacedæmon. In the 15th Ol. Daippos of Megara lost his apron in the stadion by accident, to which he was thought to owe his victory. Acanthus of Lacedæmon was the first to enter the lists nude, and nudity then became the rule for runners, and, shortly before the time of Thucydides, for all athletes.⁴ The artist of course represented what he saw in actual life, and the practice of representing the *heroised* (deified) victors nude was soon transferred to representations of the gods themselves, who in the earliest Greek art were richly and heavily robed.

¹ Lessing says: 'Das Uebliche war bei den Alten eine sehr geringgeschätzte Sache. Sie fühlten, dass die höchste Bestimmung der Kunst sie auf die völlige Entbehrung desselben führte. Schönheit ist diese höchste Bestimmung. Noth erfand die Kleider, und was hat die Kunst mit der Noth zu thun? Ich gebe es zu, dass es auch eine Schönheit der Bekleidung giebt; aber was ist sie gegen

die Schönheit der menschlichen Form? Und wird der, der das Grössere erreichen kann, sich mit dem Kleineren begnügen?'

² Herod. i. 10.

³ Homer (*Il.* xiii. 685) calls the Ionians *ἐλαχιτῶνες*, *tunic-trailing*. Conf. Thucyd. i. 6.

⁴ K. O. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* sec. 336

But though the nude form of man is the proper subject of plastic representation, it is evident that the artist cannot on all occasions confine himself to it. Fortunately for art, the plastic instinct and the supreme good taste of the Greeks, founded on an innate sense of natural beauty, preserved them from the hideous absurdities of costume into which the whole modern world has fallen, and which are alone sufficient to check the progress of the sculptor's art. The Greek dress in the age of Pericles, while it perfectly answered the primary purpose of protection, and satisfied the conventional ideas of decency and propriety, was of the simplest kind, and derived its character, its peculiar shape and fold, from the person which it enveloped. There was then no dressmaking or tailoring, in our sense of the words, and noble men and women did not buy from their inferiors their notions of what was graceful or becoming. The two principal garments, in their different modifications, were the *χιτών* (tunic) and the *ἱμάτιον* (mantle). The former was a kind of shirt, with or without sleeves, and either of woollen stuff and short, as among the Dorians, or long and of linen, as among the Ionian Greeks. A change, however, appears to have taken place in Athens in the time of Pericles, when the long Ionian chiton was superseded by the Dorian, as better suited for active life. The himation was a large square or oblong cloth, in form like a Scotch plaid, which was worn in different ways according to the fancy or the momentary needs of the wearer. In general it was thrown over the left shoulder and brought round the back, and under the right arm back to the left shoulder again, where it was sometimes fastened. According to the old Greek custom, men of strong and healthy constitutions wore the himation alone without the chiton, and it is therefore rare in fully developed Greek art to find gods or heroes wearing the under garment. They wrapped themselves in the himation, and even this was laid aside in preparation for any active exertion; and therefore it is that deities, whether standing or moving, are so often represented nude, while in seated statues the himation is generally wrapped round the lower limbs, leaving the upper part of the body bare.

The dress of the women differed but little from that of the men. The Doric chiton, which was woollen, was short and without sleeves,

and open on one side ; it was fastened on the left shoulder, or sometimes on both shoulders, by a brooch. The Ionic chiton reached to the feet and had large wide sleeves. Sometimes, if we may judge from statues of females, the chiton appears to have reached only from the waist downwards, in which case a short mantle was worn over the bosom and shoulders, and was fastened on each shoulder by a brooch. The long chiton (ποδήρης, down to the feet) was confined by a girdle, and was often so long that it had to be drawn up to allow free movement to the feet. The superfluous length was then allowed to hang over the girdle in a deep fold called the *diploïdion*, which forms a very beautiful feature in Greek female costume. Herodotus (v. 88) says that this dress was not of Ionian but of Carian origin. The Ionian Greeks seem to have adopted the more Oriental costume of their Carian wives, and to have introduced it into Athens.

The *χλαμύς* (cloak), also called 'Thessalian wings,' from the two side pieces sometimes set on to it, was the national dress of the Illyrians and other northern tribes, but was adopted as a riding dress in Athens. It was a sort of cape, fastened by a brooch on the left shoulder, and hanging down in two points over the thighs. It was frequently ornamented with purple and gold, and was much affected by the 'horse-loving' young gallants of Athens.

INFLUENCE OF RELIGION ON GREEK ART.

The art of Greece, like that of other nations, was fostered by the religious sentiment, and from its infancy to its decline we find it in the service of religion. Nothing is more striking in the wondrous pageant of Greek history than the predominance of religious ideas in the minds of the Greeks throughout the golden period of their national life. They never lost that abiding faith in the direct personal intervention of the Gods in the affairs of men, without which human life is a stagnant pool of corruption. Even an historian like Herodotus sees in all the great events and deeds which he records the operations of the Deity; and to set these fully before our eyes is the main object of his work. It was the Gods who turned the scale of victory against

the Persians, and Apollo himself defended his temple against the attack of the victorious Gauls. 'The universe within was divided by no wall of adamant from the universe without, and the form of the spirit mingled and dwelt in trustful sisterhood with the form of the sense.'¹ 'Religion,' says Ottfried Müller, 'opens to man a spiritual world, which, though it does not come within his experience in the external world, requires external representation.' The whole character of the Greek theogony is essentially anthropomorphic, and it is to the fusion of the Divine and human in this mythology, and to the glorious forms which the poets fashioned from the precious amalgam, that we owe the noblest conceptions and the highest achievements of plastic art. The purer faith which succeeded polytheism is far less favourable to the growth of art. The one true God of the Jew, 'whose going forth is from the end of the heaven, and His circuit unto the ends of it'—the God 'who is a spirit,' 'who dwelleth not in temples made with hands,' cannot be, or ought not to be, the subject of artistic representation; and the Jews had, properly speaking, no national art, and that which they borrowed from heathen nations was entirely decorative. The pure spirituality, the ascetic morality of the Christian Faith, whose object is infinite, immortal, invisible—which is apt to regard the body not only as distinct from but as the foe, the snare, and the prison of the soul—would also seem at first sight altogether antagonistic to an art whose highest aim is the representation of ideal beauty in human form. That there is, notwithstanding, a Christian art of very high excellence, especially pictorial, is again owing to the fusion of the Divine and human nature, in the fullest and highest sense of the words, in the person of the Saviour, and, in a different and lower degree, in that of the Virgin Mary and the Saints. Yet even here we must confess that the Christian artist has to do violence to his religion, and to a certain extent to degrade and heathenise it before he can adapt it to artistic requirements. The ideal of the Saviour is not that of heroic strength and beauty, but of 'the Man of Sorrows and acquainted with grief,' 'bruised for our transgressions,' 'who when

¹ Carlyle on Ludwig Tieck.

we behold Him has no beauty that we should desire Him.' Yet what artist, worthy of the name, could bring himself to ascribe to Him, on canvas or in stone, other than the perfection of glorified manhood? We know, in fact, that much of the genius of Grecian sculptors still glows on the canvas of mediæval painters. It was indeed chiefly the form and attitude of the body which Christian art condescended to borrow. Take, for example, the Sixtine Madonna. The outline is borrowed from the Grecian goddesses; in the face we see the light of the Christian's heaven, and a grace, a purity and divinity beyond all heathen ken. Yet the aspirations of Christianity after an inward spirituality, freed from corporeal and sensual bonds, are essentially unplastic. Its vast and abstract ideas, its sublime, ineffable mysteries, may indeed be *indicated* to the believer by symbols, but can never be, properly speaking, *represented* 'in gold or stone, graven by art and man's device.' The very object, in fact, of the Christian religion is to do away with that interdependence and correlation of soul and body which lies at the very root of plastic art.

The Greek viewed the matter in a totally different light. To him the body seemed not the prison, but the glorious temple of the soul. He saw no great gulf fixed between earth and heaven, but a connecting bridge across which gods and demi-gods, men and heroes, crossed and recrossed from shore to shore. His very theogony taught him that gods and men were one in their origin, though so different in power and destiny, and drew their breath from the same mother of all.¹

* Ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν γένος· ἐκ μᾶς δὲ πνέομεν
Ματρὸς ἀμφοτέροι· διείργει δὲ πᾶσα κεκρίμενα
Δύναμις, ὡς τὸ μὲν οὐδέν, ὃ δὲ χάλκεος ἀσφαλὲς αἶεν ἔδος
Μένει οὐρανός· ἀλλὰ τι προσφέρομεν ἔμπαν ἡ μέγαν
Νόον ἦτοι φύσιν ἀθανάτοισ·
Καίπερ ἐφαμερίαν οὐκ εἰδότες οὐδὲ μετὰ νύκτας ἄμμε πότμος
Οἶαν τιν' ἔγραψε δραμεῖν ποτὶ στάθμαν.—Pindar, *Nem.* vi. 1-7.

¹ Alcinoüs, struck by the appearance of Ulysses, suggests that he may be one of the gods to whom the Phæacians, like the Cyclopeans, stood nearer than other races of men :

Εἰ δ' ἄρα τις καὶ μόνος ἰὼν ἐνύβληται ὁδῆς,
Οὔτι κατακρύπτουσιν ἐπεί σφισιν ἠγγύθεν εἰμὲν,
Ὅσπερ Κύκλωπες τε καὶ ἄγρια φύλα γιγάντων.
Odys. vii. 204.

Yea, if one find them in a lonely place,
No mask they wear, for we are near them still,
Like the Cyclopean race and giants rude of skill.
(Worsley's transl.)

The gods were only the 'older line,' the giants the 'junior line' of the same race. Polyphemus even speaks with contempt of Jove :

Οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγιόχου ἀλέγουσιν
Οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων· ἐπειὴ πολλὸν φέρτεροί εἰμεν.
Odys. ix. 275-6.

¹ For the Cyclopes pay no heed to Zeus, lord of the ægis, nor to the blessed gods, for verily we are better than they' (Butcher and Lang's translation.)

'Men and gods are of one race, for we both derive our breath from one mother; the difference in might alone distinguishes them. The one is nothing; to the other there remains the brazen sky as an eternal dwelling-place. But in some respects we resemble the immortals, in powerful mind or body, although we know not to what goal by day or night the Fates have destined us to run.'

The Greek found neither pleasure nor profit in abstraction; his gods must be visible to the eye in definite form and character, and move and act before him according to their kind. They were, in fact, himself 'writ large'—the giant reflection of his own form, such as the traveller sees from some Alpine height projected across the mists. They only differed from himself where he feels himself imperfect. He had no other fault to find with this life than that it was subject to want, disease, and above all to death—to the descent into the dreary realms of Hades, to which any abode in any human form on earth was preferable.¹ When Ulysses, during his visit to the lower world, compliments Achilles on the high estate he held among the shades, Achilles tells him not to 'talk thus lightly of death,' and adds—

I would e'en be a villain, and drudge on the lands of a master,
Under a portionless wight, whose garner was scantily furnished,
Sooner than reign supreme in the realm of the dead that have perished.²

The Greek therefore gave to his gods all that he wished for himself. *He* was a wretched mortal (*δελὸς βροτός*), a shadowy vision (*σκιᾶς ὄναρ*); *they* were happy, unwearied, ever living (*μάκαρες, ἀτρεπεῖς, αἰὲν ὄντες*). Could he but eliminate decay and death from his own life, he would ask for nothing but what this world affords; and his gods *were* free from the evils which disturbed his own happiness,

¹ We are reminded here of the terrible Belshazzar-like warning of Theoclymenus to the suitors in the *Odyssey*, xx. 350: 'Ah! wretched men, what woe is this ye suffer? Shrouded in night are your heads, and faces, and knees, and kindled is the voice of wailing, and all cheeks are wet with tears, and the walls and the fair spaces between the pillars are sprinkled with blood. And the porch is full of phantoms, and full is the court, the shadows of men hasting hellwards beneath the gloom, and the sun has perished

out of heaven, and an evil mist has overspread the world' (Butcher and Lang's tr.).

² *Odys.* xi. 488. Conf. Shakspeare, act iii. sc. 1:

The weariest and most loathed worldly life
That aches, age, penury, and imprisonment
Can lay on nature, is a paradise
To what we fear of death.

and Virg. *Æn.* vi. 435:

Quam vellent æthere in alto
Nunc et pauperiem et duros perferre labores!

and were thus the ideals of what he felt himself to be capable of becoming. They had no infinite or abstract qualities ; they were not eternal, retrospectively at least ; they were born like himself ; there was a time when Zeus did not yet occupy the throne of heaven. They were not infinite or omnipresent ; they dwelt in the golden palaces of Olympus, and moved from place to place. They were not omniscient or omnipotent ; Athene was mistaken, and receives information from Orestes ; and even Zeus was subject to the decrees of Fate, and wails over the approaching death of his best beloved Sarpedon :—

ὦ μοι ἐγών, ὅτε μοι Σαρπηδόνα, φίλτατον ἀνδρῶν,
μοῖρ' ὑπὸ Πατρόκλοιο Μενoitιάδαο δαμῆναι.

Woe, woe ! that fate decrees my best beloved
Sarpedon by Patroklos' hand to fall.

The gods of Greece are no uniform abstractions ; each has his own peculiar type and character, tastes and idiosyncrasies, his own sharply defined functions, and his own external history. Their desires and pleasures are similar to those of men : they eat their ambrosial food, and quaff their sweet nectar to the sound of Apollo's lyre, and the Olympian halls ring with inextinguishable laughter. They love and hate, desire and fear ; they are persuaded by gifts,¹ are subject to anger and jealousy, and even pain and sorrow—and why ? Because the Greek did not desire for himself a uniformly calm and passionless existence ; because he delights in the contrast of light and shade, in the alternation of joy and grief, 'in the torrent of life, the roll of events, the storm of action,' in all the tragic emotions of the soul.² The Faust of Göthe speaks like a true Greek when he says :—

Ich fühle Muth mich in die Welt zu wagen,
Der Erde Weh, der Erde Glück zu tragen,
Mit Stürmen mich herumzuschlagen.

¹ Δῶρα θεοὺς πείθει, δῶρ' αἰδοίους βασιλῆας (Plato, *Rep.* iii. 391). Acc. to Suidas, i. p. 623, this line was supposed to be from Hesiod. Conf. Ovid, *Ars Amat.* iii. 653 :

Placatur donis Jupiter ipse datis.

² 'Greek art is natural, unconventional, eternal, because the Greeks lived and thought and felt naturally ; because their nature was free in the fullest sense of the word ; because their nature was not divided,

as ours is, by the conflict between the flesh and the spirit, time and eternity' (Schiller).

Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach ! in meiner Brust.
(Goethe's *Faust.*)

Man must begin, know this, where Nature ends :
Nature and man can never be fast friends.

(Mat. Arnold, *Early Sonnets.*)

This sounds strange in this material evolutionary age !

And as, on the one hand, the gods of Greece are but sublimated men, so the heroes of myth and plastic art partake of the divine. The strongest link between earth and heaven resulted from the commerce of the Gods with the royal heroines of the mythical period whom the former not unfrequently preferred to their own Olympian peeresses. The offspring of their union were

Kinsfolk of gods, not far from Zeus himself,
Whose is the altar to ancestral Zeus
Upon the hill of Ida, in the sky :
And still within their veins flows blood divine.¹

These demigods had a sort of claim to the inheritance and dignity of their celestial sires, and were expected to prove their origin, and win the prize of immortality by the dignity of their character and the lustre of their achievements. This commingling of earth and heaven, which naturally offends the philosopher, made Homer the intellectual founder of the plastic arts. He brought down heaven within the reach of men, pointed to its bright eternal citadels as the goal of their aspirations, and thus raised the standard of humanity ; for

Da die Götter menschlicher noch waren
Waren Menschen göttlicher.²

¹ Plato, *Rep.* iii. 391 (Davies and Vaughan's translation). Supposed to be from the *Niobe* of Æschylus.

² Schiller's *Götter Griechenlands*.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF ART IN
GREECE TO OL. 70, B.C. 500.

CHAPTER II.

MYTHICAL ART.

THE annals of art-history, like all other annals, begin with religious myths—the streams of human life all flow from heaven. ‘Fable,’ says Prof. Brunn,¹ ‘is ever skilful in filling up the blanks of history. The first deities fall from the skies, the gods work here on earth, and finally enter into relation with men and impart to them the arts of life.’

The ancient Germans, as we learn from Tacitus,² considered it derogatory to the majesty of the celestials to confine them within walls, or to fashion them after the likeness of the human face. ‘They consecrated groves and woods, and called by the names of gods that mysterious something which is seen by reverence alone.’ And in like manner their fellow Aryans, ‘the Pelasgi,’ says Herodotus,³ ‘at first sacrificed to the gods by general invocations, as I was confidently assured at Dodona, without giving them any names, because they had not heard of any. And they called them Gods, i.e. *powers*—because

¹ *Kunst bei Homer.*

² *De Moribus Germ.* ix.

³ ii. 52.

they had made all things in due order and ruled in every region.' Even as late as the time of Pausanias there was a grove in Mount Lycæus in Arcadia consecrated to Zeus Lycæus, into which men were forbidden to enter. 'Whoever enters dies within the year.'¹ On the summit of this very mountain a conical mound of earth is still to be seen, and similar ones have been found in the Altis of Olympia, and on the top of Mount Ænus in Cephalonia. This quasi-monotheistic worship of the Arcadian Zeus must therefore have existed side by side with fully developed polytheism during the whole period of Greek history.

According to Herodotus the Pelasgi learned the names of the gods from the Egyptians. They seem, however, to have received some of their idols with their names from the Phœnicians. Among the first and most popular of these strange deities was the image of *Astarte Aphrodite*,² who was said to have risen from the sea. But though many of the Gods of Greece may have been foreign importations, others were the natural development of symbols. It is not necessary, of course, that the symbol should in any proper sense represent the object of worship. The form of the symbol is a matter of indifference; nay, we may say that mystical religion has always preferred the most shapeless and grotesque objects. Pausanias³ speaks of thirty pillars erected at Pheræ, each of which has the name of a God and received divine honours from the inhabitants. In the temple of the Graces at Cyzicus was a three-cornered pillar which Athene herself presented as the first work of art,⁴ and coins of Ambracia, Apollonia and Oricus in Illyria bear on them a pointed pillar ('*Ἀπόλλων κωνοειδής*') which represents Apollo 'Ἀγυιεύς.'⁵ Spears were looked on as symbols of the Gods, and even the spear of Agamemnon was an object of worship in Chæroneia.⁶ The first Here (Juno) at Argos was a pillar (*κίων*), the Athene at Lindos a smooth

¹ Pausan. viii. 48. Conf. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece* (Ward's translation).

² For the prototype of Aphrodite vide Layard, *Mon. of Nineveh*, pl. xiv. 5, 6. Conf. Birch, *Anc. Pottery*, 'Mylitta of the Greeks.'

³ vii. 22, 3.

⁴ Jacobs, *Anthol. Pal.* p. 297 n. 342. O. Müller, *Handb. d. Archäol.* sec. 66.

⁵ O. Müller, *Archäol. d. K.* sec. 66 and *Denkm. d. alten Kunst*, Taf. I, No. 2.

⁶ Paus. ix. 40, 6.

but shapeless beam (λείον ἔδος). 'The image of Artemis (Diana) in Icarus was a log of unwrought wood ; * * * and that of Here at Samos, as says Æthlius, was once a board (σανίς).'¹ Dionysus (Bacchus) περικίωνιος was represented at Thebes by a pillar overgrown with ivy, and the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) at Sparta by two posts (δόκανα) united at the top and bottom by cross beams. The people of Orchomenus venerated certain stones which, they said, fell down from heaven and were taken up by Eteocles.²

How long the so-called *aneiconic* (without definite form) period lasted it is impossible to say with any degree of certainty. It seems probable that when the vague notions of the powers of nature were, so to speak, crystallised by fable and poetry, the first rude attempts were made to represent them in wood, the most plentiful as well as the most tractable material. The term *ξόανα* was originally confined to wooden images, the makers of which, so long as they were mere shapeless symbols, were unknown, and which, like 'the great Diana of the Ephesians,' were supposed to have fallen from heaven. The first advance from the shapeless log as symbol was probably marked by the *Hermæ*, in which an attempt is made to bring the image into more conspicuous relation to the deity represented by adding the head, and short projections by way of arms to support the numerous attributes ascribed to him by the popular faith. These Hermæ, which were square pillars surmounted by a bust (τετράγωνος ἐργασία³), were most common in Arcadia, the chief seat of the worship of Hermes (Mercury).

We must not suppose, however, that the artistic merit of these objects of actual worship kept pace with the increasing skill and taste of successive generations. The rude idol was hallowed in men's eyes by its mysterious origin, its hoary antiquity, and the reverence of preceding generations. The pious artist would deem it a sacrilegious thing to alter the form which he had worshipped from his infancy, and from which he had received unnumbered favours. Who should dare to give to the Divinity another shape than that in which he had chosen to reveal himself to his worshippers? When the founder (οἰκιστῆς) of a colony sought to place his expedition under the protection of the God of the

¹ Clemens Alexandr. *Protrept.* iv. p. 4 (ed. Potter).

² Paus. ix. 28. 1.

³ Thucydides, vi. 27.

metropolis, he did not ask the artist to exercise his originality, to task his highest skill in the production of a consummate work of art. What he wanted was an exact reproduction (ἀφίδρυμα) of the most time-hallowed image of his country's tutelary divinity, and any deviation from it, however much it might be an improvement from an artistic point of view, would only tend to rob it of its godhead. The wooden image of Latona at Delos,¹ we are told, was so grotesque as to make the gloomy Parmeniscus laugh; but it might not on that account be less sacred even in *his* eyes. Pausanias,² in speaking of some Dædalian images of a similar character, says, that though they were indeed 'rather absurd in appearance' (ἀτοπώτερα τὴν ὄψιν), 'a certain divinity' (τι καὶ θεον) shone forth in them.

As all art, even in its highest development, must rest on the basis of handicraft, it is natural that the earliest names which we meet with in the mythical period should be those of simple artificers. Frequent mention is made of an art-guild under the name of *Dactyls* (Δάκτυλοι), 'fingers,' who worked for Cybele on Mount Ida in Crete, and of whom *Kelmis* (melter), *Damnameneus* (tongs), and *Acmon* (anvil) are especially mentioned.³ We read also of the *Telchines* in Sicyon, Crete and Rhodes, as workers in metal, who made the sickle of Cronos⁴ (Saturn), the trident of Poseidon (Neptune), and the first images of the Gods.⁵ Like the 'adepts' of the Middle Ages, all these early artificers were regarded as malicious demons, dealing largely in sorcery, and they are darkly alluded to as such by Pindar.⁶

DÆDALUS.

The first individual figure which the dawn of art-history enables us to see with any distinctness is that of Dædalus, and even he is regarded by many as a purely mythical personage representing the collective art of wood-carving. The name itself signifies 'a cunning craftsman' in general, and is not confined to the art of the sculptor. Pausanias,

¹ Athenæus, xiv. 614.

² ii. 4. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* 68, sec.

³ Strabo, x. p. 473.

⁴ Ibid. xiv. p. 653. ⁵ Diod. Sic. v. 55.

⁶ *Ol.* vii. 56. Callim. *Hymn. in Del.* 31. Welcker, *Æsch. Trilogie*, p. 182. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* sec. 70. Hoeck, *Kreta*, i. 345, 356.

who is generally cited as a witness against the personal existence of Dædalus, appears to waver in his opinion.¹

Dædalus is variously stated to be the son of Eupalamus, or of Metion—both of them sons of Erechtheus—and of Merope, daughter of Erechtheus and cousin of Theseus;² and by some writers he is called a Cretan.³ We are told that he became jealous of his nephew and pupil (?) Talos (or Perdix),⁴ whom he murdered, and was obliged in consequence to flee to Crete, where he worked for King Minos, Pasiphae⁵ and Ariadne.

The name of Dædalus, however, is most frequently and intimately connected with Athens, where a guild of wood-carvers, claiming descent from him, maintained itself under the name of Dædalids for many centuries. But, wherever wood-carving was practised, Dædalus was supposed to have resided, and works attributed to him existed at Thebes, Lebadæa, Corinth, Argos, Pisa, Messene, and Gela in Sicily.⁶ Diodorus Siculus⁷ carries him to Egypt, where he is said to have built the temple of Ptha at Memphis, and to have been rewarded by permission to set up a statue of himself in the building.

The invention of the saw, the axe, the plummet-line, the gimlet, and a kind of 'fish-glue' (isinglass) are ascribed to him.⁸ But his chief importance in the history of sculpture is owing to the belief that he was the first to loose the arms of his figures from their sides, and to unbind their feet and allow them to step out. He too opened the closed eyes (*ὄμματα μεμυκῶτα*), which characterised the Predædalian statues—closed, as was sometimes said, in consequence of atrocities committed in the temples which the deities refused to witness. The mobility and life imparted to the works of Dædalus by the substitution of the *σκέλη διαβεβηκῶτα* for the *σκέλη συμβεβηκῶτα* (*σύμφοδα*) ('separated' for 'closed legs'), gave rise to various legends expressive of the surprise and admiration of the beholders. The statues of Dædalus had

¹ Pausan., vii. 4. 5 and ix. 3. 2. Conf. Diodor. Sic. iv. 76. Apollodorus (iii. p. 137) says: *Ὁδῶς ἦν ἀρχιτέκτων ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἀγαλμάτων εὐρετής.*

² Plutarch, *Theseus*, 19.

³ Eustathius, *Com. ad Iliad.* p. 1166.

⁴ The murder of Perdix is represented on

a Pompeian wall-painting. Perdix lies dead with a nail in his head.

⁵ Eustathius, *Com. ad Iliad.*:—

Καὶ ἡ Πασίφειά πρὸς ἀλλόκοτον ἔρωτα, τὸν τοῦ ταύρου ἡμεσίτευσε.

⁶ Brunn, *K.-G.* pp. 17-20.

⁷ i. 98.

⁸ Plin. *N. H.*

to be chained to prevent their running away. Apollodorus¹ relates that Dædalus made *an image of Heracles* at Pisa, which the hero himself, having caught sight of it at night-time, attempted to drive away by throwing stones at² the wooden impostor.³

The celebrity of Dædalus is attested by numerous passages in Greek literature, in which his works are spoken of as little less than divine creations. Hecuba in her earnest supplication to Agamemnon wishes that she had a voice in every member of her body 'by the aid of Dædalus or one of the Gods.'⁴ Yet the praise accorded to them referred to their relative rather than their actual merit. Plato⁵ says that if Dædalus were to make such statues, as those which bore his name, in his (Plato's) time, he would only make himself ridiculous. 'No one,' says Aristides⁶ the rhetorician, 'admires Dædalus or the artists of former times in comparison with Pheidias, but everyone knows that the arts have grown to greater perfection from small and mean beginnings.'

Among the works of Dædalus, Pausanias speaks of *the Chorus of Ariadne*, executed in marble (*ἐπὶ λευκοῦ λίθου*), as existing in his time, and he refers to the well-known passage in the Iliad in which it is said that Hephestus ornamented the shield of Achilles with a chorus 'like that which Dædalus once executed (*ἤσκησεν*)' for the fair-haired Ariadne in spacious *Cnossus*. That a relief in marble of this kind existed by the hand of Dædalus or any other artist in the age of the Homeric poets is out of the question, and the theory of Overbeck⁸ and others, that the marble work to which Pausanias refers may have been a

¹ ii. 6. 3. Plato, *Menon*, p. 97. Socrates compares the statues of Dædalus with true opinions, and says that the former are not of much value while they are at liberty, for then they will walk off like run-away slaves, but when bound they are of great value, 'for they are really very beautiful works.' 'In the same manner, true opinions, while they abide with us, are beautiful and fruitful, but they run away from the soul, and are of little use until they are fastened by the tie of the cause.'

² Hesych. s. v. *πληξαι*.

³ Brunn, *K.-G.* p. 15.

⁴ Eurip. *Hec.* v. 819:—

Εἰ μοι γένοιτο φθόγγος ἐν βραχίονι
καὶ χερσὶ καὶ πόμαισι καὶ ποδῶν βάσει,
ἢ Δαιδάλου τέχνηαιον ἢ Θεῶν τινός.

⁵ *Hipp. Mag.* p. 282.

⁶ Aristides, *Περὶ Ῥητορικῆς*, i. 30, ii. 38 (ed. Dindorf): *Καὶ οὐδεὶς τὸν Δαίδαλον οὐδὲ τοὺς ἄνω θαυμάζει παρὰ τὸν Φειδίαν, ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον ἐκ μικρῶν καὶ φαύλων τὸ κατ' ἄρχας εἰς μέζον καὶ τελειώτερον αἱ τέχναι κατέστησαν.* Conf. Cic. *Brut.* xviii. 71.

⁷ Hom. *Iliad*, xviii. 590:—

Ἐν δὲ χορὸν ποίειλλε περιελυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
τῷ ἱελέον, οἷόν ποτ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσῷ εὐρείῃ
Δαίδαλος ἤσκησεν καλλιπλοκάμῃ Ἀριάδῃ.

A mazy dance,
Like that which Dædalus in Cnossus erst
At fair-hair'd Ariadne's bidding framed.

Conf. Eustathius, *Com. ad Iliad.* p. 1166

⁸ *Gesch. d. griech. Plastik*, i. 35.

later copy of an original relief on wood, is open to scarcely less objection. The true explanation is that of Ottfried Müller,¹ that Hephæstus represented a 'dancing place' (the original meaning of *χορός*),² like that which Dædalus once 'arranged' (*ῥοκῆσεν*) for Ariadne in Cnossus, and on which she danced with Theseus and the Attic youths, after the Cretan manner, in honour of her hero's victory over the Minotaur.³ The same subject is artistically treated in the paintings of the famous archaic vase of Clitias and Ergotimus (called the *François*⁴ Vase, now at Florence), in which Ariadne and Theseus lead a dance of seven couples.

We meet with the names of two other artists belonging to this mythical period, *Argus* of Argos, who made the wooden image of Here which his son carried to Tiryns,⁵ and *Epeius* of Phocis, the reputed fabricator of the Trojan horse.⁶ The name of the latter occurs in Plato,⁷ in company with that of Dædalus and Theodorus the Samian, and Pausanias mentions *two ξόανα*⁸ of *Aphrodite and Hermes* in Argos as works of Epeius and offerings of Hypermnestra.

EXTANT WORKS OF THE PREHOMERIC PERIOD.

The wooden works of Dædalus, Argus, and Epeius have all doubtless perished; but two very remarkable monuments of stone, older than the time of Homer, still exist in Greece, although we should hesitate to call them works of Grecian art; viz. *the Lions of Mycenæ* and *the Niobe of Mount Sipylus*.

THE LION-GATE OF MYCENÆ.

The still existing walls, covered galleries, and gateways of Tiryns and Mycenæ, whose gigantic proportions and indestructible strength⁹

¹ *Arch. d. Kunst*, sec. 64, 1.

² Hom. *Iliad*, iii. 394.

³ Conf. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 17.

⁴ Vide *Arch. Zeit.* 1849, 1850, pl. xxiii. xxiv.; and O. Jahn's *Die Ficoronische Cista*, Conf. *La Cista Atletica*, con Illustrazioni, Roma, 1848.

⁵ Clemens Alex. *Protrepticon* (Cohortatio ad Gentes), iv. p. 41 (ed. Potter): Δημήτριος ἄρ' ἐν δευτέρῳ τῶν Ἀργολικῶν τοῦ ἐν Τίρυνθι

τῆς Ἥρας ξόανου καὶ τὴν ἑλὴν ἐγχρῆν καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν Ἀργὸν ἀναγράφει.

⁶ Hom. *Iliad*, xxiii. 665, 838; and *Odys.* viii. 492. Pausan. ii. 19. 5. Virg. *Æn.* ii. 264.

⁷ *Ion*, p. 538.

⁸ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* iv. p. 40, ξόανα προσηγορεύετο διὰ τὸ ἀπαξίσθαι (ἰδ. ἀπεξίσθαι) τῆς ἑλῆς.

⁹ Eurip. *Electra*, 1167: Κυκλόπεια οὐράνια τείχη.

give them more the appearance of the 'eternal rocks' of nature (figs. 1-4) than of human work, were as great a riddle to the ancient Greeks

FIG. 1.

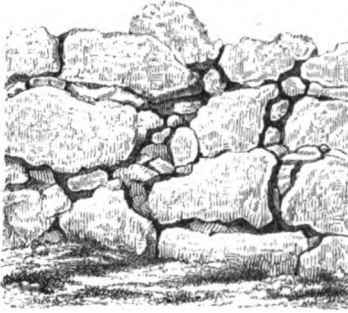
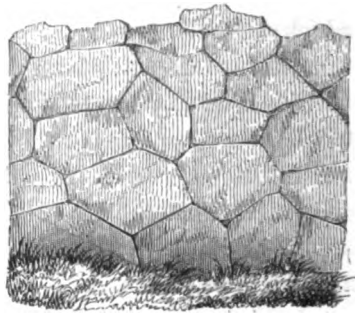


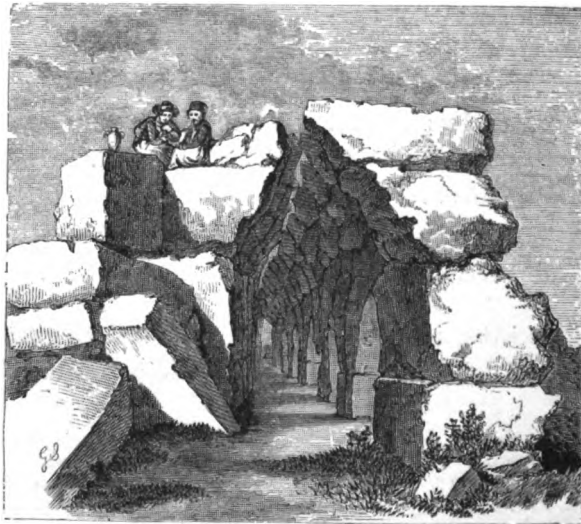
FIG. 2.



CYCLOPEAN MASONRY.

as to ourselves. They could only account for them by supposing that they were the work of a race of giants, called Cyclopes, with whom they

FIG. 3.

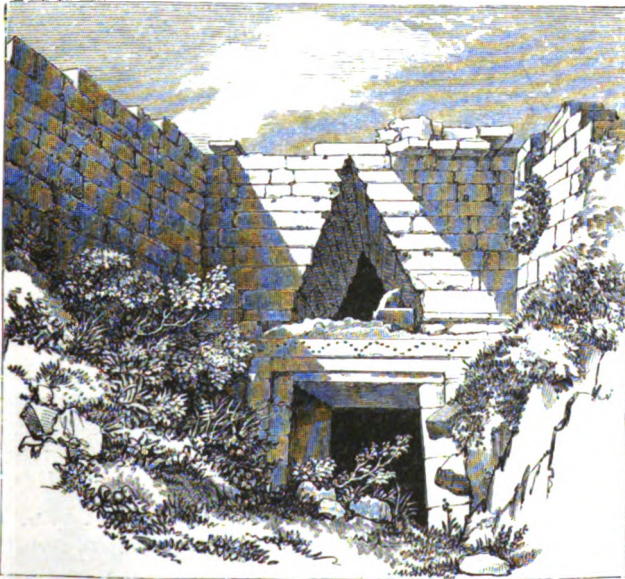


GALLERY AT MYCENÆ.

peopled the primæval world, who could alone be capable of transporting such enormous masses of stone, 'the very least of which,' says Pau-

sanias,¹ 'no yoke of mules could move.' According to Strabo,² the city of Tiryns³ was fortified by an ancient guild of architects called *Gasterocheires* (literally, '*filling their stomachs by their hands*'), who came from Lycia at the invitation of King Prætus, and who also fortified Mycenæ.⁴ To the same hands ancient writers would probably ascribe the subterraneous treasuries of Minyas and Atreus,⁵ the latter of which is almost in a perfect state of preserva-

FIG. 4.



GATE AND WALLS OF MYCENÆ.

tion, and answers exactly to Pausanias'⁶ description of the former : 'The treasury of Minyas, a marvellous structure, not inferior to any work of Grecian or other art, is built thus : it is of stone, round in form, and its apex does not end in a very sharp point. They say that

¹ ii. 25, 8.

² viii. p. 373.

³ Hom. *Il.* ii. 559, Τίρυνς τειχιόεσσα.

⁴ Pausan. vii. 25, 5. Conf. Eurip. *Herc.*

Fur. 943:—

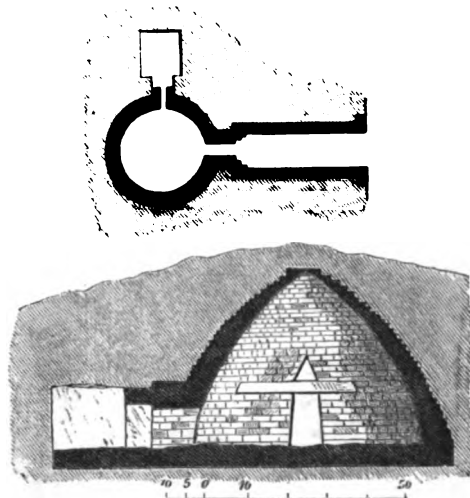
πρὸς τὰς Μυκῆνας εἶμι· λάξυσθαι χρεῶν
μοχλοῦς δικέλλας θ', ὡς τὰ Κυκλωπῶν βάθρα
φοῖνικι κανόνι καὶ τυκοῖς ἡρμοσμένα
στρεπτή σιδήρῳ συντριαινώσω πόλιν.

⁵ Pausan. ii. 16. 8.

⁶ ix. 38. 1.

the topmost stone holds together the whole building.' The so-called *Treasury of Atreus*' consists of a round chamber in the form of

FIG. 5.



TREASURY OF ATREUS.

FIG. 6.



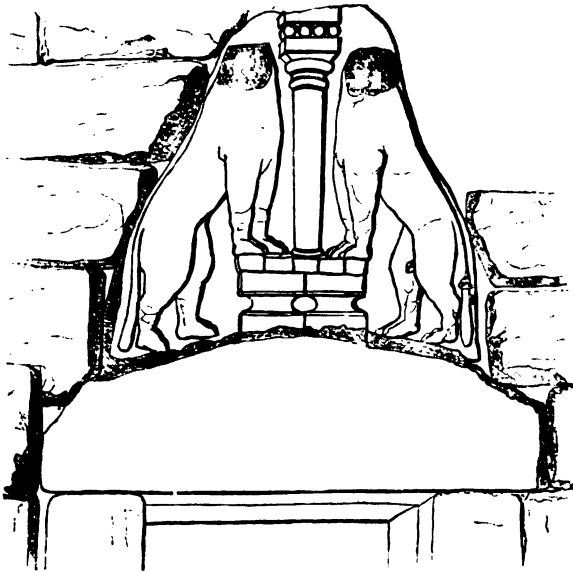
ACROPOLIS OF MYCENÆ.

the old straw beehive, and is formed by laying courses of stones horizontally over each other, so that the upper circle shall slightly project inwards beyond the one immediately below it, until at last only

a small aperture is left at the top of the building, which is closed by a coping stone (fig. 5).

These same mythical architects from Lycia are also said to have fortified the citadel of Mycenæ, of which the still existing *Lion Gate* (fig. 6) was the principal entrance. 'Among other parts of the enclosure,' says Pausanias,¹ 'which still remain, a gate is seen with lions standing in it, and they report that these were the works of the Cyclopes, who made for Prætus the walls of Tiryns.'

FIG. 7.



THE LION GATE AT MYCENÆ.

The mutilated headless figures (fig. 7), which the tuft at the end of their tails, and their manes, justify us in calling lions,² are in *mezzo rilievo*, and form the ornament of a triangular slab above the horizontal stone lintel of the gate of the citadel. They stand in an erect posture on either side of a pillar of peculiar construction. Their heads, which have disappeared, were carved out of separate pieces of stone, and turned outwards, for the purpose, no doubt, of intimidating an approach-

¹ Pausan. ii. 16. 8.

² Compare the two lions, standing back to back, on coins of Cyprus.

ing foe.¹ The pillar itself, which gradually increases in circumference from the base upwards, is certainly very un-Greek in character, and can hardly be assigned to any known style. It probably supported some symbol which filled the vertical angle of the triangle in which the whole relief stands. The lions themselves too have a foreign air about them, and are so little naturalistic that they have been taken by some writers for *wolves*. In their conventional and heraldic style they strongly remind us of Assyrian monuments, and yet, on the other hand, there is a degree of freedom and grace in their proportions which is by no means hieratic. On the whole, we are compelled to regard the Lions of Mycenæ, though found on Greek soil, as altogether unconnected with the history and development of Greek art.²

Although it may seem to be somewhat beside the scope of this work, it is difficult to speak of Mycenæ without some reference to the interesting discoveries of Dr. Schliemann in what he calls *the Grave of Agamemnon*. It is as yet too early to form a decided opinion on the age and character of the 'treasures of Mycenæ' now at Athens; but happily the discussion has passed out of the hands of enthusiasts, who treat the Homeric poems as if they were the most sober and trustworthy of historical annals, into those of scholars and archæologists, who weigh evidence before accepting it. The highest German authorities have as yet made no sign, but in England the Mycenæan treasures have been very generally assigned to a period not later than 1000 B.C.³ On the other hand, one of the most eminent archæologists of the age, M. Stephani, is of opinion that the works of art discovered in the graves at Mycenæ differ so much from one another in character and style that they cannot possibly be referred to the same, or indeed to any very remote period. He thinks it probable

¹ The so-called Egyptian school of Archæologists were wrong in supposing that the material from which the lions are carved is a *foreign* green marble. It is found to be of the same yellowish grey limestone of which the walls themselves are built.

² It is interesting in this connexion to remember the story of the capture of Sardis by Cyrus (546 B.C.) in Herodotus (i. 84). The city was entered at the only part of the walls which Meles, an ancient king of Sardis,

had omitted to pass, when he carried the lion, born to him by one of his concubines, round the rest of the fortifications.

³ Mr. C. T. Newton, *Edinb. Rev.* 1878; Mr. Poole, *Contemporary Rev.* 1878; Mr. J. Evans, *Proceedings of Soc. of Antiq.* March, 1877; Mr. Watkiss Lloyd, *ibid.* May 17, 1877; Prof. Sayce, in *St. Petersburg Herald*, June 23, 1880; Mr. Percy Gardner, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1880, vol. i.

that they consist of the plunder of Greek cities, mingled with works of Gothic art, and were interred with the body of some great chief of the Heruli who, starting from the sea of Azov, invaded the Peloponnese in 267 A.D. This view of the matter has been supported by Schultze, A. S. Murray,¹ Westropp,² and others. Mr. Murray says that 'the gold ornaments have all the character of Celtic ornamentation, and that, instead of the zig-zag and *mæander* of Greek archaic art, we find the Celtic *triquetra* and spiral.' In advocating the Gothic origin of the treasures Stephani lays great stress on the presence of golden butterflies, because this insect does not occur in Greek art before the second century B.C. He seems to have overlooked the fact that his opponents do not claim a Greek origin for the contents of the grave. Mr. Percy Gardner³ expressly says that 'one does not find among them a single object of which one can unhesitatingly say that it is of Greek origin.' Now butterflies have been found in abundance on an Egyptian wall in the British Museum,⁴ which dates from the fifteenth century B.C., and, as Mr. Gardner says, they *may* have occurred in the art of pre-historic Asia Minor, and why not in that of pre-historic Greece, which seems to have been nearly connected with it?

I am inclined, after a careful examination of the Mycenæan treasures, to attach some weight to another argument of Stephani, derived from the elegant form and exquisite workmanship of the famous silver *οἶνοχόη* (cup for ladling out wine), the bull's head of silver with golden horns, and some of the cups of gold, which are highly finished works of developed art, and might well form part of the plunder of Grecian cities. There are, however, very patent objections to both the main propositions in M. Stephani's theory. It would be strange indeed if the spoil of Greek cities contained no representation of a Greek god or man, no coins or inscriptions, nothing, in fact, which is *undeniably* Greek; and equally strange that in the grave of a Gothic chief there should not be a single weapon made of

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, 1879.

² *Athenæum*, Sept. 18, 1880.

³ In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*,

vol. i. p. 94.

⁴ Mr. A. S. Murray, in the *Academy*, July 3, 1880.

iron, while there are numerous swords of bronze and arrow heads of obsidian.¹

The great mistake of M. Stephani, as Mr. Gardner has pointed out, is the supposition that, if the treasures date from the eleventh

FIG. 8.



OLD RELIEF FROM MYCENÆ.

century B.C., they ought to show a similarity to works of Greek archaic art, which was in its infancy more than two centuries later. That there is no such similarity may be seen from a relief found in the graves at Mycenæ (fig. 8), which is like a feeble and clumsy attempt to imitate some Egyptian or Assyrian work. On the whole I am inclined to think with Köhler² that the Graves of Mycenæ contain the bodies of some *great chiefs of the Carians* who, coming from the East, settled in Greece in the twelfth or eleventh century B.C., and whose custom it was to deposit arms in the tombs of departed heroes.³ Köhler

thinks it by no means improbable that the Argive dynasty of pre-Homeric times was descended from the kings of these Carian invaders.

The figure of

THE NIOBE ON MOUNT SIPYLUS⁴

(Fig. 9),

four or five miles from Magnesia (north of Ephesus), is carved in *alto*

¹ Mr. P. Gardner, *loc. cit.*

² *Mittheilungen d. Arch. Inst. in Athen.* 1878, p. 1.

³ Thucyd. i. 8: ὁπὲρ ἤμισυ (Δήλου) Κῆρες ἐφώνησαν γνωσθέντες τῇ τε σκευῇ τῶν δ' πλὴν ξυντεθαμμένῃ καὶ τῷ τρόπῳ φ' οὖν ἐπὶ θάπτουσι. Conf. Herod. i. 171. The graves are in the narrower ring of the most

ancient Acropolis, of which the site of the Lion Gate is a later extension (Adler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 94).

⁴ Mount Sipylus is a spur of Mount Tmolus in Lydia (*hod. Mimas*). We are ashamed of introducing the wretched sketch from Stewart's work. Conf. *Le Sipylus et ses Ruines*, by M. Weber.

rilievo out of the living rock at a height of about 200 feet;¹ it resembles the Helvetian lion at Lucerne, but is much larger, being three times the size of life. The image of Niobe is represented sitting, and the water runs down upon it through a large cutting in the rock above. The hands are folded, and the head is slightly inclined on one side, by which an expression of sadness is produced. Pausanias² visited the spot, and says, 'I saw the Niobe when I was on Mount Sipylus. Near

FIG. 9.



NIOBE FROM STARK'S NIOBE.

at hand it looks like rough stone, and affords no semblance of a woman either mourning or otherwise; but on moving away to a greater distance, one really seems to see a weeping cast-down woman.' Very remarkable is the reference to it in Homer³ in the following perhaps interpolated passage, in which Achilles, after describing the fate of Niobe, says,

¹ Stewart, plate 1; MacFarlane, *Constantinople in 1828*, p. 317.

² i. 21. 5. Conf. Curtius, *Hist. of Greece* (Ward's translation), i. 81.

³ *Iliad*, xxiv. 614.

Νῦν δέ που ἐν πέτρῃσιν, ἐν οὐρεσιν οἰσπόλοισιν,
 'Εν Σιπύλῳ, ὅθι φασὶ θεάων ἔμμεναι εὐνάς
 Νυμφάων, αἷτ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώϊον ἐρρώσαντο
 "Ενθα, λίθος περ εἴουσα, θεῶν ἐκ κήδεα πείσσει.

And now in Sipylus, amid the rocks
 And lonely mountains, where the goddess nymphs
 That love to dance by Achelöus'¹ stream,
 'Tis said, were cradled, she, though turned to stone,
 Broods over wrongs inflicted by the Gods.²

The same sad theme inspired the beautiful strophe of Sophocles:³—

"Ηκουσα δὴ λυγροτάταν δλέσθαι
 τὰν Φρυγίαν ξέναν
 Ταντάλου Σιπύλῳ πρὸς αἶ-
 κρῳ, τὰν κισσὸς ὡς ἀτενὴς
 πετραία βλάστα δάμασεν,
 καὶ νιν ὄμβρῳ τακομένην
 ὡς φάτις ἀνδρῶν
 χιῶν τ' οὐδαμὰ λείπει
 τέγγει θ' ὑπ' ὀφρύσι παγλαύτοις
 δειράδας· ἤ με δαί-
 μων ὁμοιοτάταν κατευνάζει.

Well I know the ancient story, how the maid of Pelops' line
 On the grey Sipylan summit to her dreary death did pine:
 How the rocky growth around her straining, ivylike, arose;
 How she wastes with dews perennial and with everlasting snows;
 Ceaseless from her streaming eyelids fall the tears upon her breast,—
 Likest her, the powers of Heaven lull me to a forceful rest.

(H. A. P.)

This primæval work bears a strong resemblance to some of the seated statues cut out of the rocks which border the Nile.⁴

¹ Some conjecture a river of this name in Lydia; Heyne thinks it is the mythical term for any river.

² Lord Derby's translation, xxiv. v. 717.

³ *Antigone*, v. 791 (ed. Boeckh).

⁴ See Prof. Sayce's 'Notes from Journeys in the Troad and Lydia,' in vol. i. of *Journal of Hellenic Studies*.

CHAPTER III.

HOMERIC ART.

IT is sometimes asserted with pardonable exaggeration that Homer is the intellectual founder not only of Greek history, Greek religion, and the Greek drama, but also of Greek art. We can only accept this dictum with regard to the last in a very limited sense. Great as his influence on the direction of Greek art undoubtedly was, it was exercised almost exclusively through the medium of religion, with which early art was indissolubly connected. He fixed in every brain and heart a clear conception of the nature and being of the Gods, of whose presence and operation he saw evidence in every event of life; and it was the general diffusion of the ideas which sprang from his creative genius which prepared for the artist an appropriate field of activity, and inspired in the people at large the faculty to appreciate and enjoy, and the desire to honour and reward.

We are not then to look for sculpture in the works, or even in the age, of Homer.¹ He indeed gave shape and scope to the vague religious notions and aspirations of his countrymen, but Epic poetry alone could not furnish appropriate subjects for the sculptor's art. It was the mental and moral type, the *ἦθος*, which Homer formed. The Cyclic poets, who succeeded him, did much to give bodily shape and

¹ In the following pages the expression 'age of Homer' means the period in which the *kernels* of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were composed. It would be impossible for me to enter into the interminable Homeric controversy in this place, but I may say that I am a firm believer in the existence of Homer and think that he sang the oldest portion of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* not later than the ninth century B.C. If I were compelled *jurare in*

verba, I should choose Col. Mure as my *magister*. At the same time, I recognise the force of much which Mr. F. A. Paley advances in his learned and interesting *Remarks on Prof. Mahaffy's Account of the Rise and Progress of Epic Poetry*, in support of an opposite opinion. He has shown that the lists are open. Conf. an article in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1881, 'On the Antiquity of our Homer.'

personality to the Gods of Olympus and to bring them within the reach of human comprehension and the artist's chisel; but it needed lyric and still more dramatic poetry to present the Gods and heroes in the flesh, and as individual characters, to the bodily eyes of their worshippers; and therefore the palmy days of sculpture are not those of Homer, but of Pindar, Sophocles, and Euripides. The Gods of Homer are still too far removed from earth, too vast and indefinite, to be transferred to the canvas or the marble. They 'move like the night,' and 'storm down the slopes of Olympus'; they rush through the sky 'like a meteor sent as a portent to the sailors,' 'their shoulders are veiled in cloud,' and they rise from the hoary sea 'like a mist;' and no effort of the artist can seize them as they flit past him in mysterious vagueness. We are so apt to carry back the plastic forms, which are the creation of a much later age, into the scenes of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, that it requires an effort—which, however, it is essential to make—to remember that the fine art which we trace in Homer was in no respect what we call classical, or even national Hellenic art. What he had before him was much more likely of the Assyrian type, and in most cases no doubt the work of foreigners and imported from Asia or Egypt.

What then are the works of art which we find in Homer? It will be easier to say what they are *not*. In the first place there is no statuary in the proper sense of the word; there are no figures cut in marble or cast in bronze or any other metal. Only one divine image is directly mentioned in Homer, that of the 'fair-haired Pallas,' in the citadel of Troy.¹ We have here no doubt a Διιπετής² (*fallen from heaven*), a painted, dressed-up Ξόανον, or wooden figure of the kind already described.³ Even here it is not called an image, but spoken of as the goddess herself; but we infer from the instructions given by Hector, to lay 'the fairest robe in all the house' across the *knees* of the implacable Pallas, the existence of a temple-image, and that the offered robe was destined for actual wearing by the goddess.⁴

There are, indeed, passages in the *Odyssey* which seem at first sight to imply the existence, in the age of Homer, of complete

¹ *Iliad*, vi. 92.

² Apollod. iii. 12.

³ Conf. Eurip. *Electra*, 1254;—

Ἀθήνας Παλλάδος σεμνὸν βρέτας.

In the older Parthenon at Athens (?).

⁴ Eurip. *Hec.* 465:—

τὰς καλλιδίφρονι τ' Ἀθηναίᾳ ἐν προκῆφ' ὑπέλαψ.

statues both of men and animals. In the glowing description of the palace of Alcinous, the Phæacian King,¹ we read that 'walls of polished brass shine throughout the house and are coped above with a cornice of bright steel (?)'. The doors are of gold, and the silver door-posts rest on a burnished floor of brass. On either side *gold and silver dogs*, 'for ever free from death and age,' the work of Hephæstus (Vulcan), keep guard over the palace of the high-souled Alcinous. Tapestry, the work of women, adorned the thrones on which the Phæacian princes sat at meat, and *golden youths* with torches in their hands shed light upon the banquet. But although it has been too much the fashion of late years to treat the poems of Homer as if they were accurate and trustworthy chronicles of real events, few will be found to bring forward these passages as evidence of the state of plastic art in the Homeric age. We must place the 'golden youths' of the *Odyssey* in the same category with the still more wonderful 'golden maidens' in the *Iliad*, who supported the halting steps of Hephæstus when he received the visit of Thetis in his Olympian palace.

There waited on their king the attendant maids,
In form as living maids, but wrought in gold,
Instinct with consciousness, with voice endued,
And strength and skill from heavenly teachers drawn.²
(Lord Derby's translation.)

In this case, as in that of the '*wise ships* of the Phæacians, which knew the wishes of their master and went of themselves in the right direction,'³ the poet fortunately so far exceeds the bounds of possibility as to betray the real character of all his descriptions of the palaces of Gods and heroes. Throughout the *Odyssey*, more especially, we are walking on enchanted ground and breathing the purple air of fairy land. Athene with her golden wand,⁴ Hermes with his 'milk-white' flower-antidote (*μῶλυ*),⁵ Ino-Leucothea with her magic veil (*κρήδεμνον*),⁶ appear, like good fairies, in the nick of time to transform the hero's face and dress, and 'shed grace about his head and

¹ *Odys.* iv. 43.

² *Iliad*, xviii. 418:—

ὑπὸ δ' ἐμφύκοιλοι ῥιπνόντο ἄνακτι,
χρυσέαισι, ζωφῶσι, νηησίῃσι εἰοικυῖαι,
τῆς ἐν μὲν νῆος ἐστὶ μετὰ φρεσίν, ἐν δὲ καὶ αὐδή,
καὶ σθένος, ἀθανάτων δὲ θεῶν ἀπο ἔργα ἴσασιν.

See a relief of Hephæstus supported by a maiden found at Ostia (Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.* vol. iv. 11).

³ *Odys.* viii. 558.

⁴ *Ibid.* x. 305.

⁵ *Ibid.* xvi. 172.

⁶ *Ibid.* v. 346.

shoulders,' to save him from the wicked sorceress, and to rescue him in the last extremity from a watery grave. We live at one time amongst monster-cannibals, more impious and terrible than those whom Jack the Giant-killer slew; at another we watch with delight the lovely white-armed Nausicaa and her maidens, as they play and sing on the Phæacian strand. We pass with little preparation from the dread abodes and shapes of Hades to the gorgeous palaces of kings and heroes, and the bright and glorious mansions of the happy Gods, which far outshine in golden splendour the creations of Aladdin's lamp.

Notwithstanding, however, the poetic golden haze which envelopes the objects and incidents of the divine Epics, no one can fail to see that decorative art had attained to a very high degree of perfection before the age of Homer, though not probably in Greece itself.

The working of metals especially plays a prominent part in Homeric art, and we find in the *Odyssey*¹ the name of a goldsmith,² *Laercus*, who is summoned to the palace of Nestor to cover a cow's horn with gold at a sacrifice; and the existence of professional artisans is referred to in many other passages. The works of art in metal most frequently mentioned are the various kinds of drinking-vessels used at the banquets of the chiefs. Like the costly pieces of armour which Homer describes, they are either the work of the god Hephæstus or of foreigners from Tyre, Sidon and Cyprus.

A large number of silver and silver-gilt bowls and cups of this kind have been found, always in Phœnician marts, and especially in Cyprus, the ornaments of which show a remarkable mixture of styles—Egyptian, Assyrian and Phœnician.³ 'On the same work of art we find the pschent, the hawk, the lotus and scarabæus, of Egypt, with the bull, the antelope, and the chariot, of Assyria; and one of the vases found in Palestrina bears a Phœnician inscription.'⁴

The passionate love of the Greeks for chased and embossed goblets, not only in the age of Homer, but throughout their whole

¹ iii. 425. Conf. xxiii. 159.

² χρυσοχόος, generally χαλκεύς.

³ Bowls answering to the descriptions in Homer were found at Cervetri, in the famous Regulini-Galassi tomb, and are now in the

Vatican (*Musco Etrusco*, vol. i. pl. 63-66).

⁴ Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 334. The same class of bronze bowls have been found by Layard at Nineveh, and Cesnola at Cyprus. (*Musco Napol.* (in Louvre), iii. pl. 10, 11.)

history, was extraordinarily great, and is continually expressed or referred to in their literature.¹

Another extensive field for the display of the *toreutic* art was found in the armour and weapons of distinguished warriors,² and in the ornaments worn by goddesses and heroines (the 'δαίδαλα πολλά'), which are described with singular minuteness and fondness in the Homeric poems.³ Very frequent mention is also made of wood-carving, and the names of famous masters in this craft, as Icmalius of Ithaca, who made Penelope's chair, Harmonides the Trojan, 'whom Athene greatly loved;' Phereclus and Odysseus himself, who made his own marriage bed, the construction of which is minutely described in a passage of the *Odyssey* (xxiii. vv. 190–201), the *locus classicus* of Homeric joinering.

Fewer traces are found in early Greek literature of *modelling in clay* than might be expected from its importance in plastic art, which derives its very name from the moulding of this material (πλάσσειν). The potter's wheel was known to Homer,⁴ and Hesiod⁵ describes the formation of the mischievous Pandora from clay; but their writings afford little encouragement to those who refer the most ancient painted vases to the Homeric period.⁶

Very frequent, on the other hand, are the references to *embroidery* both in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. It formed the principal occupation not only of slaves, but of royal heroines, like Helen,⁷ Andromache,⁸ and Penelope,⁹ and of demi-goddesses, like Circe,¹⁰ and Calypso.¹¹ Even Pallas Athene herself worked with her own hands the 'ambrosial robe' which Here donned when about to circumvent her awful spouse upon Mount Ida.

It remains to be considered whether the various forms of decorative art of which we have now spoken are peculiar to Greece, or to the Hellenic race, and what place is to be assigned to them in the history of Greek art. We are not surprised that the garments in the house

¹ *Iliad*, xxii. 740; xxiv. 74. Athenæus, xi. 12: οὐ δέϊ οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐκμανῶς πίνειν, ἀποβλέποντας εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τῶν κάλων τούτων καὶ παντοδαπῶν κατὰ τὰς τέχνας ἐκπωμάτων.

² *Odys.* xi. 610; *Iliad*, xi. 19. Conf. Köpke, *Kriegswesen der Griechen*.

³ *Iliad*, xviii. 401; *Odys.* xix. 227; *Ibid.*

xviii. 296; xv. 460. Hesiod, *Op.* 74.

⁴ *Iliad*, xviii. 600.

⁵ Theog. 570.

⁶ Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 6.

⁷ *Iliad*, iii. 125.

⁸ *Ibid.* xxiii. 440.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* x. 222.

⁹ *Odys.* xix. 227.

¹¹ *Ibid.* v. 61.

of an Asiatic prince like Paris should be called the work of women whom he brought from Sidon. But nowhere in the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey* is any distinction made between Hellenic and non-Hellenic art. At the funeral games in honour of Patroclus, Achilles gives as a prize a silver cratêr, the work of Sidonians, which had been brought over the sea by Phœnicians.¹ Menelaus, too, gave Telemachus a similar bowl, the work of Hephæstus, a Grecian god, which originally belonged to Phædimus, king of the Sidonians.² We also read of *Cyprian breastplates*³ and *Egyptian caskets*,⁴ and the general impression we derive from Homer is that he regarded all such works of art as of foreign origin and imported by Phœnician traders.⁵

“Ἐνθα δὲ Φοίνικες ναυσίκλυτοι ἤλυθον ἄνδρες
τρῶεσσι, μυρὶ ἄγοντες ἀθύρματα νηὶ μελαινῇ.—*Odys.* xv. 416.

Thither came the Phœnicians, mariners renowned, greedy merchantmen, with all manner of gauds in a black ship.

In this necessarily brief and superficial notice of Homeric art, we have found it convenient to postpone to the last the consideration of by far the most important work described by the godlike poet—

THE SHIELD OF ACHILLES.

We gather from the words of Homer that the shield was round and composed of five concentric discs or layers (*πέντε πτυχές*), one above the other, diminishing in circumference, and thus affording four circular stripes and a small circle in the centre as fields for decoration :—

ποίει δὲ πρότιστα σάκος μέγα τε, στιβαρόν τε,
πάντοσε δαῖδ’ ἄλλων, περὶ δ’ ἄντυγα βάλλε φαεινὴν,
τρίπλακα, μαρμαρέην, ἐκ δ’ ἀργύρεον τελαμῶνα.
πέντε δ’ ἄρ’ αὐτοῦ ἔσαν σάκος πτύχες· αὐτὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ
ποίει δαῖδαλα πολλὰ ἰδύνῃσι πραπίδεσσιν.—*Iliad*, xviii. 473-482.

And first a shield he fashioned vast and strong,
With rich adornment ; circled with a rim,
Threefold, bright-gleaming, whence a silver belt
Depended ; of five folds the shield was formed,
And on its surface many a rare design
Of curious art his practised skill had wrought.—(Lord Derby.)

¹ *Iliad*, xxiii. 743.

² *Odys.* ix. 615.

³ *Iliad*, xi. 20.

⁴ *Odys.* iv. 125.

⁵ Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*.

The interpretation of the so-called ἀσπίδοποιτα, which begins with these lines, was matter of interest and discussion to ancient Greek philosophers, who saw in it an allegorical picture of the external world and human life.¹ In modern times the controversy—in which Scaliger, Perrault, Mdme. Dacier, Boivin, Caylus, Dug. Montvel, Heyne, our own Pope, Lessing, and others took an active part—has turned either on the possibility of the existence of such a shield, or on the mode in which the different scenes were arranged upon its surface. We can do little more than allude to the controversy on these points, and refer the reader to the works in which they are discussed at length.²

The general arrangement of scenes in the concentric stripes which has found most favour in the present day is that of Welcker, and it has been adopted with certain modifications by Professor Brunn in his very learned and elegant treatise on Homeric art.³ The objections, founded on the difficulty of representing the scenes and objects described by the poet in so limited a space, owe much of their apparent weight to a want of consideration of the essential difference between the art of poetry, which can represent a series of events succeeding one another in time, and the plastic art, which can only seize the situation of a single moment.

How essential this consideration is will be seen at once if we try to give an account in verse, or even in the plainest prose, of any picture or statue with which we are familiar. We shall find it absolutely impossible to confine ourselves to a bare description of the objects before us, and to say nothing of what they are designed to suggest. When we read that

Many ploughmen up and down
Their teams were driving, and as each attained
The limit of the field would one advance
And tender him a cup of generous wine—

we know that no such representation lies within the province of

¹ Heracl. *Ponticus Alleg. Hom.* 467. Philost. junr. *Imag.* x.

² Pope, *Iliad*, vol. i. p. 61, obs. Heyne, *Excurs.* iii. zu *Iliad* xviii.; Lessing's *Lao-*

coon, ch. xix. Welcker, *Zeitschrift für Gesch. d. a. Kunst*, i. 555. Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*. Friederichs, *Philostr. Bilder*, p. 225. ³ *Die Kunst bei Homer*.

plastic or pictorial art, but we readily understand that such successive actions may be vividly suggested by a skilful relief or picture, which forms, as it were, the text on which the poet enlarges after the manner of his art.

Brunn's arrangement is as follows: (1) The central *ὀμφαλὸς* or boss was occupied by *the earth, sky and ocean, the sun and moon, and several constellations*. (2) The second circle, or circular stripe which surrounded the boss, was divided into two parts, in one of which was represented *a city in time of peace*, and in the other *a city in time of war*. (3) The third ring contained four scenes, representing *the seasons*. (4) The fourth ring contained *choral dances*; and (5) the whole shield was encircled by the fifth, which represented *the river Oceanus*.

The subjects of the second and third circles may be subdivided into several scenes. In the city at peace we have: (a) *the banquet*; (b) *a marriage*; (c) *a lawsuit*. In the city at war we have also three distinct scenes: (a) *walls with their defenders*; (b) *an attack on the herds*; (c) *a battle between the two armies*. So in the circle with the four seasons: *Spring* is represented by ploughing, *Summer* by reaping; *Autumn* by the vintage; and *Winter* by the tending of cattle. The fourth circle shows a greater degree of homogeneity: it represents a *troop of dancers* divided into two semi-choirs (*οἱ δ' ὅτε—ἄλλοτε δὲ*) on either side. The river Oceanus appropriately surrounds these scenes of human life, as it was supposed to enclose the actual world on which they were enacted.¹

These subjects afford, moreover, additional and very valuable testimony to the connexion between early Greek and Assyrian art to which we have alluded above. Prof. Brunn² has pointed out the marvellous correspondence between the scenes portrayed on the Shield of Achilles and the Assyrian reliefs from the palace of Sennacherib, published in the second series of the publications of Layard. These last are not indeed earlier than 700 B.C., but considering the unchanging character of Oriental art, they may fairly be looked on as repetitions

¹ Similar descriptions of shields are found in Eurip. *Electra*, v. 452; Virg. *Æn.* viii. 925; Silius Ital. ii. 395.

² *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 12.

of earlier works. In T. 18 and T. 50 of Layard's work we have a town with its defenders. The sally from the gates, the raid on the herds, and the battle find their parallel in T. 31, 37, 38, 46, and so on. In fact there is scarcely any scene of the shield for which materials may not be found in existing Assyrian reliefs.¹ Even for the sun, moon, and constellations models exist, not indeed in the above-mentioned reliefs, but on Babylonian and Assyrian cylinders. For the concentric divisions of the shield a parallel has been found in the silver and gilt vessels discovered in the graves of Cervetri² (the ancient Caere, about 20 m. N.W. of Rome), referred to above, and in Cyprus;³ and in a similar one, now in the Louvre, which may be traced to Cyprus, where Egyptian, Asiatic and Greek influences met and mingled. We should hardly be justified indeed in assigning these and similar works to the Homeric age; yet there are no extant remains of antiquity which lie closer to Homeric art.

Of a similar character to the Shield of Achilles is

HESIOD'S 'SHIELD OF HERACLES,'

which has become a very apple of discord to philologists and archæologists. The clearest view of the subject may be obtained by reading the works of Hermann,⁴ Deiters,⁵ &c., on one side, and of O. Müller⁶ and Brunn⁷ on the other. The two last writers appear to me to have established two main propositions. First, that the description of Hesiod contains an artistic conception not inferior to that of Homer's Shield of Achilles; and secondly, that the Shield of Heracles shows a certain advance, corresponding in character and direction to that which may be traced in extant coins, vases and reliefs of the same period.⁸

¹ Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*. Conf. Mr. A. S. Murray's beautiful restoration of the 'Shield of Achilles' in his *History of Greek Sculpture*.

² Now in the Museo Gregoriano (Nos. 63-66) in Rome.

³ V. Cesnola's *Cyprus*.

⁴ Opusc. vi. 2. p. 204.

⁵ *De Hesiodi Scuti Descr.* Bonn, 1858.

⁶ *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1834, No. 110.

⁷ *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 17.

⁸ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst* Sec. 65. 3 and 345, 5.

The next most important link in the chain which connects Homeric decorative art with that of a later age is the well-known

CHEST OF CYPSELUS,

which is circumstantially described by Pausanias.¹ Cypselus, surnamed from the chest (κυψέλη) in which his mother Labda is said to have concealed him from the Bacchiadæ who sought his life, reigned in Corinth during the latter half of the seventh century B.C. The chest, which was supposed to be of a much earlier date, was placed in the Opisthodom (back-chamber) of the Heraion² (temple of Here) at Olympia, where Pausanias saw it. This writer ascribes the inscription on the chest to the poet Eumelus, who flourished about 760 B.C.; but it has been noticed that, in the reliefs, Heracles has his usual weapons (the club and bow), which were not generally given him before Ol. 30 (660 B.C.). The chest, which was of cedar, was oblong in form, three feet in height, and four feet broad, and rested on feet.³ As it was placed against the wall it was only ornamented with reliefs on three sides, or, as some maintain, only in front.⁴ The reliefs were partly carved in the cedar itself and partly on pieces of gold and ivory, which were fastened on to the surface of the chest. It was divided into five narrow stripes (ώραι), in the same way as the Homeric shield, only, of course, into parallel straight bands instead of concentric circles. Only the middle stripe contained a single scene, while the other four were occupied by from four to thirteen scenes each. In the first, third, and fifth stripes the figures moved from right to left; in the second and fourth, from left to right.⁵ We gather from the minute description of Pausanias that the same principle of *responsion* and *parallelism* prevailed in these reliefs as in earlier and later Greek works of a similar nature, and that prominence was given to the central and corner groups. Mythology, as might be expected, has already become the prevailing element in the subjects chosen. Inscriptions are very freely

¹ v. 17. 5. ² Chrysostom, *Orat.* ii. 45.

³ O. Jahn, *Popul. Aufsätze*, p. 202.

⁴ Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*.

⁵ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, Sec. 57.

introduced, and either give the names of the persons or describe in hexameters the scenes portrayed. These were written in the most ancient, partly Corinthian, characters,¹ and run sometimes from right to left, sometimes from left to right.

THE THRONE OF APOLLO AT AMYCLÆ.

Of the same nature was the throne of the Amyclæan Apollo, constructed by Bathycles of Magnesia in the time of Cræsus (548-540 B.C.). O. Müller² considers this to have been an example of that toreutic work which consisted of a kernel of wood covered with reliefs in gold and ivory; but it should rather be regarded as the commencement of the Chryselephantine art, which is a development of wood-carving. The work of Bathycles was still purely decorative, for his art was displayed not on the figure of Apollo himself, but on the so-called throne. This appears to have been not a seat, but a sort of choir—like that of a Christian cathedral in which the Chapter sits—in the middle of which stood the image of the God. This figure, which was a *σφυρήλατον* (wrought with the hammer) of bronze, forty-five feet high, was not, as Pausanias expressly tells us, the work of Bathycles, but archaic, 'made without artistic skill,³ and except that it had hands, face, and feet, in other respects like a bronze pillar.'

The reliefs, with which we are at present concerned, consisted of thirty-seven scenes on the three outsides of the so-called throne, fourteen on the insides, and three, more elaborate compositions, on the altar-shaped pedestal which contained the ashes of *Hyacinthus*. In the description of these reliefs we see a further advance in technical execution, and the same principle of responsion. The subjects are drawn from the 'great stream' of Homeric and Cyclic poetry, but contain still more of the mythical history of the Gods than the Chest of Cypselus. The character of these reliefs too is largely influenced by the close relation into which they are brought with whole round figures.

¹ O. Jahn, *Popul. Aufsätze*, 214.

² *Arch. d. Kunst*, Sec. 85.

³ Pausan. iii. 19. 1: οὐδὲν τέχῃ πεποιημένον. . . . τὸ λοιπὸν χαλκῷ κλονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένον.

THE THRONE OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

The next important work of a similar character is the throne of Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia, which is closely connected with the greatest plastic achievement of the greatest artist that the human race has produced. A description of this wonderful creation, in which cost and skill vied with one another for supremacy, is given by Pausanias.¹ We mention it here as the last link of a series of strictly decorative works which we have traced in their ever-increasing beauty from the age of Homer to that of Pheidias.

Figures of Nike (Victory) formed the four legs of the throne, and its arms were supported by *Sphinxes*. Below these again were *Apollo and Artemis* in the act of shooting the *Niobids*. The legs were united by four cross bars, on one of which stood *eight round figures*, representing the eight different contests introduced at Olympia by the Eleians. The spaces between the upper part of the legs of the throne and the cross bars were filled up by slabs of costly wood, which were adorned by the painter Panænus, a nephew of Pheidias, with representations of heroic myths. On the back of the throne, which rose above the head of the god, stood *the Charites* and *the Horæ*, whom the Epic poets call daughters of Zeus, and who had charge of the gates of Heaven. On the broad edge of the basis of the throne were groups of figures in relief: *Helios* (the sun god) *mounting his Chariot*; *Zeus and Here*; *Hephæstus and Charis*; *Hermes and Hestia* (Vesta). The centre of the composition was probably occupied by *Aphrodite*, who is welcomed by *Eros* (Love), and crowned by *Pothos* (Desire), as she rises from the sea. By these, her constant attendants, she is introduced to the *assembled Deities of Olympus*, who pay their glad homage to the new-born goddess, whose resistless power they all acknowledge.

¹ v. ii. 1. Conf. Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*.

CHAPTER IV.

THE GREEK TEMPLE.

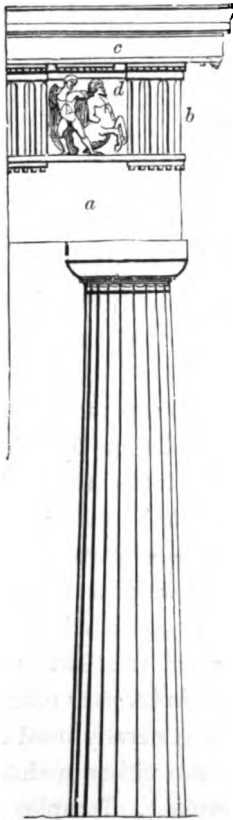
IT would be beside our present purpose to speak of Greek architecture as such, but Greek sculpture is so closely connected with its sister art, that some knowledge of the forms of the Greek temple—and especially of those parts in the adornment of which the painter and the sculptor were allowed to display their skill—is essential to the student of plastic art.

As the dwelling of a God, the temple was carefully separated from immediate neighbourhood and contact with profane buildings by being placed in a *τέμενος* (sacred enclosure) or on a raised platform of solid masonry—the so-called *στερεοβάτης*. The Doric temple, such as we see it in its perfection in the Temple of Pæstum, of which the probable date is about 600 B.C., was in the main the same as we find it in the zenith of Hellenic glory, in the age of Pericles. It consisted of an oblong *cella* (*νεώς, σηκός*), in which stood the image of the God; the *proneos* (*προνώος, πρόδομος*), (vestibule); and the *opisthodomos* (back-chamber), which was entered from the rear and was generally used as a treasure-house. In its simpler form the temple was either without columns (*ἄστυλος*) or had them only in front (*πρόστυλος*). Temples of a costlier style had columns both on the east and west fronts (*ἀμφιπρόστυλος*) or on all four sides (*περίπτερος*), and some were even surrounded by a double row of columns (*δίπτερος*). Another variety, of which we have an example in the Parthenon, had a double row of columns at each end, and only one row on each of the longer sides.

Resting immediately on the pillars, and connecting them firmly together, was the heavy *architrave* or *epistyle* (fig. 10, *a*), the surface of which was generally plain and smooth, and not adorned with reliefs,

except, perhaps, in the case of the primitive Temple of Assos. In theory the epistyle was one long beam, but in reality it consisted of short slabs, which were united above the centre of each column. On the epistyle, as intermediate member, rested the beams which ran from end to end,

FIG. 10.



DORIC PILLAR.

and from side to side, of the whole building, intersecting one another and forming the flat interior roof of the temple. The quadrangular spaces between these beams were filled with thin slabs of marble. In the earliest period these cross-beams were fashioned of wood, and the ends were visible above the epistyle.¹ But in stone (Doric) architecture they were concealed by the so-called *triglyphs*² (fig. 10, *b*), cubic blocks of stone, which were placed above the joinings of the short beams of the epistyle, and also in the centre of the intercolumnia (spaces between the columns) and served as supports of the roof-beam or *cornice* (*γείσων*), (fig. 10, *c*). The rectangular spaces between the triglyphs, called *metopes* (fig. 10, *d*) (*μέτοποι*, *intertignia*), were nearly square, and ranged in size from two to four feet in height, according to the size of the temples. They were originally left open, as we see from a passage in Euripides,³ where Pylades directs Orestes to enter the temple through these openings (*εἰσω τριγλύφων ὅποι κενόν*). It was customary in earlier times to place offerings—vases, tripods, &c.—in the metopes, but at a later period they were closed with slabs of stone, and ornamented first by

the painter and subsequently by the sculptor. This series of alternate triglyphs and metopes formed the beautiful Doric frieze.

On the triglyphs, or short pillars, as we have already said, rested the lower horizontal beam of the triangular, or gable, end of the roof.

¹ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, Sec. 52.

² So called from the three grooves in them.

³ *Iphig. in Taur.* 113.

The upper part of this beam (*γείσον*) is bordered by a mæander stripe, by the *cymation* (*κυμάτιον*, wave-shaped moulding) and the *abacus*, which two last form the greatly projecting *cornice*. And lastly the whole building is covered by two gently inclined planes, which spread themselves over it like the protecting wings of a mother-bird (hence sometimes called *ἀετός*, *ἀέτωμα*),¹ and form, with the horizontal line of the *entablature* or *geison*, a triangular space, the so-called *pediment*. This pediment or *aetos* (*τύμπανον*, tympanum fastigii) was the chief field of architectural sculpture, on which, as on the brow of the building, its character was impressed by the artist.

We have spoken hitherto of the Doric order of architecture, one of the principal characteristics of which is the division of the frieze into alternate triglyphs and metopes. In speaking of the Ionic order, it will only be necessary to notice those peculiarities by which the character of the plastic ornament is affected. The Ionic entablature, as is well known to the reader, has no triglyphs or metopes. In this order the frieze runs between the epistyle and the geison in one continuous, unbroken band round the whole building, and therefore requires a very different kind of composition to that by which the metope is adorned. We have fortunately the finest examples of ornamented friezes of both the Doric and Ionic order in the same temple—the Parthenon,—of which we shall have to speak at length hereafter.

In the interior of the building sculpture was employed, with less subserviency to architectural rules, in fashioning the image of the presiding deity, from whom the temple derived its sanctity, and to whom, in the best periods at least, the plastic decorations more or less directly referred. The inner wall of the cella too, which was regarded rather as a carpet suspended from the architrave than an integral part of the solid building sometimes received the appropriate ornament of a painted or sculptured frieze by way of border.

¹ The origin of this appellation is doubtful. Stackelberg says, '*ἀετός*, *ἀέτωμα*, because the Corinthians placed on the pediment an eagle with extended wings, as the Egyptians placed a hawk (*ἰέραξ*) over the entrance of their temples.'

τίς γάρ . . .
ἢ θεῶν ῥαοῖσιν οἰωνῶν βασιλέα διδυμον
ἐπέθηκε;—Pindar, *Ol.* xiii. 21.

'Who' (but the Corinthians) 'placed the double king of the birds in the temples of the gods?' Conf. O. Müller, *Dor.* ii. p. 258.

The parts of the Greek temple, therefore, which sculpture was invited to adorn, and to which our attention will be almost exclusively confined, are the *pediment*, the *metopes* of the Doric frieze, and the *continuous Ionic frieze*, which in the Parthenon ran round the top of the outside of the cella. And it is important to remember that the most precious works of art which have come down to us formed the ornaments of these very fields.

CHAPTER V.

FOUNDERS OF THE EARLIEST SCHOOL OF
SCULPTURE IN GREECE.

Ol. 20-70 (B.C. 700-500.)

BETWEEN the age of Homer and the first records of individual artists lies what appears to us a great blank, though we feel sure that during this period the substructure of the great edifice of plastic art was being slowly laid. It is not until the beginning of the sixth century B.C. that we meet with the names of individuals. Down to this period art was entirely in the hands of guilds, whose members practised their art as a handicraft, and were called by the general name of Dædalids. It is of course impossible to assign any exact dates to the names of artists which first meet our eyes in history, but we may refer them pretty confidently to the seventh century B.C. Among these was

DIBUTADES OF SICYON,

who resided and worked at Corinth, which was very early renowned for its ceramic art. To him Pliny seems to attribute the invention of moulding in clay—the true *plastic* art; although his words¹ need not bear this meaning, as he only says that Dibutades was the first who made *likenesses* in clay. He then relates the well-known story that Dibutades hit upon this invention (*operâ filiæ*) ‘by the help of his

¹ *N. H.* xxxv. 151; ‘Terræ fingere ex argilla *similitudines* Butades Sicyonius figulus primus invenit Corinthi.’

daughter,' who traced the outline of her departing lover's shadow on the wall, which her father filled up with clay and thus formed the first relief. This work of the first great artist, Love, was preserved in the Nymphæum at Corinth down to the time of Mummius. Pliny also relates that Dibutades first mingled red earth with the clay, and formed the masks which were fixed at the end of the lowest hollow tiles on the roofs of temples, and were called *prostypa*, *ectypa* (antefixa).¹

GLAUCUS OF CHIOS.

According to the most ancient process, statues of metal were made of separate plates beaten out by the hammer, and then riveted together by nails. Among the most important inventions of this early period is that of *soldering*² metals,³ which is attributed to Glaucus of Chios. Suidas and Stephanus of Byzantium call him a Samian, and the latter author and Eusebius refer him to Ol. 22 (692 B.C.), while others make him contemporary with Alyattes (618-560 B.C.). This monarch consecrated a *silver crater* at Delphi after his illness, for which Glaucus made an *iron stand* (*ὑποκρητηρίδεον σιδήρεον κολλητόν*).⁴ These dates cannot, of course, be reconciled, and we must remember that the iron stand may have been inherited by Alyattes, and that it was not unusual to offer older works in the temples of the Gods.

A still more important invention was that of casting statues in bronze, attributed to

RHÆCUS AND THEODORUS OF SAMOS.

The same difficulty recurs with regard to the date of Theodorus, whom Brunn and others place about Ol. 50 (580 B.C.). Ottfried Müller⁵ supposes that Rhæcus, son of Phileas, the first architect of

¹ xxxv. 152. ² Herod. i. 25. Pausan. x. 16. 1.

³ Only iron (*σίδηρος*), not bronze.

⁴ *Kunst bei Homer*, 29.

⁵ *Arch. d. Kunst*, Sec. 60.

the enormous Temple of Here at Samos,¹ was the inventor of the art of casting metals, and father of the first Theodorus and Telecles, who assisted him in building the Heræon; and that Telecles had a son, the second Theodorus, who made a *silver crater* for Cræsus, and a *golden crater* for the Persian king. Pausanias says that he saw a statue of a woman by Rhœcus in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus which the Ephesians called *Night*. Diodorus Siculus,² who evidently thinks that the Greek artists learned of the Egyptians, relates that Theodorus (the elder?) made *half a xoanon*, or wooden image, of *Apollo* at Ephesus, and Telecles the other half at Samos, and that the two halves when brought together coincided exactly, and formed a complete statue. From this tale it was inferred that they worked according to a fixed Egyptian canon. The fatal *ring of Polycrates* was also attributed to Theodorus,³ but whether it was made for the tyrant or only acquired by him, we have no means of judging. Of Theodorus (the elder?) Pausanias⁴ expressly states that he knew of no bronze works by him. It is probably, therefore, of the younger that Pliny⁵ is speaking when he says that Theodorus made *an image of himself* in bronze renowned for its extraordinary likeness and its small size. This miniature held a file in the right hand, and with three fingers of the left a *four-horse chariot* ('quadrigulam'), so small that it was covered by the wings of *an artificial fly*, which he also made and placed near it.

The first working of marble, on which the development of the sculptor's art so much depended, is connected with the family of *Melas of Chios* (660-630 B.C.). Melas himself and his son Micciades are for us mere names accidentally preserved by Pliny alone⁶ when speaking of their more famous descendants.

ARCHERMUS, BOUPALUS, AND ATHENNIS.

Ol. 60 (B.C. 540).

Archermus (called also Anthermus and Archennus) is mentioned by the Scholiast of Aristophanes⁷ as the first who gave wings to the

¹ Herod. iii. 60. ² Pausan. viii. 14. 8. ³ *N. H.* xxxiv. 83. ⁴ *Aves*, v. 573 (ed. Dindorf).
⁵ i. 98. ⁶ x. 38. 5. ⁷ *Ibid.* xxxvi. 11.

image of *Nike*. Pausanias¹ says that both at Smyrna, in the Temple of Nemesis (ἐν τῇ ἱερῇ τῶν Νεμέσεων), and at Pergamum, in the chamber of Attalus (ἐν τῇ Ἀττάλου θαλάμῳ), there were *Charites* (Graces) clothed, no doubt, according to the ancient practice, and of marble, by these artists. Boupalus and Athennis, as the story goes, caricatured the deformed poet Hipponax,² who revenged himself by his bitter iambics, and drove his enemies to despair and suicide. Pliny³ regards the latter part of the story as false, since Boupalus at a later period made statues for neighbouring islands, and especially for Chios, which was said to be renowned 'not only for its vines, but for the works of the sons of Archermus.' Boupalus also made a statue of *Fortune* (Τύχη), and was the first, according to Pliny, to place the πόλος⁴ on her head, and in her hand the horn of Amaltheia, the goat-nurse of Zeus. His other works were a statue of *Artemis* at Lasos in Crete, and the *mask of Artemis* at Chios, which was placed high on the wall of the Temple, and 'wore a sad expression to those who were entering the sacred edifice and a joyful one to those who were departing.'⁵

The genius and skill of these artists are attested by the fact that their works were placed by the Emperor Augustus in the gable (*in fastigio*) of the Temple of the Palatine Apollo in Rome; for, however strong his antiquarian zeal, the great Emperor is not considered to have been wanting in taste.

DIPÆNUS AND SCYLLIS,

Ol. 50, B.C. 558?

the next important names in the line of early sculptors, transfer our attention to Crete. They are called sons, i.e. pupils, or of the school, of Dædalus. Pliny⁶ refers them to the 50th Ol. (580 B.C.), and Brunn⁷ thinks that they began to work after that date. Pausanias⁸ saw an ἄγαλμα of *Athene* by them in her temple at Cleonæ, and

¹ ix. 35. 6.

² Suidas, s. v. Hipponax.

³ N. H. xxxvi. 12.

⁴ The cylinder as symbol of the pole or sky.

⁵ Plin. N. H. xxxvi. 13.

⁶ Ibid. xxxvi. 9.

⁷ Kunst bei Homer, p. 47.

⁸ ii. 15. 1.

Pliny says that Argos, Cleonæ and Ambracia were full (*refertæ*) of their works, as well as Sicyon, for which town they made temple-images of *Apollo*, *Artemis*, *Heracles*, and *Athene*.¹

According to an interesting notice in the 'History of Armenia,' by Moses of Chorene,² a statue of *Heracles*, of gilt bronze! by these artists was found by Cyrus in the booty which he took from Cræsus. Considering the active intercourse which already existed between Greece and Asia, it is by no means necessary to infer that these artists resided in Asia. Among their wooden statues—for as true Dædalids they also worked in wood and ivory—was an interesting group at Argos of *Castor and Polydeuces* (Pollux), their sons *Anaxis* and *Mnasinos*, their wives *Hilæira* and *Phæbe*, and their *horses*, in which the artists employed not only common wood, but ebony and ivory.³

They also made a statue of *Heracles* for Tiryns, and a *xoanon* of the Munychian *Artemis* for Sicyon.⁴ Cedrenus⁵ relates that in the palace of Lausus at Constantinople there was an image of *Athene* four ells high, by Dipænus and Scyllis, made of 'emerald stone' (*ἐκ λίθου σμαράγδου, aqua marina*?), which Sesostris, King of Egypt, sent as a present to Cleobulus, Tyrant of Lindos.

Dipænus and Scyllis are the more important in the history of art because they formed a school outside their own family, which flourished through several generations. The Spartans, we know, derived their first acquaintance with art from Crete, and among the first pupils of Dipænus and Scyllis we find two Spartans—

HEGYLOS AND HIS SON THEOCLES,

Ol. 57. 3, B.C. 550?

who flourished about the middle of the sixth century B.C. They made a group of *Heracles and the Hesperides* in cedar wood, with

¹ *N. H.* xxxvi. 14. Pliny relates a strange story of their quarrel with the Sicyonians, and the intervention of the Gods, which bears witness to the high position held by the artist at this period.

² *ii.* 11, p. 103 (ed. Whiston, London,

1736). Conf. O. Müller, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 634.

³ Pausan. ii. 22. 5.

⁴ Clemens Alexandr. *Protrept.* iv. p. 42.

⁵ *Hist.* p. 322 B, apud Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, p. 94.

some of its details in ivory and gold, for the Treasury of the Epidamnians at Olympia.¹

The development of Dædalian wood-carving into the chryselephantine (gold ivory) work of a later period was further promoted by two Lacedæmonians of the same school—

DONTAS AND DORYCLEIDAS,²

Ol. 57. 3, B.C. 550?

who combined cedar with ivory and gold in a group of *Heracles and the River-god Achelous* contending for the possession of Deianeira in presence of Zeus and Athene. The nationality of two other artists of this school,

TECTÆUS AND ANGELION,

Ol. 58. 1, B.C. 548?

is unknown.³ Plutarch⁴ describes a statue of the Delian *Apollo* by them, holding a bow in his right hand, and with the three *Charites* on the left bearing the lyre, the flute, and the pipe (σὺργξ).⁵

CLEARCHUS OF RHEGIUM,

Ol. 70, B.C. 500?

is also called a pupil of Dipœnus and Scyllis, although some regarded him as a disciple of Dædalus himself. His chief work was a statue of *Zeus ὕπατος* (the supreme), in the Temple of Athene Chalciœcus (Athene of the Brazen House) in Sparta, which, although the art of casting metals had been long known, appears to have been a *sphyrelaton* of the oldest fashion. Pausanias calls it 'the oldest of bronze statues,'⁶ and yet immediately afterwards he states that its author was a pupil of Dipœnus and Scyllis! In all probability, Clearchus purposely

¹ Pausan. v. 17. 1.

² Ibid. vi. 19. 12.

³ Ibid. ii. 32. 5.

⁴ *De Mus.* 14.

⁵ Copied on a gem (Milin, *Gall. Mythol.* 33. 474), and on coins of Athens, Combe,

N. M. Br. 7-9. Conf. Müller and Wieseler, *Denkm. d. a. Kunst*, ii. 126. There is a curious *sphyrelaton* statuette in the Vase-room of the Brit. Mus.

⁶ iii. 17. 6.

imitated the ancient process to give his work an air of greater antiquity and holiness.

BATHYCLES OF MAGNESIA,

whose great work, *the Throne of the Amyclean Apollo*,¹ has been mentioned above, is also classed as a disciple of Dipœnus and Scyllis.

The name of

SMILIS OF ÆGINA,

Ol. 50, B.C. 580?

from its real or apparent connexion with *σμίλη*, a sculptor's chisel, is supposed to be that of a mythical personage, representing the collective art of wood-carving in Ægina, as Dædalus did in Athens. Pausanias² speaks of him as a real person, contemporary with Dædalus, but not equal to him in fame. The same writer describes a chryselephantine group by him of *the Horæ* seated on thrones in the Heraion (Temple of Hêrê) at Olympia, near which stood a figure of their mother, *Themis*, by Dorycleidas.³ The most celebrated work of Smilis was his statue of *Hêrê* in the Heraion at Samos, which succeeded the figure introduced by Procles at the time of the Ionian migration, as a substitute for the sacred symbolic beam or board (*σανίς*).⁴

ENDÆUS OF ATHENS,

Ol. 70, B.C. 500?

if we are to believe Pausanias, followed Dædalus in his flight to Crete after the murder of Kalos (Talôs, Perdix), but he probably flourished about Ol. 70 (B.C. 500), as is testified by an inscription which bears his name.⁵ His date is, however, a matter of dispute, and no reliance can be placed on the testimony of Pausanias. Among the works ascribed to

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 41.

² vii. 4. 4 : *δῶξεν δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὸ ἴσον ἀφίκετο.*

³ v. 17. 1.

⁴ Clemens Alexandr. *Protrept.* iv. p. 40 (ed.

Potter), and Eusebius, *Præp. Evang.* iii. 8.

⁵ Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 44. Ulrichs (*Skopas*, p. 246), in controversy with Brunn, maintains that he flourished as early as Ol. 52.

Endœus are a xoanon of *Athene*, on a throne, in the Acropolis at Athens, on which was inscribed that it was 'the work of Endœus and the offering of Callias'; a colossal wooden statue of *Athene Polias* at Erythræ in Ionia, near the island of Chios, with a distaff in each hand, and the *πόλος* on her head; a statue of *Athene Alca*,¹ entirely of ivory, which Augustus afterwards transferred to his forum at Rome,² and an image of the *Ephesian Artemis* at Ephesus.³

Passing over several artists of less note, probably belonging to this period, mentioned by Tatian, Zenobius, Clemens Alexandrinus, and others, we have still to notice

GITIADAS OF SPARTA,

Ol. 66, B.C. 516?

whom Brunn regards as a contemporary of Callon, with whom he was employed in making tripods at Amyclæ.⁴ Gitiadas appears in history as an architect and sculptor, and author of a hymn to *Athene*.⁵ He constructed or restored the Temple of *Athene Poliouchos* (guardian of the city) at Sparta, and lined the interior with plates of brass, whence, as some suppose, the goddess received the name '*of the Brazen House*' (chalcioecus), although the custom was of much older date.⁶ Gitiadas made the temple-image of the goddess, of which we probably have a copy on old Spartan coins.⁷ He also adorned the brazen plates of the temple with reliefs, or rather *graphite* designs, of various mythological subjects, as the '*Labours of Heracles*,' the '*Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus by Castor and Polydeuces*,' and other adventures of the Dioscuri; '*Hephæstus loosing his mother Here from her Bonds*'; '*Nymphs presenting Perseus with the Winged Sandals and Helmet for his Expedition against Medusa*'; '*the Birth of Athene*'; '*Poseidon and Amphitrite*,' &c.⁸

¹ So called either from Aleus, king of Tegea, who built her a temple, or from ἀλέη (*effugium*). Statius, *Theb.* 4. 228: '*Templumque Aleæ nemorale Minervæ.*'

² Pausan. viii. 46. 4.

³ Athenagoras, *Leg. pro Christ.* 14, p. 61 (ed. Dechair).

⁴ Pausan. iii. 18. 7. Bursian and others place him earlier. For the discussion con-

sult Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, p. 49. Conf. O. Jahn, *Zeitschr. für Philol.* 73, 513.

⁵ Pausan. iii. 17. 2.

⁶ Vide *supra*. Conf. Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, 50.

⁷ O. Jahn, *De Antiq. Minervæ Simulacris Atticis*, Bonn, 1866, Taf. 3, No. 5.

⁸ Pausan. iii. 17. 3.

CHAPTER VI.

EXTANT WORKS OF ARCHAIC ART.

(SEVENTH AND SIXTH CENTURIES, B.C.)

IN primitive art, as we have seen, the different deities were distinguished from one another by attributes of various kinds indicative of their peculiar character and functions. But as artistic insight and technical skill increased, the artist rose to a higher conception of his mission, and strove to represent by form, attitude, and expression the individuality of his subject. And when once the ideal type of a god or hero had been grasped by genius, and embodied by skill, it was not lightly changed, but in all the modifications which it underwent retained its essential identity.

Of the works of art of which we have spoken above not one, perhaps, is to be found among the existing monuments of antiquity. We possess, however, a considerable number of archaic statues from various parts of Greece and the Greek islands—from Orchomenos, Megara, Thera, Tenea, and Naxos—which greatly aid us in forming an idea of the archaic style of the seventh and sixth centuries before the Christian era. Among the best known of these are the so-called *Apollo of Thera*, now at Athens, the *Apollo of Tenea* at Munich, and the '*Strangford*' *Apollo*, in the British Museum, which, though they differ in age and merit, bear a very close resemblance in general type and style.

THE APOLLO OF THERA

was found in the island of Thera (*hodie* Santorini), and was acquired in 1836 for the Thesion at Athens. This figure is about the size of

life, and in the main well preserved, considering its great age ; but the legs from the knee downwards are wanting, and the tip of the nose is injured. The head, which is carved from a separate block of marble, and joined to the body by iron stanchions, is set straight and erect on the shoulders, without the slightest inclination to the right or left. The trunk, though somewhat clumsy and too full and gross in parts, is tolerably correct in outline ; the breast bones are strongly marked, but the back is neglected and without anatomical detail, which the artist seems as yet incapable of giving. The whole attitude is erect, like that of a soldier at the word 'attention !' but the hands, which are pressed to the sides, are closed, with the thumbs to the front. The legs are close together, the left, however, being somewhat advanced, though the figure is not walking but standing. It rests equally on both feet, the soles of which are flat on the ground from heel to toe, which is one of the most prominent characteristics of the ancient style. The expression of the face is comical, not to say idiotic ; the eyes, which lie obliquely, are full and protruding, the eyebrows highly arched, the mouth wide, with thick lips closely pressed together, and the cheeks drawn into a smirk. The hair is carefully arranged in small snail-like curls round the forehead from ear to ear, behind which a broad band passes round the back of the head, and the abundant hair is combed in a wavy mass over the neck, gradually widening down the back until it almost reaches from shoulder to shoulder. Colour appears to have been used both on the hair and the band by which it was confined. Another well-known and interesting example of the same general type, but superior execution, is the

APOLLO OF TENEA

(Fig. 11),

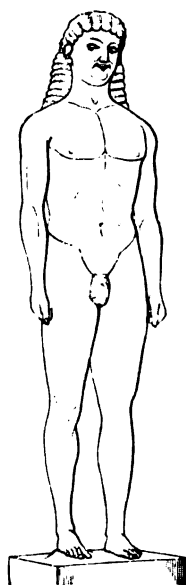
at Munich, so called from the place where it was discovered, the site of which is occupied by the village of Attiki, about seven miles from Corinth.¹ This celebrated figure, which shows a considerable advance

¹ Conf. '*Statua Votiva di Bronzo*' du Style Grec. Arch. in Gerhard, *Mon. Ind.* i. No. 58.

on the Apollo of Thera, both in anatomical knowledge and technical skill, is slim and rigid, every muscle being strained and stiffened to the utmost, as is especially observable at the knee. The general treatment of the eyes, hair, and mouth are the same as in the Theraean figure but less coarse and clumsy. The corners of the mouth are drawn up into the same vacant smile, and the artist has tried to give additional expression to the face by impressing a dimple on the chin.

In both these statues the forehead is receding, and the eyeballs full and protruding. There is no trace of what we call the ideal Greek type, and least of all in the most characteristic feature, the nose, which is large and very prominent. It is impossible not to recognise in these figures the influence of Egyptian models, but there is no slavish adherence to a fixed immutable canon, but everywhere signs of an honest endeavour to follow nature. They are indeed in one sense failures, and as independent and isolated works of art would deserve little attention; but taken in their connexion with the past and future of Greek art, they are full of interest and instruction. The sharp angular forms of these statues remind us that they follow hard upon wood carving, and partake largely of the character of wooden images. We see that the artist is working on his own observation of the human form, and that where he fails, it is for want not of freedom of mind or the absence of high aims, but of knowledge and technical skill. He fails, but how different are his faults and failures from those of the Egyptian or Etruscan sculptor! There is no future in the Egyptian statue; the artisan who produced it is not working by his own lights, and striving to do his very best in his own way, but the skilful bondman working in fetters for a task-master, and producing eternal repetitions of an unchanging type—the lifeless monsters of hieratic prescription. The next step in the gradual development of the Apollo type is perhaps

FIG. II.

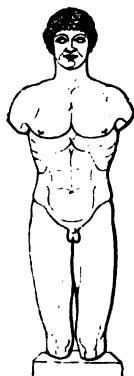


APOLLO OF TENEÆ.

THE 'STRANGFORD' APOLLO,

in the British Museum (fig. 12), which strongly resembles the Theræan and Tenean figures, but shows a very marked superiority over both in the organic details, and more especially in the treatment of the nude surfaces. Brunn¹ considers it as belonging to the second class of Apollo types, in which the arms are no longer close to the sides. He truly remarks that in this statue we see, instead of the vagueness of preceding work, an accurate knowledge of forms founded on closer

FIG. 12.



THE
'STRANGFORD'
APOLLO.

observation. The bones of the skeleton are more correctly given, and over this framework the system of muscles is spread with considerable accuracy and clearness. Yet the artist wisely keeps within his proper bounds, never setting himself a task beyond his limited powers. He only represents the bones and muscles necessary for the representation of active life; but in doing thus much *well* he gives to Greek art its systematic and methodical foundation. These and similar works are of the greatest value to the student of art-history, as enabling him to get an idea of the archaic style of Canachus, Callon, and Hegesias.

Statues of a similar type have been discovered in other parts of Greece, among which we may mention an unfinished figure at Naxos, another at Megara, and a third at Orchomenus,² all of which bear a strong resemblance to the Theræan Apollo. There are others, probably of a later period, which differ from those described above chiefly in the position of the arms, which are no longer fixed to the sides but stretched out as if to hold or receive some offering. An example of this series is a *colossal figure, thirty-four feet high*, still to be seen in a quarry at Naxos, and a beautiful *bronze statue* in the Louvre at Paris (fig. 13), found at Piombino, which last,

¹ *Sitzung d. Phil. Classe d. Kön. baier. Acad. in Münch.* Nov. 2, 1872.

² *Annal. d. Inst.* 1861, Taf. E.

however, is of a much later period than the foregoing.¹ Helbig² describes an archaic head of Pentelican marble in the Villa Ludovisi, which he compares with the Apollo of Canachus and the Strangford Apollo. It appears to me to be of a later date, and to betray marks of an affected archaism. Pausanias³ describes a statue of *Arrachion* the Pancratiast,⁴ who gained two victories at Olympia in the 50th Ol. (564 B.C.), which must have closely resembled the Apollo of Tenea, and was executed about the same time. 'It was,' he says, 'archaic in other respects, and especially in its "σχῆμα" (type)'; the feet not far apart, and the hands hanging down close to the sides as far as the buttocks (*ἄχρι τῶν γλουτῶν*). This notice might seem to throw doubts on the correctness of the appellation Apollo as applied to the Theræan and Tenean figures;⁵ but statues of mere mortals were extremely rare at this period, while those of Apollo, who was the principal deity of Tenea,⁶ were very numerous. Dipœnus and Scyllis made a statue of this god on marble, and however distinguished Arrachion may have been, it is hardly probable that even an Olympian victor would be represented with long flowing hair, which was one of the most notable characteristics of Apollo.

FIG. 13.



THE RELIEF STYLE.

As many of the very earliest and most interesting remains of Greek art are not round figures but *Reliefs*, it may be well to say a

¹ Lübke, *Hist. of Sc.* p. 87.

² *Ann. d. Inst.* 1874, p. 39. * viii. 40. 1.

⁴ Victor in the Pancration, which included wrestling and boxing.

⁵ This controversy has been revived by Dr. Waldstein (in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i.), who thinks it 'not improbable that the so-called Strangford "Apollo" . . . may be a copy of the statue of Theagenes' by Glaucus the Æginetan. I am not convinced

by his arguments against the name Apollo, which is generally given to these statues, but he is quite right in saying that the so-called *Apollo on the omphalos* in the Patissia Museum at Athens cannot be brought forward as an argument for the appellation. I convinced myself when at Athens that the Apollo and the omphalos have no connexion with one another.

⁶ Pausan. ii. 5. 4.

few words in this place on the nature and peculiarities of the relief style in general.

In its origin the *Bas-relief* was little more than an outline or *silhouette*, in which very little attention was paid to the filling up of the interior spaces. It partakes to a certain extent of the nature both of painting and sculpture, and in the reliefs of Egypt and Assyria the attempt is made, as it were, to paint in stone. But when the Greeks turned their attention to this branch of plastic art, they saw its peculiar advantages and defects, and wisely confined it within the narrow bounds in which alone it can work with good effect. The earliest Greek reliefs retain to a certain extent the original character of *silhouettes*. They do not resemble complete figures cut in halves and laid upon a flat surface, such as we see at a later period, especially in Rome. They are produced by cutting away the stone round the outline of the figures to be represented, and leaving their surface flat, and with their sides nearly at right angles to the plane from which they stand out. This primitive style was soon succeeded by one in which greater roundness was given to the figures, and more attention paid to the details within the outlines ; but during the whole of the best period the Greek reliefs retained a certain flatness by which they are easily distinguished from those of a later age.

It is evident that the true relief can have no real middle or back ground, in the proper sense of the words, but only an ideal one. A real back-ground would require round figures, separated from the surface, and would altogether change the character of the relief-style. This absence of middle and back-ground necessitates the filling up, as far as possible, of the whole space which the relief is intended to adorn ; and this necessity, again, gives rise to the most marked peculiarity and, at first sight, the greatest fault, of this branch of plastic art, the so-called *Isocephalism* (equality of height in the heads)—i.e. the practice of making all the figures, whether sitting or standing, on foot, in chariot or on horseback, with their heads on the same level. When the principle of *isocephalism* is violated, we generally see that the artist has been influenced by higher considerations.

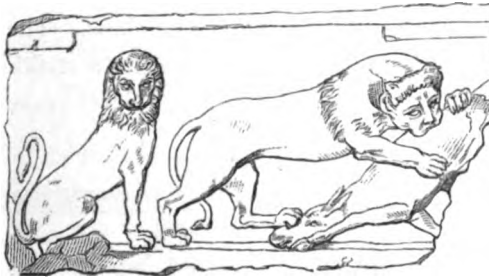
The relief-style, as we see both in Assyrian and very ancient Greek examples, was developed at an earlier period than statuary

proper ; and the reason is apparent. The temple-images of the Gods, which were in early times almost the sole subjects of sculpture, were preserved in their primitive rudeness by the reverential awe of the artist, and, still more, of the public for whose adoration they were fashioned. In the relief, on the other hand, which generally represented a lower class of subjects, such as heroes, mere mortals, and scenes of real life, the artist was less trammelled by tradition and convention.

RELIEFS FROM THE TEMPLE OF ASSOS.

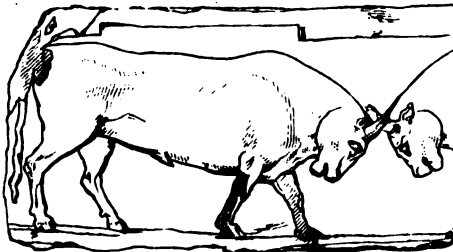
Among the very earliest works of this nature which have been preserved are the reliefs discovered in the beginning of the present

FIG. 14.



LION DEVOURING DEER.

FIG. 15.

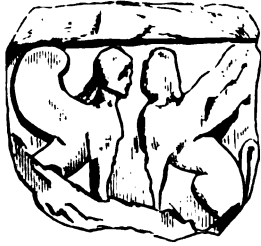


BULLS BUTTING.

century among the ruins of a *Doric temple at Assos* in the Troad, and acquired in 1838 by M. Raoul Rochette for the Museum in the

Louvre. Contrary to the usual practice of the Greeks, who only adorned what may be called the *inactive* architectural members of a building, these reliefs seem to have been carved on the granite epistyle or architrave, as there are indications of the *abacus* and the *regulæ*

FIG. 16.



SPHINXES.

FIG. 17.



CENTAUR.

of the triglyphs at the upper edge of the slabs. The work is of the rudest and most primitive character, bearing a striking resemblance in style to the paintings on the earliest Greek vases. The scenes

FIG. 18.



BANQUET.

depicted are *Lions devouring Stags* (fig. 14); *Bulls butting* each other with their horns (fig. 15); *Sphinxes* (fig. 16); *Centaurs* at full gallop (fig. 17); *Banqueters RECLINING* at table (fig. 18), according to the post-Homeric custom derived from the East;¹ and *Heracles in contest with a Triton* (fig. 19). Behind the Triton, on the left side of the slab, are

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, &c. p. 9. Conf. Assyrian reliefs in British Museum.

female figures gesticulating with their arms, supposed to be *Nereids* terrified by Heracles' attack on the fish-tailed demon. Some of the scenes, and especially the contest of the beasts, remind us strongly of Assyrian reliefs, and the scenes depicted on the earliest Greek vases,¹ the decorations of which are decidedly oriental in character. There is some difficulty in assigning a date to these reliefs, as we have only internal evidence to guide us. The style is in the highest degree archaic, and if Heracles is really portrayed on one of the slabs (fig. 19), the fact that he is without his lion's skin, which became his constant attribute at the end of the 7th century B.C., would afford very strong evidence of the high antiquity of the work.² On the other hand, we

FIG. 19.



HERACLES, TRITON AND NEREIDS.

must observe that the Centaurs have *four horse's legs*, whereas in the earliest types of these monsters, the forelegs were human.³ Heracles has a quiver on his back, and the Triton holds something in his left hand, perhaps a horn.

It is difficult to trace any connexion between the different scenes ; a fact which is also characteristic of the childishness of primitive art, and strengthens our conviction of the high antiquity of the work before us. The principle of isocephalism referred to above is strictly preserved in the mythical scenes at the expense of extraordinary violations of the natural and relative proportions.⁴ The small female figures, or Nereids,

¹ Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, Taf. cxi. cxv. Brönsted, '32 Vasen,' *Ann. d. Inst.* vol. xiii. Jahrg. 1841. Conf. Prokesch, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, 1832, ii. p. 59 *der Anzeigen*, for an account of another fragment of this relief.

² Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 9. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, ii. Taf. iii. p. 95.

³ Vide *supra*, p. 102.

⁴ Conf. Michaelis, *Annali d. Inst.* tav. d'Agg. B.

are less than half the size of Heracles and the Triton, who are therefore stretched out at full length to bring their heads on a level with those of the sea-nymphs. But even here, and still more so in reliefs of a nobler style, adherence to natural proportions would be intolerable.¹

THE MOST ANCIENT METOPES FROM THE TEMPLE OF SELINUS.

Of nearly equal antiquity with the reliefs of Assos are *three metopes* discovered in 1822 by the English architects, William Harris and Samuel Angell, among the ruins of the middle and oldest temple

FIG. 20.



PERSEUS AND MEDUSA.

on the Acropolis of Selinus in Sicily. The first of these reliefs, which are now at Palermo, has been pieced together from thirty-two fragments in the form of a metope (4 feet 10 inches by 3 feet 7 inches), and represents *Perseus cutting off the Head of Medusa* (fig. 20), while Pallas watches the operation with apparent satisfaction. The dress of the hero looks like a mere apron, but may possibly be the lower part of a short tunic, the upper part of which was represented by colour. His boots, with the long-curved peaks, are not, as some suppose, the

winged sandals given him by the Nymphs, but the boots in general use at that period. On his head he has the hat (*κρυμῆ*) of Hermes. Medusa has fallen on one knee, and remains perfectly passive, not to say contented, while her conqueror quietly severs her head from her body. In her arms she tenderly holds the figure of a small horse, *Pegasus*,

¹ Among the Xanthian marbles of the British Museum are an apparently archaic frieze of Satyrs and beasts, and reliefs from a tomb of the same period, representing a procession, which in some parts resemble

the Assos reliefs. Prachov, *Antiq. Xanthiaca*, and Cesnola's *Cyprus. Lycian Sepulchral Relief on Chest from Xanthos*, noticed by Layard.

which sprang from her blood. Her face is of the most ancient type—at the same time horrible and ludicrous, like the ogre of our childish dreams. The tongue hangs far out of her grinning mouth, in which formidable teeth and tusks appear; but she is as yet without her snakes; only the typical row of small curls, like ‘Brussels sprouts,’ appear beneath a kind of skull cap on her head.¹ The shadowy form generally called *Athênê*, though she has no attributes by which she can be recognised, stands motionless by the side of Perseus, wearing a long robe bordered by a *mæander*, above which are traces of colour. The peculiar and unnatural position of the figures is characteristic of the most ancient style. Perseus is represented as striding with long steps, and yet the soles of both his feet rest flat upon the ground. The legs and feet of both the hero and Medusa are in profile to suit the exigencies of the relief style, while the faces and the upper parts of the persons are *en face*. Still more anomalous is the attitude of the goddess *Athênê*, whose whole figure is represented *en face*, except the feet, which are in profile and give the impression of actual deformity. All three wear the stereotyped so-called ‘*Æginetan smile*.’ Perseus smiles on the spectator as he thrusts his knife into the throat of his victim without even looking at her; Medusa looks equally cheerful; and *Athênê* wears a pleased expression on her face, but does not turn her head towards the horrible scene which is being enacted in her presence. It is interesting to compare this hideous face with the *Medusa Rondanini*, of a more refined period (fig. 21).



FIG. 21.

MEDUSA RONDANINI IN MUNICH.

The slaying of Medusa by Perseus was a favourite subject in very early times, and was represented both on the Chest of Cypselus and in works of Gitiadas and Myron.² It should be noticed that the form of Medusa's breast, both in the Selinuntian metope and other archaic

¹ I saw a small Medusa-head in black terracotta, in the Antiquarium at Munich, which

is very like that of the Selinuntian metope.

² See Cesnola, *Cyprus*.

representations, is not female but male, and in some cases she is represented with a beard.¹ It has been remarked that the Medusa's head in the metope is so much more skilfully executed than the rest of the work that it was probably copied from some well-known type in terra-cotta. Pausanias² records the existence of a Medusa's head in stone near the Temple of Cephissus in Argolis, 'made by the Cyclopes.'

The second of these metopes represents *Heracles and the Cercopes* (fig. 22)—mischievous, apish gnomes, answering to the goblins of the Middle Ages—who robbed and tormented him. The hero is striding along with a pole across his shoulders, to the ends of which the troublesome demons are suspended with their heads downwards, like

FIG. 22.



HERACLES AND THE CERCOPEs.

game taken in the chase.³ The general impression made by the figure of Heracles, which is square, thickset, and thoroughly Dorian in character, is that of rude strength and determination. As in the first relief, the face and breast are turned towards the spectator, while the feet are in profile, with the soles flat on the ground. The style is the same, and shows the same defects in execution. There is an utter want of proportion between the massive thighs and the legs from the knees downwards; and the face wears the same unnaturally cheerful, not to say silly, expression, so unsuitable to the circumstances, as the Perseus of the first metope. The Cercopes, too, in whom we observe the same distorted position—the legs bending at right angles at the knee, in profile, while the face, arms, and chest are *en face*—seem perfectly satisfied with their unfortunate condition.

Contrary to the practice of the earliest schools of art, in which

¹ Pausanias, i. 23. 7; ii. 27. 2; iii. 17. 3. Gerhard, *Gr. u. Etrus. Trinkschalen*, ii. p. 4, and Vases of Brit. Mus. No. 641.

² ii. 20. 5.

³ The Cercopes occur on a vase of the

kind called *λήκυθος* (oil-flask), from Girgenti, in the possession of Serradifalco, and on an amphora in Munich (Benndorf, *Maopen v. Selinunt*, p. 46, No. 2).

Heracles is almost invariably bearded, he is here represented as a youth with the short hair of an athlete. His scanty tunic, confined by a belt, is only slightly indicated in the stone, and was, no doubt, more fully expressed by the aid of colour. His girdle and sword-belt, as well as the bonds which confine the arms and legs of the Cercopes, were also painted in red; and in the upper part of the slab traces of a mæander pattern in red were found.

The two foregoing Selinuntian reliefs are referred on all hands to the earliest period of Greek art, either the end of the seventh century B.C.—at which time Selinus was founded, and, in all probability, the first temple built—or at latest the beginning of the sixth century. More doubt is felt regarding the third metope, discovered at the same time. It has been put together from fifty-nine fragments, and is somewhat different in form; so that some writers have regarded it not as a metope, but as an *ἀνάθημα* (votive offering). The subject is a *Quadriga* (some writers call it a Biga, with a rider on each side), behind the horses of which stand three shadowy figures in *mezzo rilievo*, the centre figure being the charioteer, and the one to the right a female, judging from the form of the bosom. The horses, of which the two outer ones are somewhat in advance of the inner, are in very high relief, and almost detached from the background, which makes it probable that this third metope occupied the centre of the frieze.¹

Two other metopes, also in Palermo, were discovered by the English travellers above mentioned at Selinus, not in the temple on the Acropolis, but in one of a much later date in the lower town. We mention it here, for the sake of convenience, in connexion with the more ancient reliefs from the same place. One of these, of which the lower half is well preserved, represents the *contest of a Goddess (Athene?) with a Giant (Enceladus?)*,² who lies prostrate on the ground before her. He stretches out his right hand as if to ward off her attack, while his lofty helmet falls from his head. The goddess plants her foot on his thigh, and is probably brandishing her lance over her fallen foe. The most noteworthy feature of the group is the heavy drapery of

¹ Benndorf, *Metopen v. Selinunt*, 1873. See a cast of this metope in the Brit. Mus.

is seen on a Bacchic amphora from Durand's Coll. (Gerhard's *Auserles. Vasen*, i. p. 27).

² See cast in Brit. Mus. The same motif

the goddess, which is treated with a skill worthy of a period not later than the latter half of the sixth century. The contrast between the robed goddess and the nude giant is very striking and effective. The second of these metopes, in which the upper part of the figures is also wanting, is very similar in design, though of much superior execution. In this, too, the giant has ceased to resist, and has fallen on one knee, as if forced down by the heavy hand of the irresistible Goddess. He is without the serpent feet of the later type of giants,

FIG. 23.



ACTÆON AND HIS DOGS.

and wears a leather coat over his short tunic, and perhaps the skin of some animal.¹

The metopes of a third and still later Temple of Here on the eastern hill of Selinus, not earlier than the 80th Olympiad (460 B.C.), show still further progress, and yet maintain the Doric character of the earliest Selinuntian reliefs. The subjects are :—

(a) *Heracles, with his lion's skin, in combat with an Amazon,*

¹ Benndorf (*Selin. Metop.*) dates these 415 B.C., after the building of the Parthenon, and says that they stand to the Parthenon frieze in the same relation as the Doryphoros of

the Dorian Polycleitos to the Discobolos in the Sala della Biga of the Vatican, supposed to be a copy of a work of the Attic Myron.

whom he seizes by her Phrygian cap, and who is sinking helplessly to the ground.

(b) *Athene*, with helmet and ægis and rich conventionally folded dress, very similar to that of the goddess in the Æginetan group,¹ *slaying a giant* whom she seizes by the head, and who appears about to fall.

(c) *Actæon torn to pieces by his own dogs* (fig. 23). According to the variation of the myth given by Acusilaus,² in which Zeus, offended with Actæon because he aspired to the hand of Semele, commanded Artemis to throw a stag's hide over him, that he might be hunted and devoured by his own pack of hounds. The relief, which is very indistinct, is supposed to represent him in this disguise.³ Artemis wears a cap, and Actæon has his sword.

(d) A man, or God, seated on a throne, holding by the hand a richly robed woman or goddess, who is lifting the veil from her face. We have here the meeting between *Zeus and Hera* on Mount Ida, described in the *Iliad*.⁴ In these later, as in the older, Selinuntian metopes, the material is tufaceous limestone; but the faces, hands, and feet of the female figures are of white marble, after the manner of the *acrolith*.

The style of these later reliefs, as we have said, shows an extraordinary advance in the knowledge of the proportions of the human form, and, in spite of their archaic character—manifested especially in the arrangement of the hair and in the conventional folds of the dress—they are full of the purest Greek feeling. Nor is this surprising if, as is generally agreed, these works belong to Ol. 80 (460 B.C.), close upon the age of Pheidias, and the most glorious period of Attic art. That the works we have been considering should be inferior to those of the same period in Athens is not to be wondered at, when we remember that they were executed in a Dorian colony, remote from the mother country, to which Attic influences could have but little access, and that the traditional type which we have observed in the metopes of the older temples is to a very great extent, and no doubt purposely, retained in those of a later origin.

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 124.

² Apud Apollodor. iii. 4. 4. Conf. Pausan. ix. 23.

³ Benndorf, *Selin. Metop.*

⁴ xiv. 315.

CHAPTER VII.

EXTANT WORKS OF ARCHAIC ART

(CONTINUED).

PEDIMENTAL GROUP OF THE TREASURY OF THE
MEGARIANS OF OLYMPIA.

IT was the custom of the different Hellenic states to build '*treasuries*' at Olympia, in which the property belonging to the community at large or to individual members of it was preserved. These treasuries were in the form of small temples *in antis*.¹ The more ambitious of them were ornamented with statuary, and the pedimental group of the *treasury of the Megarians* has lately been discovered by the German excavators, and must be regarded as one of the very oldest works of art of this nature which has come down to us.² It consisted of twelve figures, and represented a *Gigantomachia*. The centre of the *æterós*, or pediment, was occupied by *Zeus and a wounded Giant*, who has sunk on one knee. The giants are here in full armour after the manner of ancient art. To the right of these was *Heracles* and another giant who lies prostrate on the ground ;³ then *Ares*, who has also a giant before him, and in the corner a *fallen giant*, whose helmet fills up the extreme angle. On the left side, in strict parallelism with the right, are first *Athenê* (?) and her foe, and then *Poseidon and a fallen Giant*. From the left corner a *Sea monster* is coming to the help of the Ocean God. Of these twelve figures nine have been found in tolerable preservation,

¹ The *ante* are the pilasters which form the facing of the extended cella walls.

² Treu, *Bericht aus Olympia*, No. 29.

Conf. *Ausgrabungen in Olympia*, Bd. iv. Taf. 18, 19.

³ *Ibid.* Taf. 20 b.

and suffice to show that the group belongs to the infancy of art, and probably proceeds from the school of Dipœnus and Scyllis, and may be dated about the sixth century B.C.¹

RELIEFS OF A STÈLÈ (PILLAR) AT SPARTA, CALLED 'THE AMPHIARAUS STÈLÈ.'²

(Fig. 24.)

Of the same Doric character are the reliefs on a pillar lately discovered in the house of Demetrius Minusakis at Sparta. This stele

FIG. 24.



THE AMPHIARAUS STÈLÈ.

—which somewhat resembles the old milestone of our high roads
—stands on a plinth, and is about 2 ft. 6 in. high, and 1 ft. 8 in. by

¹ Treu, *Bericht*, No. 41.

² Conf. *Vase of Caere*, publ. by Roberts,

Mon. d. I. x. Taf. iv. v. Zweites Streifen links.

1 ft. at the base. It has, therefore, two broader and two narrower sides. On both the former we find the broad, thickset figures of a man and a woman, with very slight variations of attitude or action. We are led to suppose that the personages in the two reliefs are the same, represented on two different occasions; but the action in one of them is rendered uncertain by the mutilation of the hands. In the better preserved of the two the man is passing his left arm round the woman's neck, and thrusting his sword into her throat with his right hand; while the woman lays one hand on the weapon, and holds up the other as if in supplication. We naturally think of *Orestes and Clytemnestra*; but what scene in their joint lives can be represented on the other side, in which the figures are almost identical, and the action apparently peaceable; and in which both are taking hold of some object like a sickle (*necklace*?), the exact nature of which it is impossible to define? Some archæologists, therefore, incline to the opinion that the reliefs represent, not the matricide of Orestes, but *the perfidy of Eriphyle*. In the first scene she is receiving the treacherous caresses of Polynices and the famous necklace of Harmonia, the price of the blood of her husband, Amphiaræus; ¹ and in the second (fig. 24) undergoing the penalty of her crime at the hands of her own son Alcmaeon, ² who acted in obedience to the instructions of his father and the Delphic Oracle. On each of the two narrower sides is *a serpent* rising in folds, which, according to those who refer the monument to Eriphyle, is intended to represent the avenging Furies, by whom the traitress was overtaken.

There is much in these reliefs analogous to those of the Selinuntian metopes—the same short, thickset figures, the same heavy, clumsy thighs, out of all proportion to the rest of the body, the same stride of the legs, while the soles of both feet rest flat on the ground, the same quiet stolid impassiveness in the midst of slaughter. The chief difference between the reliefs of the two sides of the stele is in the arrangement of the hair, and in the dress of the women; the one in the murderous scene being heavily draped, while the other is lightly clothed, if at all, above the waist.

¹ Hom. *Od.* xv. 247, 'ἄλλ' ἔλετ' ἐν Θήβησι γυναῖων εἶνεκα δάρον.

² Apollodor. iii. 7. 2.

RELIEF OF 'DIONYSOS AND SEMELE (?).'

(Fig. 25.)

This very singular and interesting relief, lately discovered near Chrysapha, a village about nine miles from Sparta, is supposed to represent *Dionysos and Semele*.¹ The style is in the highest degree archaic, both in its general effect and in all the minor details. The

FIG. 25.



FIG. 26.



RELIEFS FROM SPARTA.

hair is arranged under a narrow *tania* in the typical corkscrew curls and in long braided tresses, suitable to deities, over back and breast. The ears are high up and projecting, and the eyes, even in profile, are seen in their whole length, as if laid on to the surface of the face. The feet are nude, with the exception of the sandal straps. The God, whose face is turned full towards the spectator (fig. 26), holds a cantharus in his right hand, which is the chief, but hardly decisive, reason for calling him Dionysus. Only one leg of each figure is visible, and of the goddess little is seen but her face, which is in profile. Although

¹ Or *Ariadne*, Conze, in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870, p. 280.

her forehead and nose form a straight line, the latter projects too much for the later Greek ideal. With her left hand she is lifting a veil, and in her right, which is seen above the knees of the god, she holds the emblematic pomegranate, given by the bridegroom to the bride on entering the *thalamos* (bed-chamber). Under the cantharus are two worshippers, male and female, the former bearing a cock in his right hand, and a cake or egg in the left; and the latter a lotus flower or pomegranate. Behind the throne is a snake partly covered with scales, with a crest on the end of his nose and a long beard.

Other reliefs,¹ almost identical in *motif*,² but somewhat more advanced in style, have been found in Sparta and its neighbourhood.

RELIEF OF YOUTH FEEDING SERPENT.

(Fig. 27.)

Of the same character and period, from the same neighbourhood,

FIG. 27.



RELIEF FROM SPARTA.

are two other sepulchral reliefs, or *ἀναθήματα*, of a *Youth feeding a Snake*, and a *Girl holding up a Flower*. The former, which bears an inscription, is holding out a round object, probably a cake, with four jags on the side, which the snake is eating. In all these works, which deserve a more searching analysis than our narrow limits will allow, we find the same flat, geometrical surfaces, forming sharp edges where they

meet, the same clearness of outline, and the same parallel, oblique lines indicating the dress. The entire *technique* is rather that of the wood-carver than the sculptor in stone. But with all their stiffness and angularity, they show considerable skill, and even elegance, and they

¹ Vide Conze, *loc. cit.*

² *Motif* (conchetto, design), a word bor-

rowed from the language of music, in which it means *la phrase du chant*.

are entirely free from the clumsy disproportion of the Amphiarus' stele, and the oldest metopes of Selinus. The fact that we have several replicas of the 'Dionysos and Semele' relief is an almost certain indication that they are more or less faithful copies of an old original in wood, of the 50th or 60th Ol. (B.C. 580-540), in which material nearly all the great Spartan artists—Hegylos, Theocles, Dontas, and Dorykleidas, Smilis, Scyllis, and Dipœnus—almost exclusively worked. They are all *sepulchral stelæ*, intended as *ἀναθήματα* to the deities of life and death, and remind us of the famous *Harpy Monument*, with which they have much in common, as the peaked shoe, the worshippers, the cock, pomegranate, &c. The presence of the serpent is a sure indication of the sepulchral character of these works, as in the whole of archaic art this animal appears as the attendant of the Chthonic (*of the nether world*) deities and constant guardian of the grave. For this and other reasons, the opinion of some writers that, in spite of the kantharos, the enthroned pair represent not Dionysos and Semele (Ariadne), but *Hades and Persephone*, with whose cult the snake and cock have a special connexion, is not without plausibility and weight.¹

COLOSSAL STATUES FROM THE VIA SACRA OF APOLLO AT DIDYMA.

(Fig. 28.)

Among the most interesting specimens of old Ionic art are *ten colossal seated figures* in the British Museum, which were brought from the Sacred Road leading from the sea-shore to the renowned Temple of Apollo at Didyma (or Branchidæ) in the territory of Miletus. This sanctuary, which contained an image of the god by Canachus, was founded by *Brancus*, Apollo's son, and presided over by his descendants, the *Branchidæ*, who formed an hereditary priesthood. The figures are of different sizes, and two of them are female, and they probably represent not divinities, but priests and priestesses in charge

¹ Milchhöfer, *Mittheilungen d. deutschen Inst. in Athen*, 1877, p. 303.

of the famous oracle of the Milesian Apollo, presided over by the Branchidæ, to which both Ionians and Æolians resorted.¹ A *lion* and a *sphinx* were discovered on the same site, and are also in the British Museum. The general effect of these stiff symmetrical figures is what we call Egyptian, and they were ranged, after the manner of Egyptian sphinxes, on either side of the approach to the temple, along which the religious processions marched. Judging from the inscription—‘*Chares, son of Klesis*’²—on the best executed of them, they are intended to represent actual persons, although it is difficult to discover

FIG. 28.



STATUES FROM BRANCHIDÆ, NEAR MILETUS.

anything like a portrait in the broad, round face and stereotyped smile of the only remaining head. Their main characteristic consists in the massive heaviness and effeminate fulness of the proportions, especially about the breast, which is essentially Asiatic; and in their ponderous immobility they are evidently intended to produce an architectural rather than a glyptic effect. The hair is divided into waving locks, which flow down the back; and the fingers, toes, and ears are correctly indicated, though without much detail, which

¹ Herod. i. 157.

² The entire inscription runs: Χάρης εἰμι
ὁ Κλέσιος Τειχοῦσης ἀρχός, ἔργαμα τοῦ
Ἀπόλλωνος, ‘I am Chares, son of Clesis,
ruler of Teichiousa, an offering to Apollo.’
It is written in the manner called *Boustro-*

phedon, i.e. running alternately from right to left and from left to right. Teichiousa is mentioned by Thucydides, viii. 26, 28. Vide Newton, *Halicarnassus*, &c., vol. ii. part 2, Appendix III.

was perhaps supplied by colour. The dress consists of a lower garment—the talaric chiton—which flows in parallel lines to the feet, and a wide mantle drawn tightly round the figure. Mr. Newton, the fortunate discoverer of these remains, which he brought from Branchidæ to England, says that they resemble Egyptian statues in the breadth of the shoulders and the modelling of the limbs, in which the form of the bones and muscles is indicated with greater judgment and refinement than appears at first sight. He thinks that they may be the work of an artist who had studied in Egypt.¹ Professor Brunn² is inclined to regard them as the product of an independent school of art existing in Asia Minor side by side with the Æginetan and Sicilian schools. The date assigned to them by different writers varies from Ol. 50 to Ol. 60 (580–540 B.C.); the weight of evidence seems to us to decide for the latest year.

SEATED FIGURE FROM ARCADIA.

Those who have visited the museum on the Acropolis at Athens during the last few years will have noticed a *seated female (?) figure from Arcadia* strongly resembling the Milesian statues described above.³ Like these it has perfectly flat rectangular surfaces, but it has less fulness and Oriental softness, and has an even more archaic and primitive air. It bears the inscription *Αγερω* in very early characters, running from right to left. There is a similar figure in Sparta with the word *Αιδης* across the top.

RELIEF OF SAMOTHRACE.

Of a much later date than the Selinuntian metopes—probably about 500 B.C.—is a bas-relief of a very different character, discovered in 1790 in the Island of Samothrace, and now fixed into a wall of the Museum in the Louvre (fig. 29). It forms the ornament of a slab of

¹ Newton, *op. cit.* ii. p. 550.

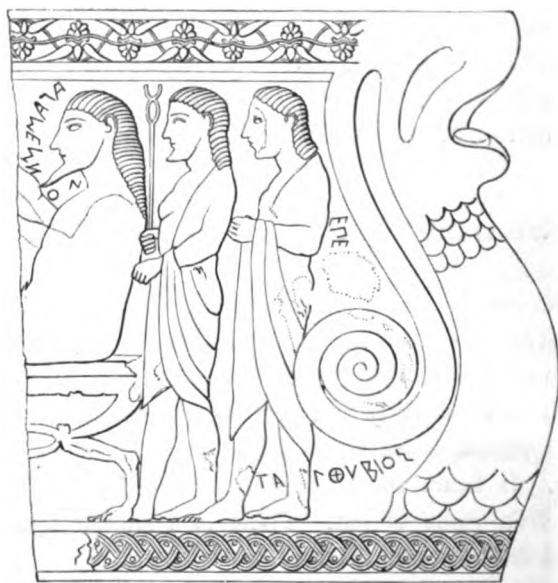
² Brunn, *Harpyien-mon. von Xanthus*

in *Ber. d. kön. bayer. Acad.* Juli, 1870.

³ *Ephemeris Archaeol.* 1862–1874.

marble which, with slight reason, is supposed to be the arm of an official chair. It contains three figures, inscribed respectively with the names of *Agamemnon*, *Talthybios*, and *Epeios*, of whom the first is seated, while the two last stand reverentially behind him, as if in attendance at some solemn conference of the Greeks at Troy. The frame on the right of the slab, which is very much broken away, was originally formed of the scaly neck and open jaws of a horned monster; the upper border is ornamented with flowers and palm leaves, and the

FIG. 29.



RELIEF OF SAMOTHRACE.

lower one with a simple plait common to Oriental, Greek, and Etruscan works of art.

In striking contrast to those of the foregoing *Dorian* reliefs, the figures are extremely slight and elegant in their proportions, approaching very closely to the types on the earliest painted vases, which our relief also resembles in the waving lines of the inscriptions. This relief is executed in the most primitive style, and is so low that it is impossible to distinguish the right legs of the two attendants from the

left.¹ Both design and execution of the Samothracian relief are essentially decorative, and it has little affinity with the most ancient even of Attic reliefs. The lower half of Agamemnon's form is broken away, so that we cannot see his arm. Talthybius carries the herald's *κηρύκειον* (caduceus) in his hand; the object which Epeius bore must have been expressed by colour. The hair in all three figures is very similar to that of the Apollo of Tenea—Agamemnon's being the longest, as a mark of his royal dignity. The inscriptions in the old Ionian alphabet are written, according to the manner of primitive art in waving lines, with which the artist filled up the gaps in the composition.

ARCHAIC HÊRÊ IN THE VILLA LUDOVISI AT ROME.

Among the very earliest specimens of marble sculpture which have come down to us is a *colossal bust of Hêrê* in the Villa Ludovisi, which evidently belonged to a statue.² It was no doubt a temple-image, and represents the transition from the wooden idol to the statue proper. the goddess wears a remarkably broad band round her head, below which are the well-known corkscrew curls; and long straight hair flows down her back. In the ears are holes in which ringlets of gold or bronze were fastened, and she probably wore a diadem of metal. Both band and hair were left unfinished, and required the aid of the painter to complete them.

In looking back on the period of which we have been speaking—from about 620 B.C. to 500 B.C.—we see in it the commencement of almost all the branches of plastic art: of statuary in bronze and marble, of reliefs in marble and other stone, and even of chryselephantine sculpture, which Pheidias afterwards carried to the height of perfection. The subjects are still mythical, and the figures represented are almost exclusively those of

¹ Friederichs, *Baust.* p. 19.

² Welcker, *Alte Denkm.* i. 430. A similar head was found by Cesnola in the ruins of

an ancient town, east of Cape Greco in Cyprus (Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 190 fol.).

Gods ; but the practice of setting up the statues of victors in the games, which had such a mighty influence on the development of Greek art, has already commenced in this period, and even portrait statues are not altogether unknown. In the celebrated conversation between Cræsus and Solon, Herodotus relates that Solon reckons among the claims of *Cleobis and Biton* to rank as the happiest of men, the fact that the Argives offered images (*εἰκόνας*) of them at Delphi as *ἀριστοὶ ἀνδρῶν*, about Ol. 49 (580 B.C.). We also find mention of statues of three victors in the games during this period, two in wood, of *Praxidamas*, the boxer of Ægina (Ol. 59), and of *Rhexibios* of Opus (Ol. 61), and one in stone of *Arrachion* (Ol. 54), of which we have already spoken in connexion with the Apollo of Tenea.¹

¹ Pausan. viii. 40. 1.

SECOND PERIOD.

*FROM OL. 70, B.C. 500, TO THE BEGINNING OF
THE CAREER OF PERICLES, OL. 80, B.C. 460.*

CHAPTER VIII.

SCHOOLS OF ÆGINA, SICYON, AND ARGOS.

WE have seen reason to believe that the art of sculpture arose independently in several parts of Greece, and was not, as is sometimes supposed, diffused from a common source. The plastic art was exercised in all the more important centres of Greek life, both in the mother country and in the colonies, and especially in the islands of the Ægean. Local influences, no doubt, made themselves more or less felt in every place, but the most sharply defined schools are those of Ægina, Argos, Sicyon, and Athens, the last of which entered late into the race, but soon outstripped all rivals. The period on which we are now entering is one of strenuous effort after individuality and free development, and is distinguished not so much by the attainment of the highest ideal as the settlement of the permanent type.

In our endeavour to form an idea of the style of the prominent artists of this era, we receive but little aid from ancient literature. The criticisms of Quintilian, Cicero, and Lucian do not enter into the details which we long to know, and we are left to draw our

inferences almost solely from the few plastic works from this period which have escaped the ravages of time.

It is worthy of notice that *bronze* now becomes the principal material for the display of the sculptor's art. Among Æginetan works we only read of one xoanon, by Callon; and only of one xoanon and one chryselephantine statue in Sicyon. It is true that the celebrated pedimental group from the Temple of Athene at Ægina, now in Munich, is of marble, but this is fully accounted for by its architectural character. In Athens all materials—wood, marble, gold, and ivory and bronze—were used by the sculptor.

ARTISTS OF THIS PERIOD IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF GREECE.

ÆGINA.

Greek and Roman writers recognise a very distinct style as characteristic of the Æginetan school, which they are accustomed to contrast with that of Athens and of Egypt;¹ but they do little to make us acquainted with its peculiar features. We have already spoken of an artist of Ægina, *Smilis*, who is regarded by some archæologists as a merely mythical personage; but we are not able to trace any connexion between him and the Æginetan artists of a later period. There can, however, be little doubt that a school continued to exist during the blank which the history of art presents to us between *Smilis* and the pride of Ægina,

CALLON. Callon was born, according to Brunn² (whose chronology we have adopted), in Ol. 64. 1 (524 B.C.), and was sixty-two years of age in Ol. 79. 3 (462 B.C.), the date of the end of the Messenian wars. He was therefore an older contemporary of Pheidias himself, whom he

¹ Pausan. i. 42. 5; vii. 55; viii. 53. 11; x. 17. 12.

² Brunn, *A.-G.* p. 83.

preceded by only a quarter of a century.¹ Callon was a pupil of Tectæus and Angelion, the early workers in bronze, who again had learned their art from the Cretan Dædalids, Dipœnus and Scyllis.² He made *one of the three Tripods* at Amyclæ, under which was an image (*ἄγαλμα*) of Cora (Proserpine); also a *xoanon of Athene* for the temple of that goddess on the Acropolis of Træzen, where she was worshipped under the name of Athene Σθένειας (the strong). Quintilian speaks of his works, and says that they were rather stiff (*duriora*), and like those of the Etruscans. We know absolutely nothing of the few works referred to by ancient writers, and the mere name of Callon would be of little importance to the history of art, were it not that he is put forward by Quintilian as the representative of the hard, rude, stiff style—which we may call Æginetan—in comparison with Calamis.³

GLAUCIAS. The next name of any note in the school of Ægina is that of Glaucias, Ol. 73–75 (B.C. 433–480), who executed statues in bronze—as offerings at Olympia—of *Philon*, the boxer of Corcyra,⁴ *Theagenes*, the Thasian,⁵ and *Glaucus*, the Carystian, also a boxer, whom he represented in the attitude of sparring (*σκιμαρχοῦντος*).⁶ He also made a statue of *Gelon*, the tyrant of Syracuse, and a copy of the chariot in which he conquered in the fourth year of the 73rd Ol.

ANAXAGORAS, Ol. 75 (B.C. 430), of the same school, was employed by the Greeks, after the victory at Platææ, Ol. 75. 2 (B.C. 479), to execute a colossal statue of *Zeus*, as an offering in Olympia, for the cost of which a tithe of the booty was set apart.⁷

SIMON, Ol. 77 (B.C. 472). On the south side of the Altis at Olympia Pausanias⁸ saw statues of two horses and two grooms (or charioteers?), and says that one of the animals and one of the men

¹ The date of Callon is a subject of much uncertainty and controversy (Pausan. vii. 18. 10. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 49).

² Pausan. ii. 32. 5.

³ Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10, 7: 'Duriora

et Tuscanicis proxima Callon atque Hegesias (fecerunt) jam minus rigida Calamis.'

⁴ Pausan. vi. 9. 9.

⁵ Ibid. vi. 11. 2.

⁷ Ibid. v. 23. 1.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 10. 3.

⁸ Ibid. v. 28. 1.

were made by the Æginetan Simon, of whom Pliny¹ also speaks as the sculptor of *an archer* and *a dog*.

PTOLICHUS, Ol. 78 (B.C. 268), son and pupil of Simon, made a statue of his countryman, *Theognetus*, the boy-wrestler.²

But by far the most important and interesting sculptor of the Æginetan school is

ONATAS,³ son of an unknown father, Micon, who flourished, according to Brunn, from Ol. 70–80 (500–460 B.C.).⁴ Onatas, like his greater successor, Pheidias, was also a painter.⁵ Our knowledge of this celebrated artist is drawn, with the exception of a single epigram,⁶ exclusively from Pausanias, who says of him, that although his works were in the Æginetan style, he ranked him no lower than any of the Dædalids and the disciples of the Attic school⁷ (*ἐργαστηρίου τοῦ Ἀττικοῦ*). He also speaks of a bronze *Apollo* by his hand as a *θαῦμα ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα*, on account of its size and execution,⁸ in which the god was represented as a beautiful youth just ripening to manhood.⁹ His celebrity is still further attested by his being employed to execute the statue of *Hiero*, Tyrant of Syracuse, with *the chariot* in which he had conquered at Olympia.

Among his principal works was a group, in the treasury of the Achæans in Olympia, representing *the Grecian Heroes before Troy* casting lots for the perilous honour of meeting Hector in single combat. 'They stood near the great temple armed with spears and shields,'¹⁰ but otherwise nude. The competing heroes were originally nine in number, but the *statue of Ulysses* had been carried off to Rome by Nero before the time of Pausanias. In front of the warriors stood *Nestor*, 'on a separate pedestal,' employed in collecting the lots. The statue of *Agamemnon* alone bore an inscription, which was written from right to left. The shield of *Idomeneus*, who

¹ *N. H.* xxxiv. 90.

² Pausan. vi. 9. 1.

³ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, sec. 135.

⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 42. 7, 8; v. 25. 8; 25. 12; 27, 8; x. 13. 10.

⁵ *Anthol. Grec.* ii. 14. 30. *Palat.* ix. 238.

⁶ Pausan. v. 25. 12. ⁷ viii. 42. 7.

⁸ O. Müller dates him Ol. 78–83 (468–448 B.C.), and Overbeck Ol. 65–75 (520–480 B.C.).

⁹ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, sec. 359.

¹⁰ Pausan. v. 25. 8. Conf. Hom. *Iliad*, vii. 175.

was descended from the Sun-god through his grandmother Pasiphae, had on it the device of a cock, the sacred bird and herald of Helios. On this shield, too, is the inscription which attributes the work to Onatas :

πολλὰ μὲν ἄλλα σοφοῦ ποιήματα καὶ τόδ' Ὀνάτα
ἔργον, ὃν Αἰγίῳ γένετο παῖδα Μίκων·

but we are left in some doubt whether this artist executed the whole group or only this one statue.

Another work of Onatas, which agrees in composition with the pedimental group of Ægina at Munich, was set up by the Tarentines in honour of their victory over the Peucetians.¹ The Iapygian king, *Opis*, the ally of the Peucetians, has fallen to the ground, and near him are the hero *Taras*, and the Lacedæmonian *Phalanthus*, and the *dolphin*, by which the latter was carried safely to shore after being shipwrecked in the Crisæan gulf.²

A statue of *Hermes*, dedicated at Olympia by the Arcadians, clad in a leather helmet (*κυνῆ*), chiton, and chlamys, and *bearing a ram* under his arm, was the joint work of Onatas and his 'pupil or son' *Calliteles*. Onatas also made a bronze statue of *Heracles*, ten cubits in height, and armed with bow and club, which was dedicated at Olympia by the Thasian Phœnicians 'when they came, under Thasos, son of Agenor, from Phœnicia, in search of Europa.'³

But the most remarkable of his works was the bronze figure of '*the black Démêtér*'—so called from the colour of her dress—which was consecrated by the Phigaleians in a cavern of Mount Elæus, about thirty stadia from Phigaleia (in the S.E. corner of Elis). The original image was a wooden xoanon, sitting on a rock, in all respects like a woman except the head, which was that of a horse with a mane, and from which grew the forms of a dragon and other wild beasts. The goddess was clothed in a long chiton, which covered her feet, and held a *dolphin* in one hand and a *dove* in the other.⁴ This wooden idol was destroyed in some unrecorded manner, and as it was not imme-

¹ Pausan. x. 13. 10.

² Ibid. v. 27. 8.

³ Pausan. v. 25. 12. Conf. Herod. ii. 44 and v. 47.

⁴ Pausan. viii. 42. 4.

diately replaced, the usual consequence, a famine, ensued. The Phigaleians consulted the oracle, and, according to the directions of the Pythia, paid greater honours than ever before to the angry Goddess, and engaged Onatas to make them a new temple-image. The artist had the aid of a picture, or model of the ancient xoanon, but he was chiefly guided in his work 'by a vision,' which is generally understood to mean that he adroitly freed himself from priestly and popular trammels by feigning direct inspiration from the great Goddess herself.

The names of other Æginetan sculptors are recorded in history, and among them *Aristonous*,¹ *Serambus*,² and *Theopropus*, the last of whom made a *brazen bull* for the Corcyræans as an offering to the Delphian god.³

Plastic art, however, was not destined to attain its full development in Ægina. With the final subjugation of the island to its old enemy and rival, Athens, in the year 455 B.C., art ceased to flourish in Ægina as it had done in the days of its independence, although we need not conclude that it altogether ceased to exist.

SICYON.

The Cretan Dædalids, Dipœnus and Scyllis, as we have seen, were summoned to Sicyon⁴ to execute a commission, and on their arrival found a school of native artists, over which they probably exercised a lasting influence. But we learn little or nothing of Sicyonian art until we come to the name of

CANACHUS, Ol. 70–80 (B.C. 500–460),⁵ a younger contemporary of the Æginetan Callon⁶ and Ageladas the Argive, and one of the greatest sculptors of the age.

The chief work of Canachus was the colossal bronze statue of *the Philesian Apollo*, which he made for the Branchidæ, and which was

¹ Pausan. v. 22. 5.

² Ibid. x. 9. 3 and v. 27. 9.

³ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. p. 74.

⁴ Ibid. vi. 10. 9.

⁵ Vide *supra*, p. 50.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 41, and xxxiv. 9.

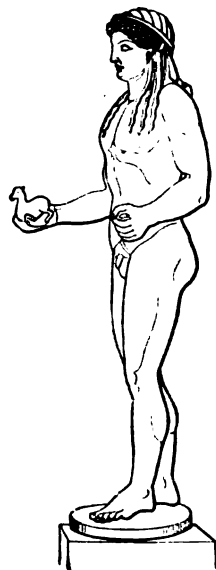
placed in the temple¹ of the Didymæan Apollo before 493 B.C.² This statue was carried off 'by Xerxes'³ (it should be *Darius*) to Ecbatana, because, as was said, he wished to punish the Milesians for allowing themselves to be beaten at Mycale in 479 B.C.⁴ It was afterwards restored to the Milesians by the god-fearing Seleucus.

Another statue of *Apollo (Ismenius)*, of cedar, was seen by Pausanias⁵ at Thebes. He says that it resembled the Milesian Apollo of the Branchidæ in size, and in other respects, so that no one who had seen one of them could fail to recognise the other as the work of the same master.

Canachus did not confine himself to bronze, for we find mention among other works of an *Aphrodite* by him in gold and ivory in her temple at Sicyon.⁶ The goddess was seated with the *πέλος* on her head, a poppy in one hand and an apple in the other.

If we may rely on the well-known dictum of Cicero,⁷ the statues of Canachus were 'too stiff (*rigidiora*) to imitate truth,' and in this respect inferior to the works of Calamis. But we need not altogether depend on literary notices, for we have probably a copy of the Milesian Apollo in a *bronze statuette* (fig. 30) in the British Museum bearing a stag on his hand.⁸ There is a similar figure on a *Coin of Miletus*, in which Apollo is represented with the stag in one hand and a bow in the other. If we are to judge of the style of Canachus from the bronze figure, we should infer that his Apollo was not rigid and angular, like the figures of the Æginetan group at Munich, but square, thickset, and without the stercotyped smile.⁹ A *head in Parian marble* in the British Museum,

FIG. 30.

APOLLO AFTER
CANACHUS.

¹ At Didyma, in the Milesian territory.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 75.

³ Pausan. viii. 46. 3; i. 16. 3.

⁴ Brunn, *A.-G.* p. 77. Conf. Herod. vi. 19.

⁵ ix. 10. 2.

⁶ Pausan. ii. 10. 4. ⁷ *Brutus*, 18. 70.

⁸ It has the long locks which became a prevailing sign of Apollo.

⁹ Brunn, *A.-G.* p. 77. Overbeck, *Ges. der Plastik*, i. 107.

which, though archaic in style, has in it the elements of ideal majesty, is also regarded by some as a copy of the Apollo of Canachus. But the style of this very beautiful work appears much too free to warrant the assumption.

Canachus is further mentioned in an epigram of Antipater¹ as the author of *one of Three Muses*, holding 'musical pipes' (*ὑμνοπόλους δόνακας*) in her hand; her sisters being the works of Aristocles and Ageladas. A so-styled '*testa archaica*' in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome, which resembles the Milesian Apollo in style, has also been brought into connexion with the name of Canachus.

ARISTOCLES, the brother of Canachus, and 'not much inferior to him in reputation,' according to Pausanias,² is chiefly known as founder of a school, which existed down to Ol. 100 (B.C. 380). We find mention of only one work by his hand, *one of Three Muses*, in the execution of which he was associated with Canachus and Ageladas. Of his pupils Pausanias mentions *Synnoön* and his son *Ptolichus*, and *Pantias*, who was seventh in the succession of the disciples of this school.³ All these artists seem to have employed themselves in executing statues of *victorious athletes*.

ARGOS.

In the last period the artists Dipcæus and Scyllis, whom we spoke of as working in Argos, were strangers to that country. Two natives, *Argus* and *Epeius*, have been mentioned above among the mythical artists. The former made a *wooden image of Hera*; the latter, besides '*the wooden horse*,' is reported to have been the sculptor of two *xoana of Hermes and Aphrodite*.⁴ Neither Argus nor Epeius, however, had any known successors, and the first Argive names with which we meet in the present period are those of *Entelidas* and *Chrysothemis*, the sculptors of two statues of the Olympian victors, *Demarchus* (who conquered in Ol. 65) and his son *Theopompus*. It is

¹ *Anthol. Græc.* ii. 15. 35 (Planud. iv. 220).

² vi. 9. 1.

³ Pausan. vi. 9. 1; vi. 14. 12; vi. 3. 11.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 21.

uncertain by whom these artists were taught their craft ; we only learn from an inscription 'that they had learned from their predecessors' (τέχναν εἰδότες ἐκ προτέρων).¹ This implies the existence of a school, but we have even fewer means of forming an idea of the leading characteristics of the Argive style than of that of Ægina, Sparta, or Athens. The most renowned of Argive artists at this period is

AGELADAS,² Ol. 66. 2 (B.C. 515). The usual uncertainty prevails concerning his date, for, if we were to receive all the notices of him as equally trustworthy, we must believe that he lived at least one hundred and ten years. The favourite expedient of adopting two artists of the same name has been resorted to in this case, without much success ; and we must content ourselves with the most probable supposition, that he flourished from the second half of the 60th Olympiad onwards.³ Nearly all authorities concur in giving him a very long period of artistic activity.

Of his works, which are very numerous, we know little more than the names. *Two statues of Zeus* are attributed to him, one of which at least represented the God as a boy ;⁴ it was executed for the inhabitants of Ægion in Achaia, one of the scenes of Zeus's childhood.⁵ He also made *two statues of Heracles*, one for Ægion, which was beardless,⁶ and another for the Temple of Heracles *Alexicacus* (preserver from ill) in the Attic Demos of Melite. This latter statue, after its re-consecration, was mainly instrumental in staying the great plague at Athens in Ol. 87. 4 (B.C. 429).⁷ We have noticed a *Muse* attributed to him above (p. 88), which at one time attracted great attention, because Winckelmann was inclined to recognise it in the *Barberini Muse* in the Glyptothek at Munich. This beautiful figure is now almost universally acknowledged to represent Apollo Musagetes. Ageladas also executed a *bronze group of horses and female captives*, which was

¹ Pausan. vi. 10. 5.

² Ibid. vi. 14. 11 ; vi. 10. 6 ; vi. 8. 6 ;
iv. 33. 2.

³ Brunn, *Kunst bei Homer*, 49, and
K.-G. i. 63.

⁴ Pausan. iv. 33. 2 ; vii. 24. 4.

⁵ Strabo, viii. p. 387. *Bull. del. Instituto*,
1843, p. 108.

⁶ Pausan. vii. 24. 4.

⁷ *Schol. Aristoph. Rana*, 504.

consecrated at Delphi by the Tarentines, in honour of their victory over their barbarian neighbours the Messapians.¹ There were also several *statues of victors* by him at Olympia. As we find no remarks on his style in ancient writers, we are left to infer his great technical skill from his having treated such a variety of subjects—*Gods, heroes, athletes, women, horses, and chariots*; and from the remarkable fact that he was the instructor of the three great Coryphæi of plastic art—Myron, Pheidias, and Polycleitus.² Nothing but a well-grounded and widely spread fame could have attracted disciples from Athens. Yet, on the other hand, the very great divergence in the styles of his three great pupils prevents us from attributing to Ageladas any very powerful intellectual influence over them, or any of those marked peculiarities of style which go to form a school.³

Another Argive artist,

ARISTOMEDON, flourished just before the invasion of Xerxes, Ol. 75. 1 (B.C. 480). He executed a trophy for the Phocians, which they offered at Delphi in celebration of their victory over the Thessalians. It consisted in a group of portrait statues representing *Tellias the Elean Scer*, who commanded the Phocian army, *his two colleagues, and the national heroes*.⁴

Somewhat later we meet with the names of

GLAUCUS and DIONYSIUS, about Ol. 77 (B.C. 470), Argive artists, who in conjunction made a large number of *statues of deities*⁵—intended as offerings at Olympia—for Miccythus, who was regent of Rhegium during the minority of the sons of the Tyrant Anaxilas. Some of these were carried off to Rome by the Emperor Nero.

Another work of Dionysius, *a horse with its driver* standing by it,

¹ Pausan. x. 10. 6.

² Suidas, s. v. Γελάδας. Tzetz, *Chil.* viii. 325. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. p. 74.

³ Ibid. p. 63.

⁴ Pausan. x. 1. 8–10. Herod. viii. 27.

⁵ Ibid. v. 26. 2, 3; v. 24. 6. Herod. vii. 170. Pausanias (v. 26. 2, 3) mentions Cora,

Aphrodite, Ganymede, Artemis, Asclepius, Hygieia, Agon, Dionysus, and Zeus, and of poets, Homer and Hesiod, and Orpheus, as among the works of Dionysius; and Amphitrite, Poseidon, and Hestia, among those of Glaucus.

was offered at Olympia by Phormis the Mænalian, who was about the court of Gelon, Tyrant of Syracuse.¹

If we go on briefly to mention other artists in different parts of Greece and in the Greek colonies, it is chiefly with the view of calling attention to the general diffusion of plastic art at this period, the nature of the subjects chosen by the artists, and the materials in which they wrought. Of the work itself, its peculiar features, and its degree of merit, our information is in most cases too scanty to form a judgment.

The places which furnished artists at this period are Elis, Corinth, Thebes, Naupactus, Paros, Crete, Trœzen, Phlius, &c.

ELIS.

Elis produced a second *Callon*, Ol. 71 (B.C. 496), who is mentioned in connexion with an event of melancholy interest. The loss by shipwreck of *a choir of thirty-five boys with their master and a flute-player*—whom the Messenians had sent to Rhegium, according to an annual custom—affected the latter so deeply that they engaged Callon II. to make a bronze group of the unfortunate boys, which they offered to the God at Olympia.²

CORINTH,

so early celebrated in the history of art, supplies the names of three artists at this period (not long before Ol. 75, B.C. 480)—*Diyllus*, *Amyclæus*, and *Chionis*—who executed the famous group representing the *contest of Apollo and Heracles for the Tripod*, in which Leto and Artemis on the one side, and Athene on the other, endeavour to intervene.³ This work was offered by the Phocians to the Delphian god, in honour of their victory over the Thessalians. Many copies of

¹ Pausan. v. 27. 1.

² Ibid. v. 25. 1.

³ Ibid. x. 13. 7. See Welcker, *Alle*

Denkm. ii. Taf. 15, No. 29; also the marble relief of the same subject in the Louvre. Vide *infra*, p. 143.

this group are still in existence, the best of which is the terra-cotta relief in the Campana collection at Rome.¹ Pausanias tells us that the figures of Artemis and Athene were made by Chionis alone, and the others by Diyllus and Amyclæus in conjunction.

THEBES

appears, for the first time in the history of art, in the person of *Ascarus* (before Ol. 75, B.C. 480), as the sculptor of a *bronze statue of Zeus*, crowned with flowers, and holding the thunderbolt in his right hand.² Some writers think that he was a pupil of Ageladas.³

ARISTOMEDES and SOCRATES, also Thebans, Ol. 75 (B.C. 480), were workers in marble, and are said to have made a *statue of Cybele*, the Dindymenian mother of the gods. This sacred image, with the temple near Thebes, in which it stood, was consecrated by the illustrious Pindar himself (*b.* Ol. 65. 3; *d.* 84. 3; B.C. 518-442).⁴

Of quite uncertain date is another Theban,

PYTHODORUS, who made an image of *Here*, for Corônêa, *holding the Sirens in her hand*. 'For they say that the daughters of Achelous (the Sirens) were persuaded by Here to contend in song with the Muses, and that the latter, being victorious, plucked out the feathers from the wings of the Sirens, and made themselves crowns thereof.'⁵

NAUPACTUS⁶

produced two artists,

MENÆCHMUS and SOIDAS, who made a chryselephantine statue of *Artemis Laphria* (the forager) in the act of hunting. Pausanias saw this work in the temple of the Goddess at Patræ (Patras) in

¹ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. p. 113.

² Pausan. v. 24. 1.

³ Thiersch, *Epoch. d. bild. Kunst*, p. 160.

⁴ Pausan. ix. 25. 3.

⁵ Ibid. ix. 34. 3. See a *Sarcophagus* in

Florence, Millingen, *Un. Mon.* ii. 15. Conf. *M. Capit.* iv. p. 127, and Millin. *Gall. Mythol.* 63.

⁶ *Hod.* Lepanto on the Gulf of Corinth.

Achaia, and says that it was the gift of Augustus, who brought it from Calydon.¹

PAROS

(one of the Cyclades).

The name of a Parian sculptor,

ARCESILAUS, is recorded ; and in an epigram Simonides refers with very high praise to a *statue of Artemis* by his hand, and calls him 'the worthy son of Aristodicus.'²

CRETE

produced an artist at this period named

ARISTOCLES of Cydonia, before Ol. 71. 3 (B.C. 404), who was commissioned by Evagoras of Zancle to make a group of *Hēracles contending with a mounted Amazon for her girdle*. Pausanias³ says that no one can state with any certainty when he lived, but that he was certainly among the most ancient artists (*ἐν δὲ τοῖς μάλιστα ἀρχαίοις*).

CROTON.

DAMEAS of Croton, Ol. 65 (B.C. 520?), executed a *statue of Milo*, the wrestler, which the great athlete is said to have carried into the Altis at Olympia.⁴ Milo flourished from Ol. 62–78.

TRÆZEN

(in Argolis).

In the Temple of *Apollo Thearins* at Træzen, which was built by Pittheus, was a temple statue of the god by

¹ Pausan. vii. 18. 9, 10.

² Diog. Laert. iv. 45.

³ v. 25. 11.

⁴ Ibid. vi. 14. 6.

HERMON, the Træzenian, who also executed *xoana* of the *Dioscuri*,¹ which were dedicated by Auliscus.

PHLIUS

(in Argolis).

LAPHAES the Phliasian made an *image* of *Heracles*, in wood, for a temple in Sicyon, and Pausanias conjectures, from the similarity of style, that a colossal nude *statue* of *Apollo* which he saw in a temple at Ægira in Achaia must have been by the same hand.²

ATHENS.

We have deferred the mention of Athens, which is now becoming the chief school of sculpture, because it is more immediately connected with the higher achievements of plastic art in the next period. The earliest Attic artists, as we have seen, went by the general name of Dædalids, and it is not until the 60th Ol. (540 B.C.) that we find much mention of Athens in art-history.

The first Athenian artist who is mentioned by name is

SIMMIAS, son of the mythical Eupalamus, probably an old Dædalid. Zenobius speaks of him as the author of a statue in porous stone (*ψέλλα* or *φελλάτα*) of *Dionysus μόρυχος*, 'the smeared,' an epithet derived from the custom of rubbing the face of the god with wine lees at the vintage.³

We then come to the more historical name of

ENDŒUS, Ol. 70 (B.C. 500), of Athens, of whom we have spoken above.⁴

Adopting as we do the date maintained by Brunn, 70 Ol. (B.C. 500), we may wonder at the very rude and primitive character of

¹ Pausan. ii. 31. 6.

² Ibid. vii. 26. 6.

³ Zenobius, v. 13, p. 121 (ed. Leutsch).

Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* iv. p. 42 (ed. Potter).

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 53.

Endœus' works. There is a *seated figure of Athene*, now at Athens,¹ in very archaic style, which was found under the Acropolis at the exit of the grotto of Agraulos; and a cognate figure, also of *Pallas*, discovered near the Erechtheium,² which, as some think, may give us an idea of the style of Endœus.

ANTENOR the Athenian, Ol. 67. 3-75. 1 (510-480 B.C.), made the first portrait-statues of the Tyrannicides, *Harmodius and Aristogeiton*, in bronze, which were carried away by Xerxes after the destruction of Athens. They were subsequently restored to the Athenians by Antiochus³ (or Alexander the Great,⁴ or Seleucus⁵), and set up in the Cerameicus in Athens, near the Temple of Ares (Mars), beside the new figures of the same heroes by Critias. Contemporary with Antenor was

AMPHICRATES, who made the famous *statue of Leena*, the faithful mistress of Harmodius (*lyræ cantu familiaris Harmodio et Aristogeitonū*), who died under the torture rather than betray her friend.⁶ After the expulsion of the Persians, the Athenians, desirous of commemorating her heroic deed, but unwilling to set up the statue of a harlot in a public place, hit on the expedient of representing her *under the form of a tongueless lioness*, thus expressing her courage by the form of the noblest of beasts and her silence by the lacking tongue.⁷

About the same period, or somewhat later, lived

ARISTOCLES, only known to us by extant inscriptions.⁸ The name is especially interesting from its connexion with the famous stêlê of Aristion, which is considered⁹ to belong to the 80th Ol. (B.C. 460).

The three artists *Hegias* (Hegesias), *Kritios*, and *Nesiotes* are

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 99.

² Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 98.

³ Pausan. i. 8. 5. Plin. *N. H.* xxiv. 9.

⁴ Arrian. *Anab.* iii. 16. 7.

⁵ Valer. Max. ii. 10, ext. 1.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 72. Pausan. i. 23. 1.

⁷ Plutarch, *De Garrul.* 8.

⁸ *Athenische Inschrift, Bullet. d. Institut.* 1859, p. 195, and *Corpus Insc. Græc.* i. p. 38, No. 23. Overb. *Ges. d. Plastik*, i. 118, note 58.

⁹ *K.-G.* p. 106. Vide *infra*, p. 106.

mentioned by Pliny¹ in the same sentence with Alcamenes, and are all called rivals of Pheidias, which they can hardly have been, though they may have been still alive during part of his life. Pausanias, on the other hand, speaks of Hegesias as contemporary with Onatas and Ageladas.

HEGIAS (HEGESIAS), Ol. 75–83 (480–448 B.C.), is said to have been a teacher of Pheidias, probably the first.² Among his works Pliny³ mentions: a group of the *Dioscuri*, which was subsequently carried to Rome and set up before the Temple of Jupiter Tonans; another group called *Pueri celetizontes* (boys on race-horses), of which some writers think that we have a copy in a relief in the British Museum; and a statue of *Heracles* in Parion on the Propontis.

CRITIOS and NESIOTES are mentioned in an inscription,⁴ found near the Acropolis at Athens, as the sculptors of a figure of a runner in full armour (*ὀπλιτοδρόμος*), called *Epicharinus*, which Pausanias⁵ also mentions as the work of Critios alone. But their chief work was a group of *Harmodius and Aristogeiton*,⁶ a copy of which was recognised by the lamented Friederichs,⁷ in two statues, now at Naples. These had been falsely restored as gladiators, and placed opposite to each other, instead of side by side.

Pausanias⁸ speaks of a school of Critios, and says that *Damocritus* of Sicyon was of the fifth generation from the founder, viz. *Ptolichus* (Ol. 75), pupil of Critios; *Amphion* (Ol. 82) of Ptolichus; *Pison* (Ol. 89) of Amphion; and *Damocritus* of Pison. Pliny⁹ also mentions the names of *Diodorus* (Diodotus?) and *Scymnus* in connexion with this school.

Pausanias and others record the existence of *old Attic statues* in bronze of this period, without giving the names of the sculptors. Soon after the battle of Marathon Miltiades consecrated a statue of

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.

² Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 55. 1, p. 282.

³ *N. H.* xxxiv. 78. Brunn, *K.-G.* 102.

⁴ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. p. 164.

⁵ i. 23. 9. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 103.

⁶ Lucian Philopseud. 18. Pausan. i. 8. 5.

⁷ *Bausteine*, sec. 24, 25.

⁸ vi. 3. 5; x. 9. 8.

⁹ *N. H.* xxxiv. 87.

the goat-footed Pan, who rendered efficient aid to the Athenians against the Persians. A bronze statue of *Hermes*, called '*Ἀγοραῖος*', which stood near the Pœcile at Athens, was so highly esteemed by the artists of the day that 'it was covered with the pitch which they used in taking casts from it.'¹

¹ Lucian, *Jup. Tragœd.* 33.

CHAPTER IX.

*EXTANT MONUMENTS OF THE FIRST HALF OF
THE FIFTH CENTURY B.C.*

THE SEATED FIGURE OF ATHENE

(Fig. 31),

at Athens, perhaps by Endœus, of which we have spoken above,¹ is

FIG. 31.



ARCHAIC FIGURE OF ATHENE.

by some writers assigned to the very beginning of this period. It may, however, be of a still earlier date. The Goddess is recognised by the ægis, which was probably painted.

One of the most interesting specimens of Attic archaism is the marble

SPHINX FROM SPATA,

a village² in Attica, in which so many interesting antiquities have been recently found cognate in character to those discovered by Dr. Schliemann in the graves of Mycenæ. This curious work of Attic art is now in the Ministero del Culto in Athens.

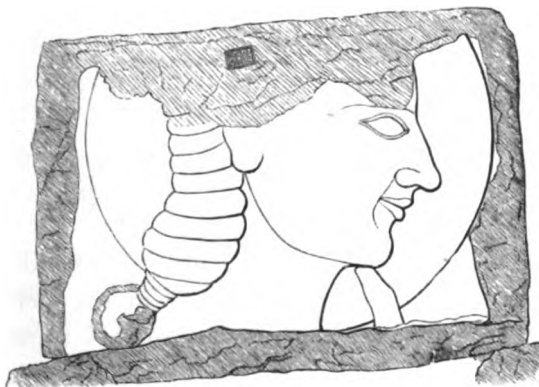
The oldest Attic relief probably which has come down to us is the head of a

¹ p. 96.² About ten miles E. of Athens.

DISCOBOLUS,

holding a large quoit on his shoulder with the left hand (fig. 32).
It served as the ornament of an archaic sepulchral stèle.

FIG. 32.



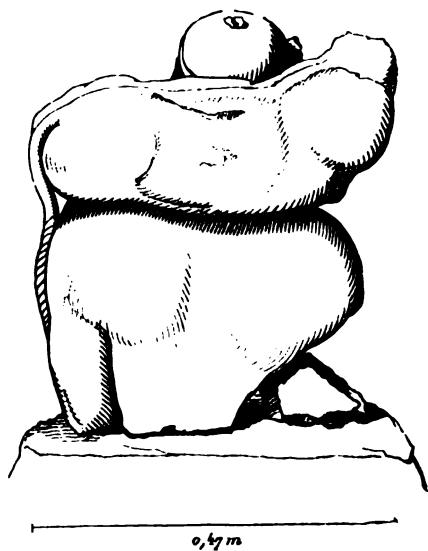
HEAD OF DISCOBOLUS AT ATHENS.

FIG. 33.



HERMES BEARING A CALF.

H 2



We have already mentioned a *Hermes bearing a calf* (fig. 33), (found on the east side of the Acropolis in 1864), of which only the upper part of the body of the God and the calf remain. It was probably entirely nude, with the legs close together, but the left foot a little in advance of the right. The neck is unnaturally long; the forehead is surrounded by the typical corkscrew curls, and three similar tresses fall down behind each of the large flapping ears on to the neck. The top and back of the head are smooth, from which it is conjectured by some writers that colour was used, while Pervanoglu maintains that the smoothness of the skull represents a close-fitting cap. The mouth is wide and grinning, the eyes are deep-set, and the pupils are left hollow for the reception of a gem or coloured mass.

With the foregoing statue may be compared the still more archaic bronze statuette of '*Apollo with the lamb*,' in the Berlin Museum, which was either a temple-image or the copy of some well-known hieratic type.

The same *motif* is treated in relief on an altar found in Athens in 1867—an undoubtedly archaic work—in which *Hermes* is represented with a long beard (*σφηνοπώγων*), and his hair bound into a *κρωβύλος*.¹ Instead of a calf he carries a ram (*κριοφόρος*), which is wonderfully executed, especially in the soft pliancy with which it suits itself to his neck, and in the powerful rendering of the woolly body.

Very archaic is the

STATUETTE OF ATHENE

(Fig. 34),

of bronze, discovered in 1836 by Professor Ross, in the foundations of the Parthenon. The goddess was represented in the attitude of attack, as on the Panathenaic vases (fig. 35), holding her shield,

¹ This relief affords a good specimen of the so-called *κρωβύλος*—the peculiar knot at the back of the head, worn by the old school

of Athenians—'*κρωβύλον ἀναδόμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν*' (Thucyd. i. 6).

which is now broken away, in the left hand, and her lance in the right. In the helmet is a hole for the crest. Her dress resembles that of the Athene which occupied the centre of the pediment of the temple at Ægina, and that of the archaistic Pallas at Dresden. This work is older than the present Parthenon, and, naturally, of not very delicate execution. A similar one has been lately found in Ægina.¹ Other works of this period and the Attic school are ;

A Statuette of a Centaur (fig. 36) in bronze, of the earliest type, with the forelegs of a man. This interesting figure was also found in the ruins of the ante-Persian Parthenon at Athens ;²

The Head of a Gorgon,³ on an antefixum of terra-cotta found, in 1836, in the foundations of the Parthenon, resembling that of the Seli-nuntine metope, except that it wears a necklace of snakes, and ear-rings. It bears evident marks of having been painted to represent natural colours ;

A Colossal Owl, of marble, from the Acropolis at Athens, where it stood on a pillar as an offering to Athene. The characters of the inscription show that it is of a very early date,⁴ and it may have been connected with the ante-Persian Parthenon ;

A Horse's Head, on a fragment of a marble relief found in the Parthenon in 1835. The sockets of the eyes are left hollow for the reception of glass or stone, and the ears were made in separate pieces and let into the head. It bears a resemblance to the horses of the Parthenon frieze, and, as the veins are expressed, it cannot be earlier than the fifth century B.C. ;

Torsos of three small Female Figures at Athens, chiefly interesting from the effort of the artist to distinguish the different materials of

¹ *Bullet. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 78.

² Compare the figure of a centaur of the same type in the interesting archaic bronze relief at Olympia, copied in Prof. Colvin's article, 'Centaur in Greek Vase Painting,' *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 129. See also pp. 130, 139.

³ *Bull. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 78. Pausan. iii. 59. 2.

⁴ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, pp. 22, 23: 'The owl of Athene played a great part in the sculptural decoration of the Acropolis.'

There is a curious passage respecting a magic owl, the work of the architect Ictinus, in Ausonius, *Mosella*, v. 309 :—

Vel in arce Minervæ
Ictinus, magico cui nectua perlita fūco
Allicit omne genus volucres perimitque tuendo.

Some writers have sought to connect this owl with the Athene Parthenos. Vid. Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* 1859, p. 93 ; Brunn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1860 ; *Anz.* p. 50. Conf. Overbeck, *Ber. d. K. s. Ges. d. Wiss.* 1860, p. 43.

FIG. 34.



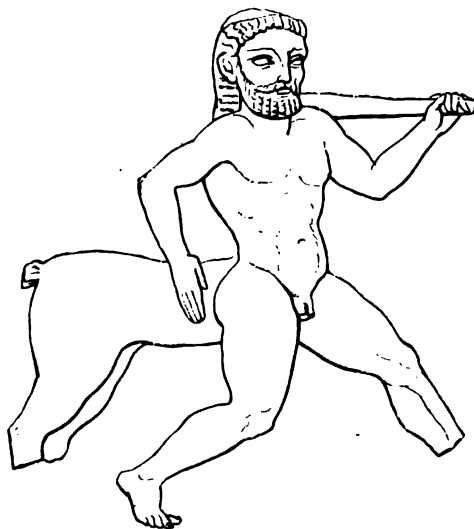
ARCHAIC STATUETTE OF ATHENE.

FIG. 35.



PANATHENAIC VASE.

FIG. 36.



ARCHAIC STATUETTE OF CENTAUR.

which the upper and lower garments are composed. The upper garment is of wool, which shows that these figures are not older than the first half of the fifth century, before which period the Athenians wore the Ionian chiton of linen. The upper garment is worn like a modern shawl over the shoulders and arms, and the two ends hang symmetrically down on each side.¹ They are probably intended for *Arrephori*.²

GODDESS MOUNTING HER CHARIOT,

represented in bas-relief on a marble slab, found on the Acropolis at Athens (fig. 37). The designation of 'goddess' which we have

FIG. 37.



GODDESS MOUNTING A CHARIOT.

given to this figure is not undisputed, for there is no *certain* indication either of sex or rank. The delicacy of the arms and hands, and the general air and expression of the whole figure, seem unmistakably female, and as it is well known that the Attic

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 23.

² Noble Athenian maidens who served

Athene in her temple, and wove her sacred robe (peplos).

women of the period did not act as charioteers, we may safely assume that this independent and dignified position could only be held by a goddess. Some writers have regarded it as an unwinged Nike, and as a part of the frieze of the ante-Periclean Parthenon. Closely connected with this relief is one of *Hermes* (or *Theseus*), also discovered on the Acropolis in 1859. The style and execution of this beautiful and interesting work is so similar to that of the 'Goddess mounting her Chariot,' that they are supposed to form parts of the same composition. We see in both the same Ionic softness, the same freshness, simplicity, and natural grace, and the same neatness and clearness of execution. The peculiar arrangement of the hair, which is suitable to both sexes, and is the same in both reliefs, has been considered by some writers to furnish an example of the so-called *krabylos*, so often referred to in Greek literature.

These two reliefs are the more interesting and instructive from the analogy which exists between them and some remarkable and beautiful remains of Lycian art now in the British Museum—the so-called *Harpy monument*, and other works. They show at once the close connexion which existed between the schools of art in Lycia and Athens, and the world-wide difference between the airy lightness, which is one of the distinguishing features of both, and the solidity, strength, and fullness of the contemporary productions of Peloponnesian art.

The treatment of the drapery, in the relief of the 'Goddess mounting her Chariot,' is well worthy of especial notice, since an attempt is there made to distinguish between the woollen stuff of the under garment of the goddess and that of the linen robe which is thrown across her shoulders. The folds are still artificial and conventional, and contrast somewhat strangely with the flowing outlines of the nude parts of the neck and arms. This singular combination of antique stiffness and unshackled freedom is characteristic of the transition period to which these works belong.

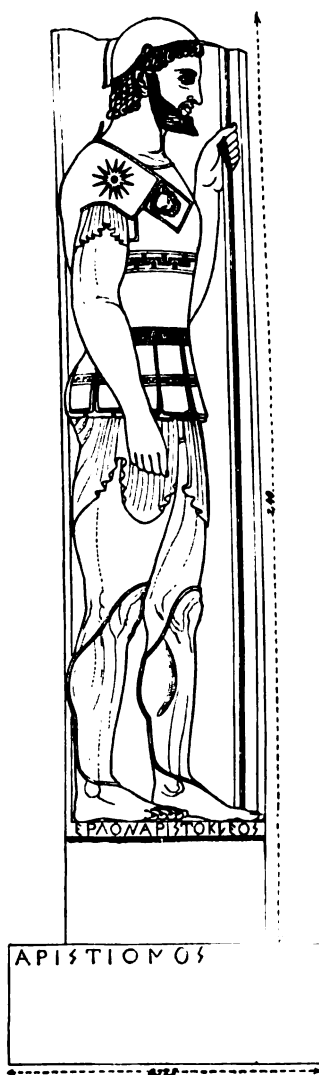
The so-called *Stèle of Dermis*, discovered in Tanagra, contains two figures in very high statuesque relief in an *œdícula*; it is probably one of the oldest plastic monuments in Greece.

The well-known sepulchral

STÈLÈ OF ARISTION,

according to the inscription on it, is the work of Aristocles,¹ a contemporary of Critios, the sculptor of the Tyrannicides. This famous bas-relief in marble (fig. 38) was discovered, in 1838, at Velanidezza in East Attica, and is now in the Theseion at Athens. It represents the old Marathonian soldier, whose antiquated costume Aristophanes² ridicules while he admires his soldier-like qualities.³ The tightly-fitting coat-of-mail appears to have been lined with leather, which is continued beyond the armour, and covers the thighs and upper arms; the greaves follow the form of the leg exactly, and were apparently of leather; the cap fits closely to the head, and was surmounted by a crest, for the reception of which a hole is still visible. The hair surrounds the forehead in a stiff row of corkscrew curls, while similar ones hang half-way down the neck. The details of the dress and armour are all worked out with extraordinary care and diligence and a truly epic minuteness, reminding one of the work on some of the painted vases.⁴ In the nude parts the artist has been much

FIG. 38.



¹ Vide *supra*, p. 88. Brunn conjectures that Aristion was the father of Aristocles, and not the deceased, to whom the stele was erected.

² Aristophanes (*Nub.* 952) speaks of the old *Μαραθωνομάχοι* as wearing the *τέττιγες* (*cicadae*) in their hair. Conf. Aristoph. *Eq.* 1219 (ed. Bothe):—

ὁ ἐκεῖνος ὄραν τέττιγοφόρας ἀρχαίης
σχήματι λαμπρός.

³ Pausan. (vii. 2), speaking of Androklos, says that his tomb was decorated in a similar manner: ἐπίθημα δὲ τῷ μνήματι ἀνὴρ ὠπλισμένος.

⁴ Jahn, *Pop. Aufs.* p. 227.

less successful, and very serious fault may be found with the proportions of the figure. It is evidently the work, not of an artist, but of a clever artisan, who is used to the manner, and is doing his best under the limitations of the relief style, the rules of which are well observed. The general effect of this work is extremely pleasing, and we are especially struck by the skill with which the figure is 'economised,' as Welcker expresses it, into the narrow

FIG. 39.

STÈLÈ OF
ORCHOMENOS.

limits by which it is bounded. Much of the original effect of the elaborate details of the dress is lost to us from the want of the colour, which was evidently used to give them prominence.

Dates ranging from the 50th¹ to the 80th Ol. have been fixed on for this very interesting relief. The weight of evidence seems to us to be in favour of the period between Ol. 70 and Ol. 80, B.C. 500-460.

Of a very similar character is a

SEPULCHRAL STÈLÈ AT NAPLES,

of marble, from the Borgia collection, formerly known under the erroneous name of '*Odysseus with the dog Argos*.'² It represents the figure of a man leaning on a long stick, with a small bottle (*λήκυθος*) hanging from his wrist, which

may be either the oil-flask of an athlete, or the ink-bottle of a scribe. It is in very flat relief, like the Arision, not in armour, but in the long flowing robe of a citizen of the old school. The right foot is in profile, though the knee is *en face*; the artist has sacrificed nature to the laws of the bas-relief.

A much better-known work, the so-called *Stèlè of Orchomenos* (fig. 39), may be mentioned here, though it is not Attic, on account

¹ Overbeck, *Geschichte der Plastik*.

² O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, sec. 96, 28. Brunn, *K.-G.*

of the close similarity of its design. According to the inscription upon it, it was executed by an artist of Naxos, named *Auxenor*, of whom nothing further is recorded. The attitude and dress of the departed are the same as in the Neapolitan relief. He is leaning on a long staff, in the same way, and holding out a locust to his dog. The relief is still flatter than that of the stèle mentioned above, and inferior in the modelling; the foot, which would naturally project, is here foreshortened in a very unusual and ugly manner. The cap resembles that of Patroclus on the famous cup of Sosias.¹

Heracles and the Hind, in the British Museum, a marble relief (from the Townley collection) which probably formed the side of an altar or candelabra. Heracles is pressing his knee on the back of the captured animal, thereby effectually preventing all further resistance or motion. The sculptor, like the poet, has, in this case, sacrificed truth to beauty, by representing the female animal with horns. It is, no doubt, a copy of some famous work, as we meet with the same composition in many reliefs and statuary groups of a later period; and it is probably Attic, as it resembles the designs on several ancient Attic painted vases.²

HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGEITON,

a copy of the work of Critios and Nesiotes, discovered by Friederichs, in two statues, formerly at Rome, where Winckelmann saw them, and now in the Museum at Naples (fig. 40). They had been falsely regarded as gladiators, but were restored to their original position, side by side, by Professor Friederichs.³ The proper position is seen in a marble relief (fig. 41), found by Stackelberg⁴ at Athens, on the back of a magistrate's chair and on some Athenian coins (*tetra-*

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, 30.

² *Spec. of Anc. Sculpt.* i. p. 11.

³ Petersen thinks that Aristogeton should

be foremost, in accordance with Thucydides, vi. 56, 57.

⁴ *Gräber der Hellenen*, p. 35.

drachmæ) (fig. 42).¹ These statues were executed to supply the place of the older ones carried off by Xerxes. The figure of Aristogeiton

FIG. 40.

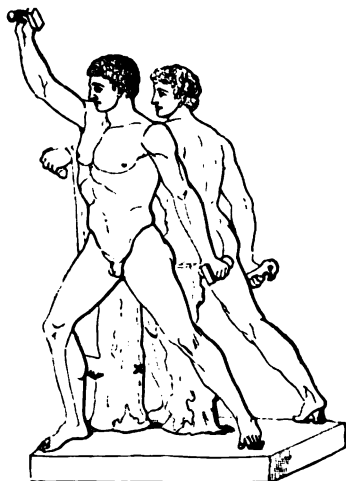
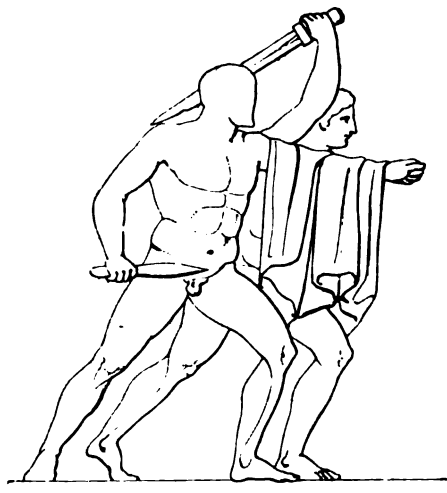


FIG. 41.



HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGEITON,

in the Neapolitan copy has a head, *antique* indeed, but not belonging to it. In the relief Aristogeiton has a beard, which marks him as the

FIG. 42.



COIN OF ATHENS.

older of the two ; Harmodius, as the younger and the more grievously offended, is represented a little in advance, rushing furiously on ;

¹ Overbeck, *Geschichte der Plastik*, i. 116.

while Aristogeiton, acting as protector to his young friend, spreads his cloak by way of shield, and holds his sword in readiness for action.

Nothing can be more admirable than the rhythm of these beautiful figures, and the manner in which the left limbs of the one correspond with the right limbs of the other. Without concealing one another they appear in the most natural and harmonious combination, the one being placed a little in advance, so that the vacant spaces are well filled up, and strict unity given to the group as a whole.

We have dwelt the more fully on this group, not merely on account of its historical interest, but because it is peculiarly fitted to give a correct idea of Attic art at this period. We see in this work the hard outlines of powerful but rigid forms, the stiff conventional folds in the mantle thrown over the arm of the older hero, the marks of care and diligence so characteristic of the age, combined with a certain refinement and grace which are essentially Attic.

A work which seems to be another copy of this group may be seen in the Boboli Gardens at Florence. Though freer in style, it is inferior in execution and interest. The same subject forms the device of the shield of Athene, in a painting on a pseudo-archaic vase in the British Museum (Table-case G), and on a Lecythus (oil flask) at Vienna.¹

As we look at these works we understand why, with all their archaic stiffness, they were so highly esteemed by the connoisseurs of antiquity. Quintilian² couples the name of Hegias (or Hegesias) with that of Callon, and says that his statues are harder and more like the Etruscan (*duriora et Tuscanicis proxima*). He should have added that, in spite of this superficial resemblance, there was this essential difference, that while the works of the Attic school are full of life and promise, the figures moulded by Etruscan artists are a 'mere assemblage of well-executed limbs which have no organic connexion.' Lucian speaks of the statues *παλαιᾶς ἐργασίας* of Kritios, Hegesias, and Nesiotes, and compares their style to that of ancient writers.

¹ Black figures on red clay in the Scaramanga collection; vide Eugen Petersen, *Arch-Epigraph. Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*. For other repetitions see *Mon. d.*

Inst. viii. 46 (M), and Conze's *Vorlegeblätter*, Ser. vii. Taf. 7. Conf. *Arch. Zeitung*, 1870, T. 24. 1. c. 6.

² *Orat.* xii. 10. 7.

‘Then he will bid you imitate those ancient writers, placing before you forms of words not easy to imitate, like the products of the old workmanship of Hegesias, Critios, Nesiotes, and their associates—compressed, sinewy, rigid, and sharply outlined—and will tell you that labour, wakefulness, water-drinking, and perseverance are necessary and inexorable.’¹

¹ Lucian, *Rhetor. Præcept.* 9: ἀπασφισμένα
καὶ νευρώδη καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ ἀκριβῶς ἀποτε-
ταμένα ταῖς γραμμαῖς πόνον τε καὶ ἀγρυπνίαν

καὶ ὕδατοποσίαν καὶ τὸ λιπαρὲς ἀναγκαῖα
ταῦτα καὶ ἀπαραίτητα φήσει.

CHAPTER X.

EXTANT WORKS OF FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

(CONTINUED.)

LYCIAN ART,

of which we have numerous and highly interesting remains, bears a strong affinity to Attic art, although it was greatly modified by local influences, both religious and artistic. The extant monuments are precisely what we should look for in the productions of Attic sculptors working in Lycia with Lycian views.

The most important of these is the so-called

HARPY MONUMENT,

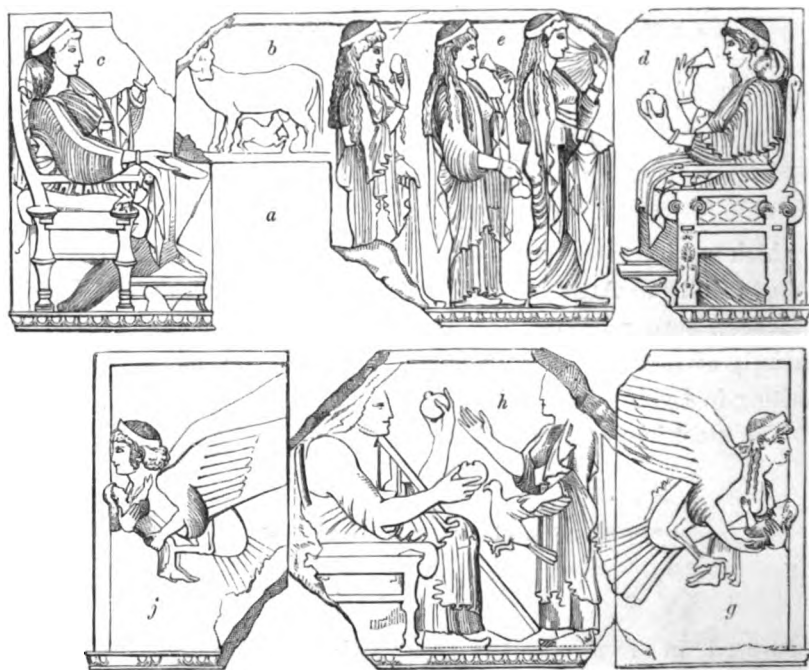
about Ol. 70 (B.C. 500),

discovered in 1838 on the Acropolis of Xanthos, by Sir C. Fellows, and now in the British Museum. This, in every way, most remarkable work consists of a rectangular tower, made from a single block of limestone, with a flat roof, immediately under which is a frieze¹ about twenty-one feet from the ground (fig. 43). In one side of the frieze, under the figure of a cow, is a rectangular opening (fig. 43, *a*), rather more than half the height of the frieze, through which the urn containing the ashes of the dead

¹ εἰδοφόρος, εἰσώστη ἐν εἰδοφόρῳ (Conze, *Corpus Inscr. Gr.* 2840).

was introduced. Similar monuments were found in the same neighbourhood; and it seems to have been customary among the Carians and Lycians to bury their dead at the top of towers of this kind, as we learn from Arrian's description of the tomb of Cyrus.¹ The frieze, which is of white marble, is let into the tower on four sides, each side containing three slabs, of which the central is the longest.

FIG. 43.



HARPY MONUMENT IN BRITISH MUSEUM.

The aperture above mentioned is not in the centre of the west side; if it were, the composition would have been divided into two exactly equal halves, by which its beauty would have been greatly marred. Above it is a cow (fig. 43, *b*) suckling a calf, executed in archaic

¹ Arrian, *Anab.* vi. 29: τάφος—ἐς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεποιήται ἔνωθεν δὲ οἰκημα ἔπεστι λίθινον, ἐστεγασμένον θωρίδα ἔχον

φέρουσιν ἔσω στεγὴν ὡς μόλις ἂν ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ οὐ μέγαλ' πολλὰ κακοπαθοῦντι παρελθεῖν. Conf. Strabo, xv. 730.

style, but with great skill. To the left of the opening sits a goddess (*Déméter*?) holding a sacrificial cup in her hand for the reception of offerings. She is attired in a long robe reaching to her feet, and is seated on a highly ornamented chair or throne, on the arm of which is a sphinx. Facing her, at the opposite corner, sits another very similar but somewhat more juvenile goddess (*Cora*, *Persephone*) (fig. 43, *d*), also enthroned, and holding in her hands a flower and a pomegranate.

FIG. 44.



THE HARPY MONUMENT.

The arms and back of the chair end in rams' and swans' heads. In front of this very graceful figure stand three female worshippers (fig. 43, *e*), one behind the other, the foremost of which has no offering, but daintily holds up her dress with one hand, and with the other prepares to veil her head. It is probable that she is the chief worshipper, who offers up a prayer for all. The second bears a flower and a pomegranate, or a quince, and the third an egg.

On the opposite or east side of the tower, in the central and longest slab, sits a bearded god (fig. 44, *e*), on the most highly decorated of all the thrones in the relief. The arms of his seat are supported by tritons, while the feet end in lion's claws. His sceptre leans against his right arm, and in his left hand he holds a flower; before him stands a boy, bearing a cock in his right hand and an apple in the left. Behind him, to the right, on the smaller slab, is a youth (fig. 44, *f*) accompanied (curiously enough on so solemn an occasion) by his dog, and holding some object—no longer recognisable—in his hand. On the left side, behind the enthroned god, are two worshippers (fig. 44, *g*), robed to the feet, also bearing flowers or fruit. The north and south sides, as we have said, are somewhat narrower than the others. On the south side is a beardless god (fig. 43, *h*) enthroned, in a long robe with sleeves down to the elbows. His long sceptre rests on the ground and leans against his shoulder; and he holds a pomegranate and apple in either hand respectively. Before him stands a man raising his right hand in adoration, and holding a bird (dove?) in his left.

On the north side is another bearded god on a throne (fig. 44, *i*), under which lies an animal, probably a bear.¹ A warrior, very like in dress to the Aristion described above,² with sword and shield, is offering his helmet to the god, who receives it with his right hand, while his left supports the long sceptre. On either side of him are the so-called Harpies,³ from which the monument takes its name, each bearing a small doll-like figure in her arms. These curious monsters have both wings and human arms, with claws for hands, and feathered tails. Their heads are female and youthful, but their bodies are shaped like eggs, and form the most enigmatical feature of these curious reliefs. They represent, no doubt, the messengers of death in the act of bearing away the deceased; and though Hellenic traditions and myths afford us no complete key to their signification, we are reminded by them of the Harpies in Homer,⁴ who carry off the daughters of King

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 39.

² Vide *supra*, p. 106. ³ ἁρπυϊαί, spoilers.

⁴ *Odys.* xx. 78:—

τόφρα δὲ τὰς κούρας ἁρπυϊαὶ ἀνηρείψαντο

καὶ ῥ' ἔδωσαν στυγερῆσιν Ἑρινυσὶν ἄμφιπολεύειν.

'In the meanwhile the Harpies snatched away these maidens, and gave them to be handmaids to the hateful Erinnyes.'

Conf. *Odys.* i. 241.

Pandareus, and give them as servants to the Erinnyes. When a person suddenly disappeared he was said to have been carried off by the Harpies. Thus Telemachus complains that they had carried off his father ἀκλῆϊως (ingloriously).¹ But the strange beings in our relief are not Harpies in the general acceptation, for they bear away the children with every mark of gentleness and affection, and their little *protégés* stretch out their hands to them as to a loving nurse or mother.

The most popular theory respecting the *motif* of this frieze is that of Professor Ernst Curtius,² who regards it as symbolical of death as the beginning of new life. The cow, according to him, represents life-giving, all-nurturing Nature. The goddess to the left of the aperture—which represents the gate of Hades—is the goddess of death, from whom the three female worshippers turn away towards the goddess of life, bearing in their hands an egg, a flower, and a fruit, as emblems of germination, bloom, and maturity. The space to the right is the side of life, to enlarge which the gate of Hades is placed, not in the middle, but nearer the left corner. The twice repeated forms of the ‘Harpies’ with heads of women, powerful wings, four arms—two human and two with claws—and egg-shaped bodies, are benevolent beings, who press their charges affectionately to their bosoms, and leave others sorrowing behind. Death, as the commencement of new life, is represented by the egg-shaped bodies of the ‘Harpies.’ The sphinx and rams’ heads, which appear in the ornamentation of the thrones on the west side, denote death and life; the ram, according to Curtius, being a symbol of life in death. The three male figures enthroned on the three sides are the trinity of the highest godhead in Heaven, Earth, and Hades. According to this view, the small figure sunk in grief at the corner of the north relief is of the same nature as those which are being carried off by the Harpies, and is overwhelmed by a sense of desolation at the departure of the loved ones.

On the other hand, Conze³ only sees in the Harpy, with its human head and egg-shaped body, a demon of storm and death with the mingled form of man and bird.

¹ *Odys.* i. 241; xiv. 371.

² *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1869, p. 80.

³ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1855, No. 73.

Brunn¹ takes an altogether different view of the matter. He thinks it highly improbable that so very ancient a monument should contain such a clear manifestation of faith in a future life. The sphinx, ram, and triton, on which Curtius partly rests his theory, are found on the throne of Zeus, and in connexion with Hades, Apollo, Demeter, Cora, and even a Muse, and need, Brunn thinks, have no symbolical meaning. He finds no special reference to death, or life in death. The cow most naturally suggests the idea of a nursing mother, and the egg the germ of nascent life. The pomegranate figures in the myth of Persephone as the symbol of consummated marriage, and Polycleitus places it in the hand of Hera as the guardian of wedlock. If the god (fig. 43, *h*) on the south side holds the nuptial apple or quince, and his worshipper the dove of Aphrodite, we may regard the scene not as representing death or Hades, but the union of the sexes, as the crown of human life, the fulfilment of human existence. The idea of death, which must not, of course, be wanting on a tomb, is represented by the Harpies—in the form of Sirens bearing away the souls of the deceased—and by the sorrowing mourner.

There is almost an equal diversity of opinion among archæologists respecting the period and style of the Harpy monument. Most writers assume a close affinity between the old Attic and Lycian schools, and compare the reliefs under consideration with the 'Goddess mounting her Chariot,' the 'Aristion,' 'Leucothea,' &c., and place them in the middle of the 70th Ol. Brunn, after an elaborate analysis of the dress, which he says expresses neither the form nor the movements of the body, comes to a different conclusion. They resemble, he thinks, the colossal statues on the Sacred Way of the Temple of the Branchidæ near Miletus, which is the nearest city to Lycia from which archaic monuments have come down to us. In the Milesian figures we find in a still greater degree the massive fullness and softness of form which are essentially un-Attic, and speak of Asiatic, and especially of Assyrian, influence.² The same characteristics are found

¹ *Bericht d. kön. baier. Acad. Nov. 2, 1872. Stephani, Comptes Rendus, 1859.*

² Brunn, *op. cit.* Newton, *Discov. at Halicarn.* i. 74, 75.

in the Lycian reliefs, combined with an elegance which betrays the more delicate touch of the Greek hand. In spite of the many serious faults in the execution of these reliefs, which are only too evident on a closer examination, we feel the propriety of Welcker's well-known remark, that their style is '*alterthümlich streng aber schon von Anmuth leise umflossen.*'¹

The so-called

'LEUCOTHEA' RELIEF

(Fig. 45),

in the Villa Albani, may be conveniently considered in this place on account of its general resemblance in style to the frieze of the Harpy monument, although its connexion with Lycia is only conjectural. It represents a woman sitting on a handsome chair, similar to those of Demeter (?) and Cora (?), above mentioned,² and holding a child in her arms, like those whom the 'Harpies' bear away. It is evidently the ornament of a tomb, for the seated figure is tenderly raising the youngest and most helpless of the children, which stretches out its little hand to caress its mother's cheek. The woman in front of the chair, holding a *tænia*, or garland, in her hand, is probably a servant, who has brought the child to its mother. The two others in a line with her, and, singularly enough for this early period, *in perspective*, are the two older children, the taller of whom carries something in her hand. The magnificence of the seat has led to the

FIG. 45.



SEPULCHRAL RELIEF.

¹ 'Severely archaic, but already showing a light touch of grace.' It is the hieratic style bound by religion, but betraying freedom in subordinate parts. Hellenic art had

reconciled form and idea, plastic expression and symbolical signification, but Lycian art had not.

² p. 113.

supposition that the occupant is a goddess, but the work-basket under it brings her down to the sphere of common domestic life. Though inferior in refinement and elegance to the Harpy relief, the 'Leucothea' shows a considerable advance in the treatment of drapery, the lines of which have a distinct relation to the forms and attitude of the wearer. In all probability the two works are of the same school, and nearly of the same period.¹

THE RELIEF OF THASOS.

(Fig. 46.)

This relief, discovered in 1864 in the island of Thasos, and now in the Louvre, has been truly said to be 'almost equally important to

FIG. 46



THASIAN RELIEF.

Epigraphy, the history of Religion, and the history of Art.' The inscription speaks of *Apollo, the Nymphs, and the Charites*, but not of *Hermes*, who is also represented. The Nymphs and Charites cannot be distinguished from one another by the attributes they carry, which

¹ Brunn, *Bericht d. kön. baier. Acad.* 1872, pp. 111, 212.

are flowers, fruits, and *tania*. The action centres in Apollo, who is followed by four women, the foremost of whom is in the act of crowning him. Four other women, led by Hermes, also seem to be advancing towards the central figure. The inscription '*Epistocrates Erotos*,' in large letters above the niche, is of later date than the work itself, and shows, perhaps, that it was used as a tombstone.

Singularly enough, the *Relief of Thasos*, which is generally acknowledged to be archaic, presents many of the differences in style and merit and the inevitable inconsistencies which are considered almost certain criteria of copies. The most primitive in style are the figures of the women, except perhaps the one who crowns Apollo, which is of somewhat freer execution. Hermes is angular and stiff in form, and yet very lively in his movements. He forms a transition to Apollo, who is halting in his progress and turning round, and, in this very difficult attitude, is very skilfully portrayed.

TERRA-COTTA RELIEFS FROM THE ISLAND OF MELOS.

Some very interesting groups in terra-cotta, which, from their style, are considered to belong to this period, have been discovered in Melos, and are now in the British Museum and the Louvre. Three of these curious reliefs, which have no background, represent *Bellerophon in combat with the Chimæra*; *Perseus beheading the Medusa* (fig. 47), out of whose neck *Chrysaor* is rising; and *Sappho and Alcaeus* (fig. 48), which embodies an incident in the life of those two minstrels recorded by Aristotle.¹ These are in the British Museum.²

¹ Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 9. 20:—

... τὰ γὰρ αἰσχυρὰ αἰσχύνονται καὶ λέγοντες καὶ ποιοῦντες καὶ μέλλοντες, ὥσπερ καὶ Σαπφὴ πεποίηκεν εἰπόντος τοῦ Ἀλκαίου.

Alcaeus:—

Θύλω τι φεῖπῃν, ἀλλὰ με κωλύει αἰδώς.

(I wish to say something to thee, but shame prevents me.)

Sappho:—

αἰ' δ' ἴδες ὁσθλῶν ἕμερον ἢ καλῶν
καὶ μὴ τι φεῖπῃν γλῶσσ' ἐνέκα κακόν,
αἰδώς κε σ' οὐ κίχανεν ὀμματ'
ἀλλ' ἔλεγες περὶ τῷ δικαίῳ.

(Hadst thou conceived a longing for aught worthy or noble, and were not thy tongue labouring to utter something bad, then would not shame have clouded thine eyes, but thou wouldst speak of thy rightful wish.)

² We find a similar *motif* treated on a

FIG. 47.



PERSEUS AND MEDUSA.

FIG. 48.



SAPPHO AND ALCÆUS.

FIG. 49.



MEETING OF ORESTES AND ELECTRA.

Another very interesting relief of a similar kind from Melos, now in the Louvre, represents the *Meeting of Orestes and Electra*¹ at the

sarcophagus from Golgoi, where Perseus is making off with the head of Medusa (*vide* Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 110); also on a gold ornament in the British Museum, which has

two Pegasi.

¹ Eurip. *Electra*, 577. The same subject is painted on a vase in the British Museum, in second vase room, wall-case 16, No. 34.

Grave of Agamemnon (fig. 49). The name of Agamemnon is inscribed on a stêlê, and that of Electra beneath her feet. She is clad in a closely-fitting dress, and is attended by her nurse. Orestes stands opposite to his sister by his horse, accompanied by his friend Pylades and a packbearer. The recognition has evidently not yet taken place.

CHAPTER XI.

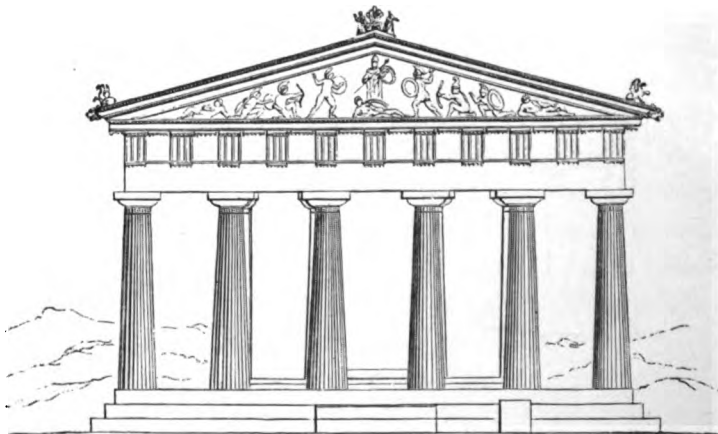
EXTANT MONUMENTS OF THE FIFTH CENTURY

(CONTINUED).

PEDIMENTAL GROUP FROM THE TEMPLE OF
ATHENE IN ÆGINA.

OF the three great centres of plastic art, of which we have spoken in the last chapter on the early artists—viz. Argos, Sicyon, and Ægina—

FIG. 50.



RESTORED TEMPLE OF ATHENE AT ÆGINA.

only the latter is represented by any considerable extant works. In 1811 a company of English and German architects—Cockerell, Forster, Linkh, and Haller—discovered the principal parts of *two pedimental groups among the ruins of the ancient Temple of Athene*

(fig. 50) in Ægina.¹ These splendid original works of ancient Greek art, the vast importance of which was immediately recognised in Germany, are now in the Glyptothek of Munich, of which they form the ornament and the pride. Of the eleven figures which ornamented each façade of the temple, ten were found belonging to the western, and five to the eastern pediment. Both have been completely restored with admirable skill and judgment by the illustrious Thorwaldsen, to the satisfaction of all; though we can hardly believe what he is reported to have said, when asked to point out the restorations, 'that he had forgotten his own portion of the work, and could no longer distinguish them by the eye.' ('Ich erinnere mich ihrer nicht mehr, und sehen kann ich sie auch nicht.') The object of both compositions is the glorification of the great race of Æginetan heroes, the 'χρυσάρματοι Æacidæ'² ('Æacids of the golden car'); and this is effected by representing them as taking the lead in defending Greeks from barbarians on two different occasions. The general treatment of the subject and the arrangement of the figures in the two groups is almost identical. The eastern pediment represents the *Expedition of Telamon (the Æginetan) against Laomedon of Troy*, to which he was invited by *Heracles*.³ The latter was the real leader of the expedition, but, as he is said to have used his bow, he could with propriety be placed behind Telamon in the group, especially as the latter was the first to enter the city, and thereby gained the prize of valour. These are the only figures to which we can safely assign names. It is uncertain who the fallen hero is; he has been called *Oicles*, but there seems better reason for supposing him to be the defeated *Laomedon* himself.⁴ In the corresponding group

¹ Herodotus refers (iii. 59) to a sanctuary of Athene at Ægina as existing in Ol. 64. 2 (B.C. 523), but the *ἱόν*, as Brunn suggests, may have existed long before the temple, whose ruins we still see. Moreover, the plastic ornaments were in many cases added long after the completion of the building itself—as in the case of the temples of Delphi, Olympia, &c.

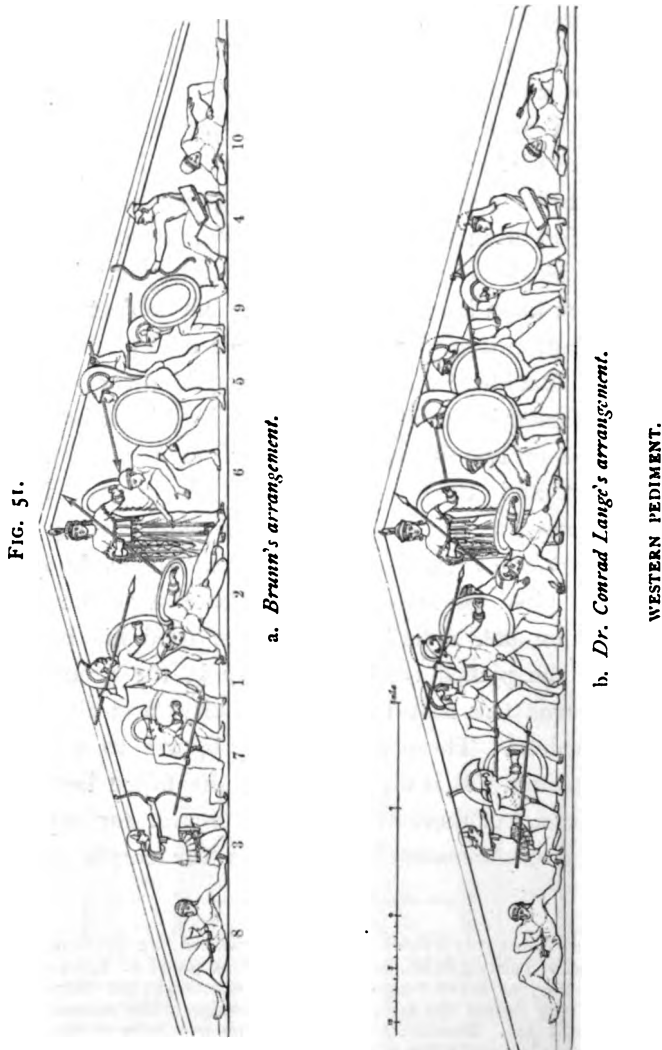
² Pindar, *Isthm.* v. 27. Conf. *Nem.* iii. 36: 'The invasion of Troy by Heracles and Telamon, and the defence of the city by

Trojan women, are represented on an early Greek vase found at Vulci and now in the Leake collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The names of the warriors are written over each, as Heracles, Telamon, Andromache, Glaucus, Alcæa, and others.' Vide Paley's translation of Pindar, p. 174, note 1. Conf. *Nem.* iv. 40.

³ Pindar, *Isthm.* v. 35 (ed. Dyssen).

⁴ Conf. Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasen*, iii. Taf. 227.

of the western pediment (fig. 51) the artist probably intended to represent *Ajax*, the Æacid, son of Telamon (no. 1), rescuing the body of



Achilles (fig. 51, no. 2) from his foes, following, as Welcker thinks, the Æthiopis of Arctinus the Milesian. The Grecian archer is *Teucer* (fig. 51, no. 3), the half-brother of *Ajax*. On the Trojan side we have

no difficulty in recognising *Paris* (fig. 51, no. 4), the archer, and the slayer of Achilles, and the warrior in front of him is probably *Aeneas* (fig. 51, no. 5). In both groups *Athene*, the goddess of the temple, forms the central figure, and is distinguished from the rest by her height and her position *en face*. She watches the contest with divine composure, as tutelary divinity and umpire. She is often, indeed, represented as leading on her friends, but in the relief before us to place her on one side would have disturbed the balance of the composition. The fact that her feet are both unnaturally turned towards the side of the Greeks is interpreted by some writers to indicate her partiality. It is more likely the consequence of a want of room, and a desire not to interfere with the figure of the fallen warrior. In the present arrangement in the Glyptothek the wounded Greek lies to the right of the goddess, with his legs extended before her feet. On her left an unarmed Trojan stoops forward, under the protection of a friendly warrior's shield, to pick up the corpse. Next to these, right and left, come respectively the chief champions of either party, each supported by an archer immediately behind him in the act of discharging an arrow. These are followed on either side by a kneeling warrior, with helmet, shield, and extended lance, and in each corner lies a wounded Greek and Trojan respectively, at full length. According to a happy suggestion of Friederichs,¹ Brunn² proposes to alter the arrangement of the figures by placing the archers in the second place from the corner, instead of the third, by which the rhythm—the *arsis* and *thesis* of the group (the alternation of higher and lower figures)—would be better preserved. The annexed plate (fig. 51, *a*) gives Brunn's arrangement, which is almost universally accepted.

An entirely new disposition has been recently proposed by Dr. Conrad Lange, and advocated with considerable skill. Both Cockerell,³ one of the original discoverers of the Æginetan marbles, and Wagner,⁴ who wrote a valuable report on them, admitted that fragments of at least thirty statues had been found. As late as the

¹ *Bausteine*, &c. p. 51.

² *Ueber d. Comp. d. Aegen. Giebelg. kön. baier. Acad. d. Wissensch.* 1868, Bd. ii.

³ *Quarterly Journal of Science and the Arts*, vi. 1819, p. 337.

⁴ Wagner, *Bericht*, p. 72.

year 1860 Cockerell¹ solemnly places on record his 'reasons for believing that the eastern and western pediments had each thirteen figures, and not eleven only, as in the restoration in Munich.'

Prachov² was also of opinion that there were *two* unarmed figures, one on each side of the wounded warrior, stretching forward to raise him. Resting on these authorities, Dr. Lange³ proceeded to the examination of the numerous fragments at Munich, and came to the conclusion that *three new figures* ought to be introduced, bringing up the number to fourteen in each pediment. The additions, as will be seen from the plate (fig. 51, *b*), are a warrior standing, with lance and shield, on each side, and another unarmed figure on the left side of Athene, stretching forward to raise the dying hero. This arrangement requires, of course, that the figures should be placed side by side on the base of the pediment, for which Dr. Lange maintains that there is ample depth.

The earlier controversy raised by Cockerell and others was closed by Welcker,⁴ who said that the composition would not allow of any more figures. We may mention that the treatise of Dr. Lange has been very fully answered by Dr. Julius,⁵ and the question is still under discussion.

The effect of these groups was greatly heightened by the use of colour, traces of which were discernible to Wagner on their first discovery,⁶ and by the addition of bronze ornament.

The foregoing remarks apply to both pediments equally; we proceed to notice briefly the figures in each.

WESTERN PEDIMENT.

(Fig. 51.)

Of this group ten figures were found, and proceeding on the well-grounded hypothesis of the exact correspondence of the two groups, the missing figure of the unarmed Trojan (next to Athene), who is

¹ *Temple of Jupiter Panhell. at Ægina*, p. 36, London, 1860.

² *Annal. d. Inst. Sc.* 1873, pp. 140, 162, *tav. d'agg. O. P. Q. Conf. Mon. d. Inst.* ix. tav. 57.

³ *Die Composition der Aegineten*, von

Konrad Lange. Leipzig, 1878.

⁴ *Alte Denkmäler*, Göttingen, 1849, p. 65.

⁵ *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1880.

⁶ J. M. Wagner, *Bericht* (ed. Schelling, 1817), p. 214.

stretching forward to drag away the corpse, was supplied from the eastern pediment.

Athene stands erect, apparently indifferent to the issue of the contest, and more like a temple-image than the living Goddess. While the other figures are made nude to raise the representation into the region of the ideal, she is fully, and even heavily, robed. The lower part of her face is large and heavy, the lips are closed, the lower one full and pouting; the general expression is calm and self-satisfied. On her head is the ægis, which covers her back down to the knees, and is apparently without seam, with only an opening for the head like a *bourous*. It was covered with scales, and had a fringe of snakes' heads round the edge, and a *gorgoneion* (head of Medusa) in the centre. The execution of all these details is most careful and elaborate. The rim of the ægis is pierced with holes to receive the tassels—Homer's¹ *θύσανοι παγχρύσοι*—of which we may get an idea from ancient ornaments in the Vatican.

The beautiful figure in front of *Athene* represents *the fallen Achilles* (fig. 51, no. 2), who props himself with his right hand, which held a sword. The helmet is pushed loosely back from the head, and allows us to see the hair, which is executed far under the helmet. The veins are expressed with great nicety on his right arm, which is only done in one other figure of this group.

In fig. 51, no. 1, on the right hand of *Athene*, we see the *Telamonian Ajax*, who is holding out his shield for the protection of the wounded hero, and striding forward, lance in hand, to the attack.

Teucer (fig. 51, no. 3) is kneeling on his right knee and preparing to shoot. He wears a short chiton, which covers the middle of his body in flat folds, like a kilt, and over it a closely fitting leather jerkin, laced on the left side, and fastened on the shoulders by metal clasps.

Fig. 51, no. 7 represents *Ajax, son of Oileus*, in a crouching position, with lance in hand and extended shield. He is bending forward, and supports himself on his bent left leg, while the right knee lightly touches the ground. He is in a position which enables him to spring to his feet in a moment.

¹ *Iliad*, ii. 448.

The wounded Greek (fig. 51, no. 8) in the corner is lying on his side, and supports himself on his left arm, while with the right he is trying to draw out the deadly arrow from below his breast.

On the Trojan side we have as foremost champion *Aeneas* (fig. 51, no. 5), formerly called Hector, in the same attitude as his *pendant* and opponent, Ajax Telamonius, but seen on his left side, and therefore partly covered by his large round shield.

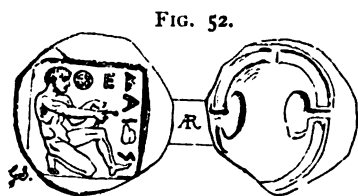
Paris (fig. 51, no. 4) is easily recognised by his slender and elastic figure, and his Phrygian cap. He is completely clothed in a tightly fitting dress of soft pliant leather, which leaves only his feet and hands bare. His attitude is similar to that of his counterpart Teucer, except that the left leg is thrown farther forward, by which a lighter and more springy appearance is given to the figure.

The Kneeling Trojan (fig. 51, no. 9), answering to Ajax Oileus (fig. 51, no. 7), is in a very similar position to the Greek, but supports himself on his right foot, and stretches his left leg farther behind him, so as to fill up the vacant space in a natural manner.

The Wounded Trojan (fig. 51, no. 10) lies more on his back than his Greek *pendant* (fig. 51, no. 8); his legs are not crossed, and the hair, which falls down the back, is cut straight off below in quite a different manner.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

The arrangement of the group on the eastern front of the temple



THEBAN COIN.

on old Thracian¹ and Theban² coins (fig. 52).

was almost exactly the same as that on the western, described above. The only statue to which we can give a name is that of *Heracles* (no. 54),¹ who appears as an archer in the typical attitude. We have a good example of this in the figure of the same hero

¹ The numbers here given do not refer to our plate, which is of the *western* pediment, but to the original figures at Munich, and to Brunn's admirable catalogue (*Be-*

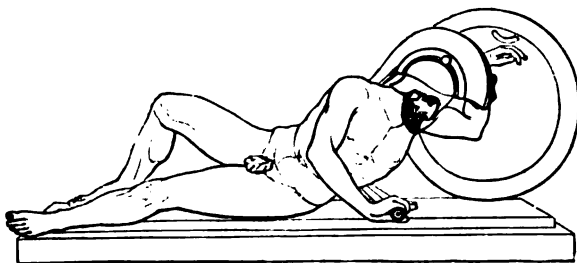
schreibung der Glyptothek).

² O. Müller, *Denkmäler der alten Kunst*, i. 31. Mionnet, *Description des Médailles*, Pl. 55. 5.

The other figures are *The Dying Trojan* (no. 55) behind Heracles in the left corner; the *Champion of the Trojans* (πρωταγωνιστής), no. 56 (sometimes called Telamon); *The Fallen Warrior* (no. 57), which is to a great extent the work of Thorwaldsen; *the unarmed Trojan* bending forward with outstretched arms to pick up the body of Oicles (?).

Nothing is more remarkable in this great work of Æginetan art than the contrast between the perfection of the figures and the utter want of expression in the face. We see before us human bodies, which the artist is quite capable of representing in very various attitudes with perfect truth, but they are not living, sentient beings. The blood does not flow, the heart does not beat, the breath is not quickened

FIG. 53.



THE DYING HERO OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

by emotion. They remain alike unmoved by the joy of victory, the affliction of defeat, or the pangs of approaching death. With a vacant smile they deal or receive the fatal blow. We might say of the sculptor of the Æginetan marbles, as compared with Pheidias, what Carlyle said, somewhat harshly, of Scott when contrasting him with Shakspeare: 'Your Shakspeare (and your Pheidias) fashion characters from the heart outwards; your Scott (and your Callon?) fashion them from the skin inwards, never getting near the heart of them.'

As the result of long and careful comparison between the eastern and western groups, Prof. Brunn¹ feels justified in claiming a marked superiority for the former. The difference in artistic merit is best seen

¹ *Die Aeginet. Giebelgr. Sitzung d. kön. baier. Acad.* 1868, Bd. ii.

by comparing *the dying Hero* (fig. 53, on page 129¹) behind Heracles in the eastern pediment with the corresponding figure in the western. In the former there is hardly any trace of the leanness and stiff angularity which characterise the latter, and indeed almost all the figures of the western pediment. The conventional Æginetan rigidity is partially broken through in the treatment of the dying hero, the whole system of veins is expressed, and there is even some attempt to imitate the skin on the right shoulder and the stomach near the navel. As we look at this beautiful figure, the fact that it is only removed in time by about fifty years from the pedimental groups of the Parthenon does not seem to us very strange, great as we must acknowledge the difference to be between them.

But it is not, as Brunn points out, a uniform superiority of execution in the eastern group which strikes us so much as indications of greater independence and higher aims, and a certain inequality of style which speaks of transition. In mere correctness the western group has decidedly the advantage over the eastern; but while it shows fewer faults, it has also fewer beauties. In the former we see that the artist is perfect master of his work, that his hand can execute all that his mind conceives; while the latter betrays a striving after a higher perfection which is not always successful. It is from these and similar observations that Professor Brunn is disposed to think that they are by different hands, and to regard the western group as the work of an older artist grown grey in his school—perhaps Callon himself—and the eastern by a more independent, more ambitious, but technically less skilful master—perhaps Onatas.²

These remarkable productions of early plastic art have excited the highest admiration of both the anatomist and the sculptor. The intimate knowledge of the human form and the technical mastery they display are truly wonderful. Notwithstanding the great variety of attitudes into which the figures are thrown, they need no artificial support; and the shields more especially, which are chiselled to a thickness of not more than two inches, are masterpieces of clever workmanship.

¹ No. 55 of the original group.

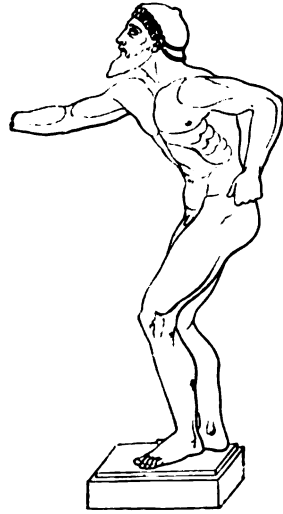
² Pausan. v. 25. 8; and *supra*, 84.

CHARIOTEER, CALLED BATON¹

(Fig. 54),

a small archaic bronze of great beauty, about six inches high, in the cabinet of antiquities at Tübingen, is mentioned here because it resembles the Æginetan figures in style, though the face is much more expressive. The name of *Baton*, the charioteer of Amphiaraus, is given to this figure because he appears to be restraining his excited horses when at their utmost speed, as if he suddenly saw before him the yawning gulf in which both heroes and horses were swallowed up. This interesting example of genuine archaic style is full of originality and spirit, and the execution shows both diligence and skill.

FIG. 54.

ARCHAIC BRONZE OF
CHARIOTEER.WORKS OF THE PELOPONNESIAN AND OTHER
GREEK SCHOOLS.

We have but few remains from this period of Peloponnesian art, the chief centres of which were still Argos and Sicyon. Among the few is a relief on a peristomion² (the low wall surrounding the mouth of a well) discovered in Corinth, belonging to Lord Guildford, representing

THE WEDDING OF HERACLES AND HEBE

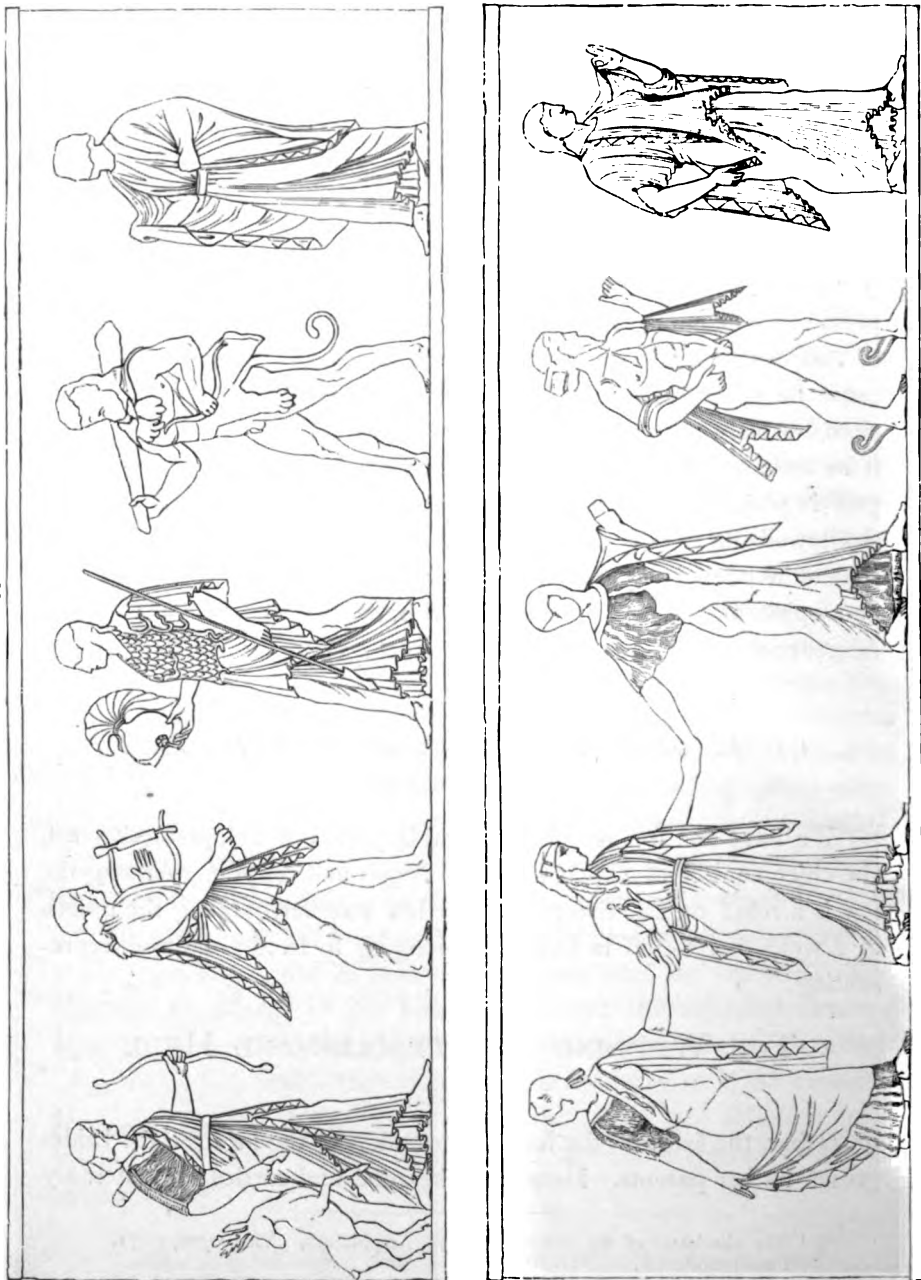
(Fig. 55),

or, rather, the *ἑκδοσις* (the formal surrender) of the bride to the bridegroom by her parents. Heracles is bearded, and carries his customary

¹ The charioteer of the unfortunate hero, Amphiaraus. Vide *supra*, p. 71.

² Puteal sigillatum.

FIG. 55.



WEDDING OF HERACLES AND HEBE.

attributes, the lion's skin and the bow. Athene, as his patroness, precedes him with her helmet in her hand, and he is followed by his mother *Alcmene*, who, as a matron, is richly dressed. The figure of the bride and all her surroundings are portrayed with unusual delicacy and refinement. With drooping head and maidenly reluctance, holding up a flower in her right hand, she half follows and is half drawn along by *Aphrodite*, who turns to her as if chiding her delay. Behind her is another figure, probably *Peitho*, the Goddess of Persuasion, who lays her hand on the elbow of the lingering Hebe, gently forcing her to the dreaded meeting with her expectant lover. In front of *Aphrodite* marches *Hermes*, and before him *Here*, the mother of the bride, who, like *Alcmene*, is heavily and richly robed. The style of this relief lies between archaic stiffness and the freedom of a later period, on which account it is sometimes classed among *archaistic* rather than archaic works.

PELEUS AND THETIS

are represented in two bronze figures in the museum at Florence, which form the foot of some utensil of the same material. They represent the favourite scene of *the struggle between Peleus and Thetis*, often depicted on Greek painted vases, in which the goddess endeavours to escape from the assiduities of her mortal lover by assuming the shape of various animals.¹ The transformation is indicated by the presence of wild beasts, who endeavour to second her resistance. A similar bronze support, belonging to the same utensil, represents *Perseus slaying Medusa*. The composition of these groups is somewhat marred by the constraint of the triangular form in which they lie, but the execution is refined and elegant.

¹ This was a very favourite *motif* with the painters of Greek vases. See the splendid polychrome and gold vase from a tomb in

Cameirus (Island of Rhodes), in Brit. Mus., table-case L. No. 1.

THE DYING AMAZON

(Fig. 56),

a marble statue in Vienna, of which the arms, the whole left leg, and the right leg from the knee downwards are wanting. She is wounded in the left breast, and the drooping head and sinking form

FIG. 56.



THE DYING AMAZON.

suggest the idea that she formed part of a group, like that on the Pulzky gem (fig. 56, *a*) at Pesth, in which *the dying Penthesilea is supported by Achilles*. There is, however, a mark on the thigh which seems to imply that the lost right arm hung listlessly by her side. This would imply a different attitude from that of Penthesilea in the gem. It is characteristic of the art of this period, that while the whole body is full of expression, no suffering or even emotion shines through the face. The figure has an additional value as an example of the Amazon type before the time of Pheidias. The Amazon of the golden age of art wears a very light scanty dress, which allows the proportions of the beautiful but somewhat masculine form to be seen, and leaves one shoulder and one breast bare. In the older style of the

statue before us the shoulder is covered, but only by the chiton, so that a lively contrast is effected between the different materials and folds of the upper and lower garments. The covering of her head is a kind of skullcap, probably with a small crest, very similar to those which we see on the *Roger Amazon vase*,¹ and in the *Orpheus* of the famous relief in the Villa Albani.

¹ Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, iv. 329, 330. Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 68.

CHAPTER XII.

ARCHAISTIC (PSEUDO-ARCHAIC) ART.

THE term *archaistic*, i.e. pseudo-archaic, is applied to a class of imitations in which not so much individual works of art as particular styles and types are copied. They are for the most part the productions of artists of an advanced period, who divest themselves as far as they are able of their superior knowledge and freer style, and affect the rude and cramped manner of an earlier and less skilful age. It is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the history of mankind that the wealthy and luxurious of an over-refined era conceive a passionate love for all that savours of the primitive simplicity and rudeness of primæval life.¹ This longing of the sated and jaded palate for coarse and simple food is particularly observable in the Emperors Augustus and Hadrian, and the *beau monde* of Rome saw beauty through their masters' eyes. Hadrian's morbid taste, which, careless of beauty, sought only the antique, led him back even to Egyptian art. During the reigns of these monarchs, therefore, the copyists were employed in reproducing, not the noblest or the most beautiful, but the most ancient, and even the most grotesque productions of earlier times. A still more fruitful source of archaistic imitation than even imperial caprice was religious reverence for antiquity. The rude idols, which were little more than symbols, were hallowed by the pious veneration of past ages, and retained a magic influence over the minds of succeeding generations. The Muse of Religion is always fondly looking back to a time of purer, firmer faith, and loves to surround herself with the objects which have come down

¹ 'Plerumque grata divitibus vices.'

from that better and holier age. The very sense of our own sorrowful scepticism inclines us to invest with a peculiar sanctity whatever has been hallowed by the undoubting worship of our forefathers. It is the same feeling which leads us to guard against any attempt to change the phraseology of our Bible, to cling with tender reverence to the prayers of our Church, the products of a more believing age—to think that there breathes in them an *ἐνθεον*, a spirit of faith and holiness, not always to be found in the polished diction of ‘enlightened’ divines of our own day. When Æschylus was asked by his brothers to write a new pæan, he replied that the old one of Tynnichus was the best;¹ that a pæan by himself would fare as new statues by the side of more ancient ones; for the latter, with all their simplicity, were regarded as divine, while the more carefully executed modern works were admired indeed for their skilful execution, but produced far less the impression of godhead.² Even Pausanias, who lived nearly to the end of the second century of the Christian era, recognised the divinity of the grotesque and clumsy images ascribed to Dædalus.³ It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that side by side with the ever-progressive secular art, which changed with the changing views and tastes and the growing skill of the times, the fabrication of religious, or rather hieratic, images was carried on, in which the artist deviated as little as possible from the ancient form. We have already seen one example of this tendency in the copy which Onatas the Æginetan made after the Persian war, of the Black Demeter with the horse’s head.⁴ Another is the strange figure of Athene on the Panathenæan oil-jars,⁵ which remained unchanged when Athenian art was at its height. It is evident that it was in this guise that the pious worshippers of the

¹ Socrates (Plato, *Ion*, 534 D) gives Tynnichus as a remarkable example of an insignificant person divinely inspired: ‘*Ἡμεῖς οἱ ἀκούοντες εἰδῶμεν ὅτι οὐχ οὗτοι εἰσιν οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες οὐτὼν πολλοῦ ἕξια, οἷς νοῦς μὴ παρέστιν ἄλλ’ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ λέγων διὰ τούτων δὲ φθέγγεται πρὸς ἡμᾶς. Μέγιστον δὲ τεκμήριον τῷ λόγῳ Τύννιχος ὁ Χαλκιδεύς, ὃς ἄλλο μὲν οὐδὲν πάποτ’ ἐποίησε ποίημα, οὗτος τις ἂν ἀξιόσκει μνησθῆναι τὸν δὲ παῖωνα (παῖᾶνα) ὃν πάντες ἄδουσι σχεδὸν τι πάντων μελῶν κάλλιστον ἀτεχνῶς ὅπερ αὐτὸς*

λέγει εὐρημά τι Μοισᾶν.

‘The best testimony of this is Tynnichus the Chalcidian, who never composed a poem worthy of mention except the pæan which we all sing, almost the most beautiful of all songs, which, as he himself says, was really an invention of the Muses.’

² ταῦτα γὰρ καὶ ἀπλῶς πεποιημένα θεῖα νομίζεσθαι τὰ δὲ καὶνὰ περιέργως εἰργασμένα θαυμάζεσθαι μὲν θεοῦ δὲ δοῖαν ἦτον εἶναι.

³ Vide *supra*, p. 18.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 86.

⁵ Vide *supra*, fig. 35, p. 102.

goddess figured her to themselves, when they thought of the *Athene Polias*, the protector of the citadel. Most of the archaistic productions were ἀφιδρύματα, temple-images, objects of actual adoration; and it was no uncommon thing to see the rude productions of the infancy of art in the same temple with the highest achievements of the greatest masters. And when, as we are told, a satyr by Praxiteles was placed beside a clumsy wooden image of Dionysus, the religious feelings of the worshipper would deem it fitting that the god should be represented in the ruder but more ancient, and therefore holier form, while his semi-bestial follower was fashioned by art in its fullest development.¹

THE ARCHAISTIC ARTEMIS AT NAPLES

(Fig. 57),

one of the most beautiful specimens of the temple-image, was discovered in 1760 at Pompeii, in a small fane, of which it was the presiding deity. Like many others of the same nature it is smaller than life, being only 4 ft. 2 in. in height. It was found in an excellent state of preservation, and the only parts wanting are the fingers and the object which the goddess held in her right hand. The form is particularly elegant and pleasing, in spite of a certain archaic stiffness—especially in the line from the back of the head to the right foot—which is out of keeping with the perfectly free style of the nude parts, and with the dimple in the chin, so unbecoming a Diana. The shape of the eyes, too, and the lovely flowing locks of the hair, also indicate its later origin.² The original from which

FIG. 57.



ARCHAISTIC ARTEMIS
AT NAPLES.

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 71.

² *Ibid.* p. 73.

this statue is copied was anterior to the formation of the type of Artemis which we are accustomed to see in works of a later period. In these she is represented in lighter, slimmer proportions, better suited to the fleet maiden huntress, and in a short (*nuda genu*) sleeveless garment, and without the long locks of hair which early art seems to have considered an indispensable attribute of divinity.

The traces of colour in this figure were very abundant on its first discovery, and are still, after the lapse of a century, distinctly visible. The hair was gilded to represent the blonde locks attributed by the poets to Artemis, and by Pindar¹ to all the Greeks. The head-band or diadem round her head was white, and the rosettes with which it is adorned were gilded. Both her upper and lower garment had a red border edged with a gold stripe and adorned with flowers. The band across her breast, which supported a quiver, was painted red, as were also her sandals, but no trace of colour has been discovered on the nude parts. We should mention that even this figure has been regarded by some writers as a genuine archaic work.²

ARCHAISTIC ATHENE.

(Fig. 58.)

This celebrated torso, which has been since 1728 in the museum at Dresden, is of a much later date than the foregoing, although it is also a copy of a very ancient temple-image. The prototype was probably the Athene Polias, worshipped in the Erechtheum, to whom a garment was offered every year, on the border of which *the battle of the Gods and Giants* was embroidered. The head and arms are wanting, but it is generally assumed that the goddess stood in an attitude of attack, with a lance in her upraised hand; and it is thus that the statue has been restored by the sculptor Rauch. Thorwaldsen and others think that her position is a much quieter one, similar to that of the Athene in the Æginetan group at Munich, which the torso resembles also in the arrangement of the robes, and in the broad stripe which runs down the front of

¹ *Nem.* ix. 17: ξανθοκομῶν Δαναῶν.

² Kugler, *Geschichte der Kunst*, p. 124.

them. It is the plastic ornament of this stripe which betrays the copyist. In a really archaic statue the border would have been left smooth, or painted, or at most decorated with a very low relief in the same style as the figure itself, and not as here in the manner of a very advanced period of art (fig. 58, *a*).

FIG. 58.



ARCHAISTIC ATHENE AT
DRESDEN, p. 138.

THE ARCHAISTIC PALLAS,

discovered in Herculaneum and now in the museum at Naples. In this figure, which is in perfect preservation, the goddess is represented brandishing a lance in her right hand, and extending her ægis in her left arm by way of shield. The position of the legs gives a disagreeable impression of insecurity to the figure, and can only have been adopted to produce the stiff uniformity and the straight and parallel lines of the dress, necessary to give it the archaic character.

‘ZEUS TALLEYRAND,’¹

an archaistic bust, formerly called *Trophonius*, is said to have been found in Greece, whence it came into the possession of Prince Talleyrand, and is now in the Louvre. Some writers discover in it a great resemblance to the type of the Indian Bacchus,² although it is much thinner in the face. The head is crowned with palm leaves and flowers. The cut of the pointed beard, and the schematic separation between it and the whiskers, are characteristic of the archaic style.

¹ Kekulé, *Arch. Zeitung*, xxxii. 1874, p. 96. Overbeck, *Gr. Kunst-Mythologie*, Zeus, v. Sybel, *Das Bild des Zeus*, 1876.

² Brunn, *Bullet. d. Inst. Arch. Rom.* p. 200. Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 77. Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, p. 254.

It seems to be the result of a wish to blend the severity of the antique with the almost dandified elegance of a declining age, like that of Hadrian. 'It is,' says a recent writer,¹ 'a compendium of ancient art-history. The hair is archaic, the head is in the free and high style, with ideal Greek profile, and the ornaments of the head belong to a late period of decline, and are thoroughly unplastic.'

ARCHAISTIC ARTEMIS,

discovered in 1792 at Gabii and now in the Glyptothek at Munich. Its pictorial character forbids us to ascribe the invention to an early period of Greek art, and the execution is apparently Roman.² Nothing can be further removed from the common idea of Artemis, with her uncovered head and frank open countenance, than this figure with the long veil flowing down the back of her neck almost to her sandalled feet, and the long locks which fall upon her breast. She is dressed in a short-sleeved chiton open at the left side, and confined by a girdle. The quiver is supported by a band over the right shoulder, which is ornamented with a very flat relief. The garland or diadem on the head is formed of *small roebucks and candelabras*, and in her right hand she holds up *a deer* by its fore-legs. The position of the feet, which hardly touch the ground, seems to indicate rather hovering or floating than mere walking. The whole effect indeed is so little that of the maiden huntress, that the artist must be thinking of her as the goddess of the moonlight, flitting with torch in hand (*φωσφόρος*) over forest and hill.³

ARCHAISTIC PANSHERMA,

discovered by Hamilton in 1779, near Civita Lavigna, and now in the Townley collection of the British Museum. This, too, is a refined

¹ Ludw. v. Sybel, *op. cit.*

² Brunn, *Beschreibung der Glyptothek*, p. 115.

³ The epithet *φωσφόρος* was applied to Artemis as well as Hecate, or we may rather say Artemis in the character of Hecate.

Iphigenia in Taur. 21 : *εἴω φωσφόρῳ θέσεν θεῇ.* Aristoph. *Lys.* 443 : *εἰ τ' ἄρα νῆ την φωσφόρον* ('*Αρτεμιν*). The Scholiast says: *την Ἀρτεμιν οὕτως ἐκάλουν, ἐπεὶ δαδούχος; ἢ αὐτῇ τῇ Ἑκᾷ.*

modification of the old naturalistic idol. It is characterised as *Pan* by the pointed ears, the 'Roman nose,' and the projecting lower jaw, which remind us of the goat; but the conventional style of the representation, and the garland of palm leaves on the head, give it an air of modern elegance at variance with the subject itself.¹

We must remember, however, that, in imitating the antique, the artist of Imperial Rome had often no other motive than the desire to indulge his own fancy or that of others, or to multiply a type which had become fashionable. We know that Fashion was no less irrational, arbitrary, and capricious, no less antagonistic to genuine art—which is founded on the deepest, noblest and most enduring feelings of our nature—than in the present day. And as the worshippers of Fashion outnumbered, then as well as now, the votaries of all the other Gods together, the majority of archaistic works were probably designed for ornamental purposes.

FOUR-SIDED PEDESTAL

of marble, discovered in 1857 on the eastern side of the Parthenon, and still in Athens. The reliefs which adorn it afford a good example of the earlier and better imitation of the archaic manner. It probably formed *the basis of a statue of Hephæstus*, who with his attribute, the hammer, occupies the foremost place in the reliefs. The other recognisable forms are *Hermes* with the short light chlamys of the messenger of the Gods, and *Pallas Athene* with spear and helmet. The third figure carries a long staff, which may be the thyrsus, but the end is broken off. The least practised eye would hardly be deceived by this imitation of archaic simplicity. The general effect is constrained and artificial, and many of the details—e.g. the position of the feet, which in genuine archaic works are flat on the ground, the ridiculously small waist of Athene, &c.—betray the copyist.²

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 78.

² *Ibid.* p. 79. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, i. 170.

THE WEDDING OF ZEUS AND HÉRÊ

is the subject of a relief on a four-sided marble altar in the Villa Albani at Rome. Here, as in the wedding of Heracles and Hebe, described above, the *ἐκδοσις*, the solemn procession which accompanied the bridal pair into the house of the bridegroom, is represented. The subject, which is also treated on old Greek vases, is the more interesting because it is taken from scenes of actual Greek life. *Artemis* precedes as Goddess of Marriage, torch in hand because the ceremony took place in the evening. Next to her comes her mother *Leto* (or, as some conjecture, Hêrê's mother *Rhea*, or her nurse *Tethys*), then the majestic bridal pair—*Zeus* with thunderbolt and royal sceptre, and *Hêrê* veiled as a bride and holding a sceptre, with the proud eyes cast down, for once, in maiden modesty. Behind them walk *Poseidon*; *Demeter* bearing her attributes, ears of corn and poppies, and wearing the *modius* (fruit-measure) on her head, the symbol of her beneficence; *Dionysus* wearing his leopard's skin; *Hermes*; and another figure, of which only the arm is preserved. The remnant of a garment at the head of the procession may have belonged to *Apollo*, who would most appropriately lead the way and chant the hymeneal song.¹

THE THREE-SIDED BASIS OR PEDESTAL,

at Dresden, probably intended to bear a tripod gained by the victor in some musical contest, and offered by him to *Apollo*. All the three reliefs by which it is ornamented have reference to the Delphian ritual. One of these represents *the contest of Heracles and Apollo*² (fig. 59) *for the Delphian tripod*, which Heracles carried off when the *Pythia* refused to answer his questions. The strife between such

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 81.

² The Phocians dedicated a tripod at Delphi on which the contest of Heracles and *Apollo* for the tripod was represented. It

was offered in honour of their victory under *Tellias* over the Thessalians (Herod. viii. 28, and Pausan. x. 13. 4). Vide *supra*, p. 92.

redoubtable antagonists could only be stopped by the thunderbolt of their common father, Zeus. Both God and hero are almost entirely nude; Heracles with his usual attributes, lion's skin, helmet and bow, is bearing off the tripod, on which Apollo, crowned with the Delphian bays, and holding his bow, lays his hand, claiming his own. Between the combatants is a cone-shaped stone, the sacred *ὀμφαλός*, the navel of the earth, hung with ribbons ending in round pendants. The subject is very frequently treated in a freer and more lively manner on vases (fig. 60), and may be seen on a marble slab in the Louvre,

FIG. 59.



FIG. 60.



CONTEST FOR THE DELPHIAN TRIPOD.

where a great difference is to be remarked in the style in which the two figures are executed.¹

The relief on the second side represents *the consecration of a tripod* (fig. 61), which consisted in wrapping it round with ribbons or fillets. This office is being performed by a priestess in presence of a priest, who is crowned with laurels, and holds a broom in his hand as cleanser of the temple.

On the third side the subject is *the consecration of a torch*, on which may be observed a kind of hilt to protect the hand of the holder from the falling ashes.

¹ Conf. the fine Greek relief on a vase at Athens, and the obverse of a crater from

Vulci in the Brit. Mus., first vase room, table-case N. No. 172.

The close connexion between the three scenes is clear. The actual contest for a tripod in which the offerer had been engaged is represented mythically by the struggle between Heracles and Apollo ;

FIG. 61.



CONSECRATION OF A TRIPOD.

then follows the consecration of the victor's prize ; and the consecration of the torch shows that the tripod had been won in the *ἄγων λαμπαδοῦχος*, or torch-race.¹

¹ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, sec. 96, 20.

The evidence of archaistic imitation is seen in the overloaded ornament, executed in the freest style and in the taste of a declining age, above and below the would-be archaic reliefs.

ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS,

formerly belonging to the Borghese collection and now in the Louvre. Ottfried Müller says of this well-known work that it is 'nobly designed

FIG. 62.



ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS.

and executed with extraordinary care and diligence,' and that it is perhaps an imitation of the *βωμὸς δώδεκα Θεῶν* erected by the Pisistratidæ in Ol. 64.¹ The restorer (?) has done his best to destroy the value of this beautiful monument; for the restoration is not only utterly incongruous in style with the ancient work, but stupidly erroneous to an inconceivable degree. This basis, too, was probably intended to

¹ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, sec. 96, 22.

support a tripod : it is three-sided, the base being broader than the top. Each face is divided into an upper and lower compartment. In each of the upper and smaller fields are four gods, in two pairs: (1) *Zeus and Hera, Poseidon and Demeter*; (2) *Apollo and Artemis, Hephæstus and Athene*; (3) *Ares and Aphrodite, Hermes and Hestia*. In the three lower and longer compartments we find, respectively, *the Charites* (fig. 62), *the Horæ and the Mæræ*.

The restoration betrays great ignorance in almost every part, but the most fatal and ludicrous mistake consists in giving *Hephæstus*—who holds his well-known attribute, the tongs, in his hand—the form and breasts of a woman !

The artist has succeeded in imparting a general air of archaism to his work, but the illusion is quickly dispelled on a closer examination. The very arrangement of the group belongs to a later period than that to which the relief tacitly professes to belong. The feet are represented *en face* instead of in profile, and the conventional zig-zag and the artificially pressed folds of the hem of the robe are glaringly inconsistent with the free and flowing lines, and the skilful arrangement of other parts. The nude parts too, especially the arms, though stiff in their position and movements, are treated in the round full style of developed art.¹

PERISTOMION (PUTEAL)

in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. This work is interesting as another example of the '*Putealia sigillata*,' such as Cicero imported from Athens for his villa,² and which are mentioned in Horace,³ Ovid,⁴ and Persius.⁵ But it owes its chief importance to the supposed subject of the relief, *the Marriage of Pallas and Heracles*, which is known to art though not to literature. The loves of Heracles and Athene are frequently represented on ancient vases. In one of these the hero is standing before the goddess, holding her hand as if to lead her home as his bride.⁶ By the side of Heracles is the inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ, and

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 84.

² Cic. *ad Att.* i. 10. 3.

³ *Sat.* ii. 6. 35; *Epist.* i. 19. 8.

⁴ *Rem. Am.* 561.

⁵ 4. 49.

⁶ Gerhard, *Trinkschale*, t. c. 7. Stackelberg, *Gräb. d. Hellenen*, i. 13. 3.

by Athene NHNI (*young woman*), twice repeated.¹ On a Sicilian vase we find the same subject treated somewhat differently. Hermes is just departing after having brought Athene to Heracles. Behind the latter is Alcmene (or Aphrodite), who holds a flower in her left hand. In some of the scenes of the same kind on vases we find the figure of Eros, and on an Etruscan mirror *Turan*, the Goddess of Love, is depicted. Gerhard² thinks that even the cup of Sosias represents the marriage of Heracles and Athena. In the majority of cases Pallas is a consenting party, but in others she appears to be fleeing from his overtures,³ and in Etruscan works she is coarsely represented in a struggle with her lover.⁴

The copyist is here sufficiently exposed by his representing Hermes with a smooth face and youthful figure. In real archaic work he would have a beard.

APOLLO AND NIKÊ

a marble relief in the British Museum, in which Nikê is represented pouring out wine from an upraised ewer (πρόχοος) in the graceful attitude of a cup-bearer. The original work was, no doubt, the offering of a victor in a musical contest to the God of melody, the inspirer of musical genius and the giver of victory. Reliefs with the same design exist in Paris and Berlin. The *Berlin relief* (fig. 63), which was taken by Napoleon from the Villa Albani, contains two additional figures—*Leto and Artemis—the Temple of Delphi with its sacred plane tree, and a pillar on which stands a small rude image of Apollo holding out a cup*. The elaborate ornamental detail in this work would be sufficient to stamp it as an archaistic production of a late period, but the anachronism of a *Corinthian pillar* in a professedly archaic relief places the matter beyond all doubt. We may indeed assign this

¹ Welcker, *Rhein. Mus.* iv. 479. Conf. Anacreon, *Fragm.* 15. Bergk: νῆνι ποικιλοσαμβάλη, 'maiden with embroidered sandals.'

² Gerhard, *Trinkschale*, t. c. 8.

³ Braun, *Tages u. d. Heracles u. d. Minerva heilige Hochzeit*, t. 2. b.

⁴ O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge*, p. 83. O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, p. 572.

work to a period subsequent to Scopas, who was the first to introduce the *dithyrambic* element into sculpture, here represented in the agitated movements of Apollo.

FIG. 63.



RELIEF OF APOLLO AND NIKÉ.

THE THREE CHARITES (GRACES),

in a marble relief discovered near the Lateran at Rome, and now in the Chiaramonti gallery of the Vatican. We feel some compunction in classing it among archaistic works, as is done by the chief authorities on the subject, and are inclined to regard it as a genuine archaic production of a very early period. It would be difficult to imagine three female forms more unlike the received notion of the Graces than these long-robed and clumsy figures; and equally hard to believe that an artist of a late period of fully developed art could bring his hand to work in so rude a style. The arguments against

its genuineness are chiefly derived from the attempt to distinguish between the three Graces by a difference in the position of the body and head, in the dress, and in the arrangement of the hair; the tendency in genuine archaic representations being to make figures of this kind almost exactly alike. The Gratia to the right is placed in profile, the two others *en face*. All three have thick hair, but the central figure wears a στεφάνη (diadem), the one on the right a cap, and the hair of the third falls down her back.

There are several fragments of reliefs in Athens in almost exactly the same style, which are generally acknowledged to be archaic.¹

CHAIR OF THE PRIESTS OF DIONYSUS,

found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The archaistic reliefs on the back of this magisterial seat are in strange contrast to a crouching figure of Eros with a fighting cock, both of which are executed in the freest style.

¹ Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, iii. 13. Conf. *Annal. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 267, and Schöll, *Arch. Mitth.* p. 26, 27, n. 12, 13.

CHAPTER XIII.

HISTORY OF ARTISTS.

PYTHAGORAS, MYRON, CALAMIS.

ALTHOUGH the archaistic imitations which formed the subject of the last chapter assist us materially in gaining an acquaintance with the general features and the more striking criteria of the archaic style, they do not help us to write the history of the development of Greek art. If it were not for the discovery of the Æginetan marbles, we should have no conception of the manner of such artists as Canachus, Callon, Onatas and Ageladas. The ancient writers, who speak of them with praise, give no such description of their style as would enable us to form a clear conception of its character. *Non constat sibi in hac parte Græcorum diligentia*, as Pliny remarks in regard to the early history of painting. When we pass, in our review of the works of Greek art which time has spared, from the Æginetan group to the marbles of the Parthenon, we seem to attain to the summit of perfection by a sudden leap, and not, as usual, by toiling up a long and gradual ascent. A closer consideration, however, will convince us that the two groups are not separated from one another by so very deep a chasm after all.

In the history of art, as in other histories, every great prophet has his forerunner, and every king his herald. When we consider the qualities which go to form a great sculptor—the genius, the knowledge, the labour, and the technical skill—we shall convince ourselves that even Pheidias did not spring suddenly in full armour from the head of Jove, but was slowly and naturally formed in the womb of time.

The most important change in the position and prospects of the

artist during the period of which we have been speaking—a change without which no Pheidias could have arisen—was his gradual emancipation from hieratic bonds. Greek art remained indeed essentially religious. In his treatment of religious subjects the sculptor was still controlled by his own reverential feelings or the prejudices of others, as we saw in the case of Onatas and the Black Demeter. But another field was now opening before him in which he could freely cultivate and freely display his highest powers—I mean the Panhellenic games, and the national Pantheon, at Olympia. The demi-god and the hero (*ἀθανάτοις ἕκλος—ἡμιθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*) were fitting and legitimate objects for plastic representation. When the glory attached to success in the games at once exalted the victor to heroic rank, it was no more an act of desecration in the sculptor to pourtray him, than in the most religious of poets, Pindar, to sing his praises. It was no impiety to award him the divine honour of a statue, and no religious consideration forbade the artist to form him exactly as he lived and moved. The importance of the religious halo thrown round the Olympian victors to the development of sculpture can hardly be overrated. It justified the sculptor, who was in a certain sense a minister of religion, in moulding the form of a mere mortal; and as it was by bodily prowess that the victor gained his honours, it was incumbent on the artist to make the form and movements of the body the subject of the most careful observation.

Another leading feature of the sculpture of the period under review is *the prevalence of bronze* as the usual material for iconic statues. It is only in Athens that we find marble in statuary side by side with the ivory and wood of Endœus.¹

As we know so little of Ageladas and Onatas, whom we might otherwise perhaps consider as forerunners of Pheidias, we must confine our attention to three prominent artists of this period, who may with good reason be looked on as having prepared the way to that summit of perfection which they did not reach. These three are *Pythagoras of Rhegium, Myron of Eleutheræ, and Calamis of Athens.*

¹ Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, p. 123.

PYTHAGORAS OF RHEGIUM.

Two dates are given by Pausanias,¹ in which Pythagoras appears as an independent worker—viz. Ol. 73 and Ol. 77 (488 and 472 B.C.). The same writer calls him a pupil of Clearchus of Rhegium, the pupil of Eucheiros the Corinthian, who again was a pupil of the Spartans, Syadras and Chartas. Pythagoras was contemporary with Onatas and the Æginetan group, and may have lived down to 430 B.C., the year before that in which Pericles died. Pythagoras was pre-eminently the sculptor of Olympian victors, and has been appropriately called 'the Pindar of plastic art.' It is characteristic of his tendencies that the only statue of a divine personage by him of which we read was not a temple-image, but one of *Apollo in contest with the Pytho*, for the execution of which his studies in the palæstra would be a fitting preparation. Among his other works was a bronze *Nikē* standing by the side of the Cyrenæan Cratisthenes on a chariot; a statue of *Leontiscus*² the wrestler; of *Euthymus*,³ the boxer and deified hero; of a *Pancratiast* at Delphi, in which Pliny says that 'he surpassed Myron himself';⁴ and of *Astylus* the *σταδιοδρόμος* (runner in the stadium), who gained a victory in the double course (*δίαυλος*). It is in connexion with this race that we read of circumstances which give us a very vivid idea of the value attached to success in the national games. Astylus of Croton conquered in three successive Olympiads (*στάδιόν τε καὶ διάυλον*), and on the two last occasions was proclaimed as a Syracusan to please Hiero, the Tyrant of Syracuse; whereupon his countrymen at Croton turned his house into a prison, and pulled down his statue, which stood 'near the Lacinian Hêrê.'⁵ Pythagoras also made a statue of *Perseus*, winged, and a group of the brothers *Polynices and Eteocles*, which Tatian says ought to be 'sunk in the deep,' as a monument of fratricide, 'with its maker Pythagoras.'⁶

Another work of his, representing *Europa and the Bull*, is men-

¹ vi. 13. 1 and vi. 6. 4.

² Pausan. vi. 4. 3.

⁴ N. H. xxxiv. 59.

³ Ibid. vi. 64.

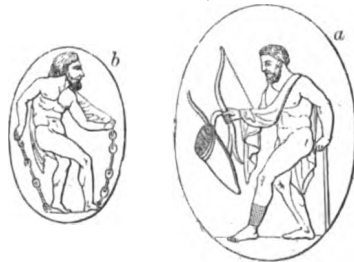
⁵ Pausan. vi. 13. 1.

⁶ Tatian, *con. Græc.* 54, p. 118 (ed. Worth).

tioned by Varro,¹ Tatian,² and Cicero,³ who refers to the immense value attached by the Tarentines to its possession.

But the most celebrated work of this artist was the image of 'a man limping,' whom, although Pliny only describes him as '*claudicans cujus ulceris dolorem sentire etiam spectantes videntur*,' we can have no hesitation in recognising, with Lessing,⁴ as *Philoctetes*. No Greek artist of that period would have desired or dared to choose such a subject, if it had not been raised by the poet into the region of the mythical. An epigram is still extant in which Philoctetes is made to complain that the artist (*πλάστης*) was more hostile to him than the Greeks; that, like 'another Ulysses,'⁵ he had rendered his sufferings eternal in bronze. This is the only one of Pythagoras' works of which we have any certain copy, and of this only on two gems.⁶ The larger of these, in which the afflicted hero carries a bow and quiver, is in the Berlin Museum (fig. 64, *a*); the smaller, in which he wears chains, formerly belonged to Mdme. Schaffhausen of Bonn (fig. 64, *b*).⁷

FIG. 64.



PHILOCTETES ON GEMS.

Pythagoras is said to have been 'the first who expressed muscles and veins, and treated the hair with greater diligence.'⁸ This may be true of the hair, but we have already seen the veins expressed in the Æginetan group, although the hair is still unfinished. All that Pliny could mean was that he turned his attention more especially to the importance of veins and muscles in the representation of the body *in a state of action*. Diogenes of Laerte⁹ claims for him the merit of being the first to lay down the principles of *symmetry* and *rhythm*.

¹ *De Ling. Latin.* v. 31: 'Egregiam imaginem ex ære.'

² *Con. Græc.* 53, p. 116.

³ *In Verrem*, iv. 60. 135.

⁴ 'Laocoon,' c. ii.

⁵ *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 180, 294: 'Ἐχθρὸς ὑπὲρ Δαναοῦς πλάστης ἐμὸι ἄλλος Ὀδυσσεύς.'

⁶ Dr. Waldstein indeed thinks it 'highly probable that the *Choiseul-Gouffier Apollo* in

the British Museum, together with the so-called *Apollo on the Omphalos*, and the other replicas of this statue, are copies of the statues of the pugilist Euthymos by Pythagoras of Rhegium' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 199).

⁷ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, i. 185.

⁸ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 59.

⁹ viii. 46.

Symmetry or metre means here, as in verse, the due proportion of the parts to one another and to the whole, and is based on strict mathematical principles. Rhythm or eurythmy, the composition of motion, is less capable of being expressed by mathematical formulæ, or subjected to strict rules, than that of words, and depends mainly on the observation of what is appropriate and agreeable. It is the movement of an organism within itself, and requires that the effect of any action of one part of the body should be observable in every other part. The Philoctetes affords a good example of Pythagoras' rhythmical treatment. The wound in the foot, which disabled it from taking its proper share in the task of supporting the body, necessarily alters the rhythm of the whole frame. The problem, therefore, offered to the sculptor is to show the effect produced on the whole body by the necessity of sparing the wounded limb, and at the same time to introduce a *conditional* harmony into the figure which shall not be displeasing to the spectator.¹

Pythagoras appears to have worked exclusively in bronze, which is best adapted to display the proportions of the nude figure, though less suited than marble for drapery, and for the representation of emotion in the face. Pythagoras, *in fine*, did much to perfect the art of portraying the human form as a living moving organism, and in this respect made great advances on the correct but lifeless forms of the Æginetan group; but he did little or nothing to make the face or figure the mirror of the heart and soul.

MYRON OF ELEUTHERÆ,

who flourished from Ol. 70-85 (500-440 B.C.), though born in Bœotia—that 'stupid' country which produced some of the very greatest men of Greece—was reckoned among Athenian artists, because he exercised his art in Athens. He was the oldest of the three distinguished pupils of Ageladas, and is said to have competed unsuccessfully with Pythagoras. Much that has been said of the

¹ Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, p. 132.

latter applies to his still more celebrated contemporary, Myron, whose chief merit lay in the representation of the nude form in the greatest possible exertion of its strength. Myron, too, made gods, heroes, and even animals, but excelled in athletes; and we are fortunately able to form a more accurate judgment of his style because we have undoubted copies of one, at least, of his most celebrated works.

To begin with the Gods: he made for the Temple of Hêrê at Samos a colossal group, on one pedestal, of *Zeus, Athene*, and *Heracles*, which was taken away by Mark Antony to Rome. The two last statues were restored to their former seat by Augustus, but he kept back the Zeus, for which he built a special temple on the Capitol.¹

Cicero speaks of a statue of *Apollo*, which Verres stole from the fane of Asclepius at Agrigentum, as '*pulcherrimum*,' and says that it bore the name of Myron in very small letters on the thigh.² We read, too, of another *Apollo* by Myron, which Mark Antony took from the Ephesians, and Augustus restored to them in obedience to a heavenly vision.

A statue of *Dionysus* ³ by Myron, which Sulla dedicated on Mount Helicon, is spoken of with great praise. But we are more interested in the mention of a group of *Athene and a Satyr* (Marsyas⁴), who is timidly admiring a double flute, which the goddess, vexed at the contortion of her own face in playing it, has thrown away in disgust. O. Müller has brought the passages which refer to this work into connexion with the relief of Stuart;⁵ and Brunn has discovered a copy of the Marsyas

FIG. 65.



LATERAN STATUE OF MARSYAS.

¹ Strabo, xiv. p. 637. 6.

² Cic. *in Verrem*, iv. 43.

Pausan. ix. 30. 1. Conf. *Anthol. Græc.* iv. 173, 270 (Planud. iv. 257).

⁴ *N. H.* xxxiv. 57. Pausan. i. 24. 1.

Conf. *Mon. d. Inst.* vi. Tav. 23; Apollodor. i. c. 4; and Hyginus, fab. 165.

⁵ Stuart and Revett, *Antiq. of Athens*, ii. 27, vign. and p. 45.

of this group in a most remarkable statue of a *Satyr* in the Lateran, the arms of which have been falsely restored to represent him as dancing to the castanets (fig. 65).

The musical satyr is represented at the moment when he is contemplating the flute as it lies on the ground, longing to seize it, but restrained by fear. Brunn's interpretation of the Lateran statue is rendered in the highest degree probable by the corresponding accounts of Pliny and Pausanias, by similar representations on existing reliefs, vases, and coins, and by the style of the Lateran statue itself, which has much of the archaic rigidity from which Myron had not yet entirely emancipated himself.

The suggestion of Brunn is further confirmed by the beautiful *bronze statuette* lately discovered in Patras, and acquired by Mr. Newton for the British Museum. The similarity of design in this exquisite work with the Lateran statue is very striking.

Myron also executed a xoanon of *Hecate* for the Æginetans, which Pausanias expressly tells us was 'single in face, and in the rest of the body' (ὁμοίως ἐν πρόσωπόν τε καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα), and adds that Alcamenes was the first to make a triple Hecate (ἀγάλματα τρία προσεχόμενα ἀλλήλοις).

Of heroes by Myron we read of a *bronze Heracles*, which Cicero¹ mentions as one of the statues which Verres forcibly took from the chapel (sacrarium) of Heius the Mamertine. It is probably the same work to which Pliny² refers as standing in the Circus Maximus in æde Pompeii. There was also a group of *Perseus and Medusa* by Myron in the Acropolis at Athens,³ and a statue of *Erechtheus*, also at Athens, to which Pausanias refers incidentally as a work of extraordinary merit.⁴ But though he seems to have successfully taken a wider range than his contemporary Pythagoras, his chief force lay in the representation of great athletes and victors in the national games. Pausanias mentions several statues of this kind under the names of *Lycinus*,⁵ *Timanthes*,⁶ *Philippus*,⁷ *Chionis*;⁸ but, singularly enough, none of the three most celebrated works of Myron—his *Ladas*, *Discobolus*, and *the Cow*, of

¹ *In Verrem*, iv. 3. 5.

² *N. H.* xxxiv. 57.

³ Pausan. i. 23. 7.

⁴ ix. 30. 1.

⁵ vi. 2. 2.

⁶ vi. 8. 4.

⁷ vi. 8. 5.

⁸ vi. 13. 2.

which alone it will be necessary to speak here. It is true that Pausanias refers to a monument erected to the memory of the famous runner on the banks of the Eurotas,¹ on the road from Belmina to Sparta, and also of a statue of Ladas in the Temple of Apollo Lycius at Argos;² but this could hardly have been the work of Myron. Benndorf³ conjectures, with great probability, that the Ladas of Myron was originally set up at Olympia, and thence removed to Rome before the age of Pausanias. He accounts in this way for the silence of this writer respecting it, and also for the frequent mention of the man himself by Roman writers.⁴ Ladas, the Laconian, is said to have breathed his last at the very moment of victory, as he stretched forth his hand to grasp the victor's crown; and it is at this supreme moment of victory and death, at the summit and the end of life and glory, that Myron represents him. This statue is referred to in two extant epigrams, in one of which the artist is said to have stamped on the whole body of Ladas the desire and expectation of the Pisæan crown:—

Οἶος ἔης φεύγων τὸν ὑπήμενον, ἔμπνοε Λάδα,
θυμὸν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτῳ νεύρα ταθεῖς δυνχι,
τοῖον ἐχάλκευσέν σε Μύρων, ἐπὶ παντὶ χαράξας
σώματι Πισαίου προσδοκίην στεφάνου.⁵

Even as thou stood'st when fled thy mortal breath,
Each nerve, each outstretched finger, braced in death;
In Myron's bronze thine every limb displays,
Ladas! thy certain hope of Pisa's bays.—H. A. P.

THE COW OF MYRON,

although of inferior interest from the standpoint of high art, and less important to the history of sculpture, attracted far more attention than any other of Myron's works. Tzetzes,⁶ who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century of the Christian era, says that of Myron's

¹ iii. 21. 1.

² ii. 19. 7. Conf. viii. 12. 3. Pausanias here speaks of a stadium near Orchomenus, called Ladas, because he used to exercise himself in running there.

³ Benndorf, *Dissert. de Anthol. Græc. Epigram. quæ ad artem spectant*, Leipz. 1863,

p. 15.

⁴ Juvenal, xiii. 96: 'Pauper locupletem optare podagram, Ne dubitet Ladas.' Catullus, 55. 25: 'Non Ladas si ego pennipesve Perseus.'

⁵ *Anthol. Græc.* Planud. iv. 54.

⁶ *Chiliades*, viii. 370.

numerous works one (the Cow) remained famous down to his own times (*ἐν δὲ τὸ περιβρῦλῃτον μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τοῦ χρόνου*), and that it formerly stood on (*περὶ*) the Acropolis at Athens; and Cicero¹ refers to it as in the possession of the Athenians. As it was not in Athens at the time of Pausanias, it had probably been removed to Rome, and Procopius speaks of it as standing in the Forum of Peace. The Greek Anthology contains about thirty-seven epigrams on this celebrated work, several of which have been imitated by Ausonius. It will be sufficient to give a few specimens:—

EPIGRAM OF LEONIDAS OF TARENTUM.

Οὐκ ἐπλάσιν με Μύρων, ἐψεύσατο· βοσκομένην δὲ
ἐξ ἀγέλας ἐλάσας δῆσε βάσει λιθίνῃ.²

EPIGRAM OF ANTIPATER OF SIDON.

‘Α δάμαλις, δοκέω, μυκήσεται· ἡ ρ’ ὁ Προμηθεὺς
οὐχὶ μόνος, πλάττεις ἔμπνοα καὶ σὺ Μύρων.³
Μόσχε, τί μοι λαγόνεσσι προσέρχεται; τίπτε δὲ μυκᾷ;
ἀ τέχνα μαῖοις οὐκ ἐνέθηκε γάλα.⁴

The imitations of Ausonius are better known.

Bucula sum, cælo genitoris facta Myronis
Ænea, nec factam me puto, sed genitam.
Sic me taurus init, sic proxuma bucula mugit,
Sic vitulus sitiens ubera nostra petit.⁵

This work of Myron is also referred to by Ovid,⁶ Ælian,⁷ and other writers.

But the fame of Myron, as we have said, chiefly rests on his power of representing the harmoniously developed form of an athlete in the very crisis of some feat of bodily strength or skill; and of all his works we may well believe that the greatest was *the Discobolus*.⁸ A very minute description of this beautiful statue will be found in the

¹ *In Verrem*, iv. 60. 135. Procop. *de Bello Gothico*, iv. 21: ἀγορᾶς ἦν φόρον Εἰρήνης καλοῦσιν Ῥωμαῖοι . . . ἐνταῦθα καὶ τὸ τοῦ Μύρωνος Βολδῖον.

² *Anth. Græc.* i. 165. 42 (Palat. 719).

³ *Ibid.* ii. 21. 55 (Palat. 724).

⁴ *Ibid.* 22. 58 (Palat. 751).

⁵ Auson, *Epig.* 58.

⁶ *Ex Ponto*, iv. 1. 34.

⁷ *De Nat. Anim. Epilog.*

⁸ Conf. the ‘Townley Discobolus’ in the British Museum, and another in the Vatican at Rome.

pages of Quintilian and Lucian, and the admirable copy discovered in Prince Massimi's villa at Palombara is an extraordinarily accurate illustration of their words (fig. 66):¹ 'Are you speaking,' says Lucian, a connoisseur of great acumen and taste, 'of the Discobolus, who is stooping to throw, turning his face towards his hand which holds the quoit, and bending one leg as if, after the throw, he would stand erect again?' As in the Marsyas of the Lateran, described above, the artist has chosen the moment of transition and pause between two energetic actions, when the quoit-thrower has collected all his force for the highest effort—when all his powers are bent to the fullest stretch, 'like a bow before the discharge of the arrow.' His right arm is thrown back to the farthest point, so as to twist the body round, and is balanced by the left arm, which is thrust forward. He rests firmly for the moment on the right foot, the bent toes of which are dug, as it were, into the ground. The left leg is held ready to move forward with the right arm to support and balance the body when the quoit has been discharged. In another moment all will be changed; the left leg will support the body, and the right foot will be trailing on the ground; the right arm will swing forward to its greatest length, and the left be thrown back to preserve the equilibrium.

Quintilian, who may very well have seen a copy of Myron's work, in speaking of the pleasure to be derived from 'novelty' and 'difficulty' in the treatment of works of art, says, *Quid tam distortum et elaboratum quam est ille Discobolus Myronis?*² And, indeed,

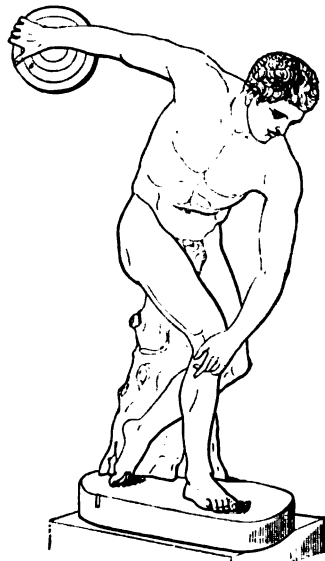


FIG. 66.

THE DISCOBOLUS.

¹ Lucian, *Philopseud.* 18: Μῶν τὸν δισκοβόντα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φησι τὸν ἐπικεκυφότα κατὰ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἀφέσεως, ἀπεστραμμένον εἰς τὴν δισκοφόρον, ἡρέμα δκλάζοντα τῷ ἐτέρῳ δοικότα

τῷ ξυναναστησομένῳ μετὰ τῆς βολῆς; οὐκ ἐκεῖνον ἦδ' ὅς, ἐπεὶ τῶν Μύρωνος ἔργων ἐν καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν ὁ δισκοβόλος ὃν λέγεις.

² Quintilian, *Inst. Orat.* ii. 13. 8.

it would not be easy to imagine a more difficult subject, or one which afforded a better opportunity of displaying the sense of symmetry and rhythm, to which Pythagoras is said to have first called attention. Every limb, every muscle, partakes in, and contributes to, the main action of the body, and the rhythm runs from the centre through every vein and fibre. The face, as might be expected in a work of this school, has little expression in it. It is of the handsome refined type of the noble Greek youth, bearing in it no marks of emotion or anxiety, but the calm and innocent look which is common to the young palæstrites brought up under the strict discipline of the gymnastic schools.

The hair is that of the noble Greek youth such as Electra describes her brother Orestes to be :—

ἔπειτα χαίτης πῶς συνοίσεται πλόκος;
ὁ μὲν παλαίστραις ἀνδρὸς εὐγενοῦς τραφεὶς
ὁ δὲ κτενισμοῖς θῆλυς.

‘How shall the lock of his hair agree with mine? The one is that of a well-born man, nurtured in the wrestling schools, the other that of a woman delicately dressed by frequent use of the comb.’—PALEY’S Eurip. *Electra*, 528.

Propertius ¹ speaks of *four oxen* (*vivida signa*) as works of Myron, and Martial ² refers to him as a *Toreutes* or *Chaser* in silver. Brunn reckons a *Niké on a Bull* also among the works of this artist.³ The same high origin has been claimed for Lord Feversham’s well-known ‘Alcibiades’ Dog,’ almost the only work of art saved from the destructive fire at Duncombe Park in 1879.

¹ ii. 31. 7.

² iv. 39, 1 ; vi. 92.

³ Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, i. p. 143.

CHAPTER XIV.

STYLE OF MYRON.

THE *loci classici* on the character of Myron's art are found in Pliny, Cicero, Quintilian, Petronius, &c.¹ The first says, 'he brought more harmony into his art than Polycleitus, and was more careful in his observation of rhythm; but though he paid the greatest attention to the representation of the forms of the body, he does not seem to have expressed the feelings of the heart, nor did he make any advance on the rudeness of ancient art in the treatment of the hair.'

Pliny here expressly declares that Myron was not supposed to possess the power of expressing the emotions in the faces of his statues. Nor is this irreconcilable with the well-known passage in Petronius:² 'Myron, qui pæne hominum *animas* ferarumque ære comprehenderat' (who had almost enclosed *the life* of men and beasts in bronze); for all that we read and see of Myron's work tends to show that it was full of *animal* life in the highest degree of activity. The words of Petronius mean nothing more than this, and do not at all imply that he made the body or the face the mirror of the tender emotions of the heart or the aspirations of the soul.

Cicero,³ again, says of him: 'Nondum Myronis (opera) satis ad veritatem adducta, jam tamen quæ non dubites pulchra dicere,'

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 58: '*Numerosior* in arte quam Polyclitus et in symmetria diligentior, et ipse tamen corporum tenus curiosus animi sensus non expressisse videtur, capillum quoque et pubem non emen-

datius fecisse quam rudis antiquitas instituit.' Some writers translate *numerosior*, 'introduced a greater variety of situations.'

² *Satyr.* 88.

³ *Brut.* 18. 70.

'Myron's works did not approach near enough to truth' (of nature), 'but yet you would not hesitate to call them beautiful.' Quintilian,¹ too, places him below Polycleitus. In choosing between the judgments of Pliny on the one hand, and the two Latin orators on the other, we should remember that the first draws largely from the writings of Varro, and Varro again from the Greeks; while the taste of Cicero and Quintilian was somewhat demoralised by the smooth softness of the younger Attic school. In another passage Cicero compares the pleasure of reading Nævius' 'Punic War' with that of contemplating Myron's statues.

The daring and essentially original genius of Myron led him to choose for his subjects situations of the most complex, lively, and fugitive character, the representation of which required not only the most profound knowledge of the structure of the human form, and the relation of its several parts, but a rich creative fancy to set before him every possible result of a change of attitude. It is not without good reason therefore that he is called *operosus* and *doctus* by the poets Ovid² and Statius.³

Myron broke the last fetters of archaic tradition, and even ventured to represent the creatures of imagination—grotesque sea-monsters (*pristæ*)—which, though they have no existence in the actual world, are far from being displeasing to us, but rather seem to have a right to existence as the offspring of creative genius.⁴ This tendency is also in a certain sense idealistic, but it is idealism not of spiritual ideas, but of bodily form and powers.

CALAMIS.

Ol. 70–80 (B.C. 500–460).

We have seen how Pythagoras and Myron, by their close observation of nature in the gymnastic schools, acquired the power of representing the human form in every variety of attitude. A third fore-

¹ *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7.

² *Ars Am.* iii. 219.

³ *Silv.* iv. 6. 25.

⁴ *Plin. N. H.* xxxiv. 57, 'et pristæ.' *Vide*

Ulrich's *Scopas*, p. 136, *note*. Some writers understand by *pristæ* *genre* figures. Conf. E. Petersen, *Archäol. Zeitung*, 1865, p. 91.

runner was needed to add the girdle of grace to beauty of form and outline, and to prepare the way for Pheidias, who combined all the advantages and powers of his predecessors, and added godlike genius to their knowledge, experience, and skill.

Calamis is nowhere called an Athenian, but he practised his art in Athens, was the teacher of an Attic artist named Praxias, and was himself essentially Attic in style. His prime seems to have fallen in the middle of the 70th Ol., and may have extended to the 80th Ol. (B.C. 460).¹ He worked in a greater variety of materials than his contemporaries—viz. bronze, marble, gold, and ivory; and he treated a greater variety of subjects—Gods (probably temple-images), heroes, heroines, boys, and horses. We gather, too, from literary notices concerning him, that the character of his art was more religious than that of Pythagoras and Myron. As the sculptor of the *Zeus Ammon*, which Pausanias saw at Thebes,² the name of Calamis is brought into connexion with that of Pindar,³ the poet, who is said to have consecrated this statue. He also executed *two Apollos* in bronze, one for the Cerameicus in Athens, called *Apollo Alexikakos* (avorter of evil), and another, of colossal size, forty-five feet high, which M. Lucullus carried off from Apollonia in Illyria, and placed in the Capitol at Rome.⁴ Among his gods was a *Hermes Criophoros* (ram-bearer) in Tanagra, consecrated in memory of the beneficent aid afforded by the God, who stayed the plague by carrying his favourite animal, the ram, round the walls of the city;⁵ a statue of *Dionysus* in Parian marble, also in Tanagra;⁶ an *Aphrodite*, consecrated by Callias, and placed on the incline leading up to the Acropolis; and an *Erinnys*, grouped with two others by Scopas⁷ in Athens. Pausanias also speaks of a chryselephantine statue of a *beardless Asklepios*⁸ (*Æsculapius*) in Sicyon, with a sceptre in one hand, and a pine-cone (*πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου*) in the other; a *Nike* in Olympia, which, as it had no wings, was supposed to be a copy of the xoanon of the

¹ Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, 127.

² Pausan. ix. 16.

³ † 439 B.C. ?

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 39. Appian, *Illyr.*

30.

⁵ Pausan. ix. 22. 1.

⁶ Ibid. ix. 20. 3.

⁷ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 4 (p. 41, ed. Pott).

⁸ Pausan. ii. 10. 3.

Nike apteros at Athens.¹ But perhaps the most interesting of the works of Calamis was the enigmatical *Sosandra*, whom we hardly know whether to class among divinities or mortals. By some writers (O. Jahn, Michaelis, and Overbeck) she is considered identical with the *Aphrodite* on the slope leading up to the Acropolis.² Friederichs takes her for a *Here*, Hirt and Bursian for a *priestess or Arrephoros of Here*, and Winckelmann for an *Amazon*!³

We read of two statues of undoubted heroines by Calamis—one of *Alcmene*, which Pliny cites as a proof that the artist could pourtray men as well as the lower animals;⁴ and another of *Hermione*, daughter of Menelaus, an offering of the Lacedæmonians at Delphi.⁵

Of merely human figures we have a group of *praying boys* by Calamis (executed after 75 Ol.),⁶ which the Agrigentines offered at Olympia for a victory over the Libyans and Phœnicians in Motya. He also executed some *race horses with boys upon them*, which stood on either side of a *chariot of bronze* made by Onatas, and offered by Deinomenes, son of Hiero of Syracuse, in honour of his father's victory at Olympia.⁷ Calamis appears to have been especially successful in his representation of horses, in which Pliny says that he was *semper sine æmulo*;⁸ but he qualifies this partial approbation by adding, '*ne videatur in hominum effigie inferior, Alcumena nullius nobilior.*' The idea of the inferiority of Calamis in human figures seems to rest solely on the story that Praxiteles substituted a chariot-eer of his own in a *quadriga* by Calamis, 'that this artist, so skilful in forming horses, might not be thought to have failed in men.'⁹ This might, however, mean nothing more than that the perfectly free style of a charioteer by Praxiteles would better suit the equally natural horses of Calamis than the excellent but somewhat archaic driver by Calamis himself.

¹ Pausan. v. 26. 6.

² Lucian. *Imagg.* 4 and 6; *Dial. Meretr.* iii. 2.

³ Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 96.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 71.

⁵ Pausan. x. 16. 4.

⁶ Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, i. 125.

⁷ Pausan. vi. 12. 1.

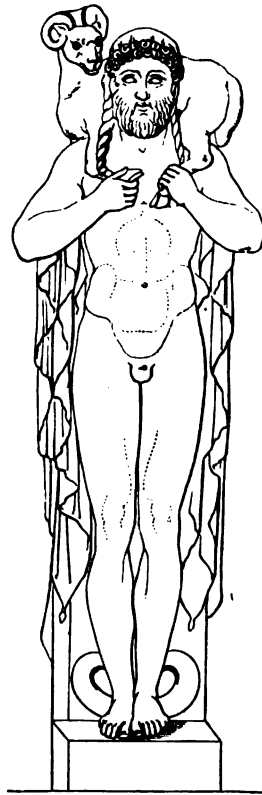
⁸ Vide Propertius, iii. 9. 10; Ovid, *ex Ponto*, iv. 1. 33.

⁹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 71: 'Ne melior in equorum effigie defecisse in homine crederetur.'

We have not the same aids in forming our judgment of the style of Calamis as we had in the case of Myron. We have no statues which we can regard with any certainty as his work. Conze,¹ indeed, refers both an *Apollo* in Athens, and *another Apollo* in the British Museum,² to this artist or his school; and would bring the *Hestia (Vesta) Giustiniani* into relation with him, and even with his *Sosandra*. We have, perhaps, a copy of the *Hermes Criophoros* on a coin of Tanagra,³ and in a *marble statue* in Wilton House (fig. 67), which reminds us of the *Hermes carrying a bull-calf* at Athens.⁴

We are more fortunate in the abundance of literary notices respecting Calamis. Cicero, who had learnt to see in the soft and effeminate style of the later Attic school the perfection of the plastic art, says that the works of Calamis were 'indeed hard (*dura quidem*), but yet softer than those of Canachus.'⁵ Quintilian, who wrote under the same influences, speaks of them in the same way as '*minus rigida*' than those of Callon and Hegesias.⁶ The testimony of these writers proves that Calamis was still bound, to a certain degree, by convention; and that his style, at all events as compared with that of Praxiteles, was decidedly archaic in its tone. But we have still more direct evidence to show that he greatly excelled his predecessors and his contemporaries of other schools in the power of expressing sensibility in the countenance, and of throwing round his figures that air of elegance and grace which is almost peculiar to Attic art.

FIG. 67.



HERMES CRIOPHOROS AT
WILTON HOUSE.

¹ *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Plastischen Kunst*, p. 13. Taf. iii.

² *Spec. of Anc. Sculpts.* ii. Taf. 3.

³ *Arch. Zeit.* 1849, Taf. 9, No. 12.

⁴ *Vide supra*, p. 100.

⁵ Cicero, *Brut.* 18. 70.

⁶ Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 7.

Lucian wishing to give an idea of the beauty of a girl compares her several charms with the best points in the works of the greatest masters of plastic and pictorial art—Pheidias, Alcamenes, Praxiteles, Apelles, Parrhasios, and *Calamis*, the only archaic artist in the list. 'Let Sosandra and Calamis,' he says, 'adorn her with chaste modesty (*αἰδοῖ*), and let her smile be fine and undeclared (*σεμνὸς καὶ λεληθός*), and let the primness and becomingness of her dress be taken from the Sosandra, except that her head should be uncovered.'¹ Dionysius of Halicarnassus² compares the style of Isocrates the orator to that of the sculptors Pheidias and Polycleitus for its 'grandeur, sublimity, and dignity' (*κατὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχρον καὶ ἀξιοματικόν*); and that of Lysias to the style of Calamis (and Callimachus) 'on account of its elegance and grace' (*τῆς λεπτότητος ἔνεκα καὶ τῆς χάριτος*). The peculiarity of style which Lucian dwells on here is a new element in Greek art, and our estimate of the power of Calamis in portraying the finer and tenderer feelings of the heart in the faces of his statues is greatly raised by the fact that a man of educated taste like Lucian, who knew the greatest works of the greatest artists of Greece, goes back to Calamis for a sweet and unaffected smile.

We possess, as I have said, no work which we can with any certainty refer to Calamis. There are, however, two statues which have been brought into connexion with his name, and which seem to illustrate in a very striking manner the remarks of ancient writers on his characteristic style. I mean the *Hestia* (Vesta) *Giustiniani*, in the Museo Torlonia, in the Lungara at Rome, and the *Penelope* of the Vatican.

THE HESTIA GIUSTINIANI.

Whoever would feel the full solemnity of the early Greek religion, and view the Gods of Greece in the light in which ancient faith regarded them, should contemplate the austere and rigid, but stately and im-

¹ Lucian, *Imagg.* 6: 'Ἡ Σωσάνδρα δὲ καὶ Κάλαμις αἰδοῖ κοσμήσουσιν αὐτήν· καὶ τὸ μειδίαμα σεμνὸν καὶ λεληθὸς ὥσπερ τὸ ἐκείνης ἔσται· καὶ τὸ εὐσταλὲς δὲ καὶ κόσμιον τῆς ἀνα-

βολῆς παρὰ Σωσάνδρας· πλὴν οὐκ ἀκατακάλυτος αὐτὴ ἔσται τὴν κεφαλὴν. Conf. Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* iii. 2.

² *De Isocrate*, c. 3, p. 522 (ed. Reiske).

posing form of this celebrated statue, which, after being withdrawn from the public view for a quarter of a century, is once more accessible to the visitors of Rome (fig. 68). The archaic curls, which hang low over the forehead, give a stern and gloomy expression to the young and even beautiful face, which betrays none of the lightness and softness of her age and sex, but speaks only of determination and unfaltering devotion to a lifelong duty. Her look and attitude are lofty and commanding, and her whole bearing is well calculated to give us an idea of the temple-image, in an age when the artist fashioned his Gods to please them and not himself. The forearms are bare and of great beauty. The head is covered with a thick cloth by way of veil, which falls down to the breast ; the back and bosom are covered with a short garment of some thick and stiff material like leather. From the waist downwards the dress falls in stiff parallel folds, completely covering the feet, and giving the whole figure the appearance of a pillar. The style of the nude is too free for the general character of the statue, and hence it is conjectured that it may be a marble copy of some very ancient bronze original, and that the artist has preserved the rigid forms of the older work, but has been unable altogether to conceal his riper skill. We know that Calamis worked under the full influence of undoubting faith, and we may well believe that the prototype came from his hand or, at any rate, from his school.

If the Hestia Giustiniani is well adapted to bring before us the archaic and religious side of the art of Calamis, we may gain a no less vivid conception of that union of the old-world simplicity and severity with the sweet Attic grace and tenderness of expression which ancient writers attribute to him, from the marble statue of the so-called

FIG. 68.



HESTIA GIUSTINIANI.

' PENELOPE '

(Fig. 69),

in the *Galleria delle Statue* of the Vatican, with which the *alto rilievo* of the same subject in the Chiaramonti gallery may be compared. In these almost identical representations, the faithful wife is sitting on a rock. Her left arm, planted perpendicularly on her seat, supports her sinking frame, and the right arm, resting with the elbow on her knee, sustains the drooping head. The crossing of the legs, so undignified in a woman and a heroine, serves to express dejection, and the self-abandonment of well-nigh hopeless sorrow. The statue prob-

FIG. 69.



PENELOPE.

ably belonged to a group, of which we get a good idea from a *small relief* in the Museo Kircheriano at Rome, in which Penelope is sitting on a four-legged seat, with her legs crossed, and one foot resting on a stool, under which is her work-basket. The scene, which is also found in terra-cotta reliefs, is that related in the *Odyssey*,¹ where the nurse Eurycleia discovers the scar on the foot of Odysseus which she is washing.

The general effect of this interesting statue is decidedly archaic. The hand is without anatomical details, but in other parts, and especially in the dress, the lines are free and flowing. The chief interest, however, lies in the charming oval face, which is remarkably delicate and refined, and expresses all those pure amiable and affectionate

¹ xix. 392.

qualities which suit so well the person represented, and our preconceived idea of the style of the pleasing artist who has been called 'the opening bud of Attic art.'¹

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*, p. 36. Brunn (*Künstler-Geschichte*, i. 422), who also recognises this statue as Penelope, and a work

of Attic art, is inclined to attribute it to an artist named *Thrason* of the post-Alexandrine period.

THIRD PERIOD.

*FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CAREER OF
PERICLES TO THE END OF THE PELO-
PONNESIAN WAR. Ol. 80-94 (B.C. 460-404).*

CHAPTER XV.

AGE OF CIMON AND PERICLES.

IN the period at which we have now arrived everything was prepared to enable the Greeks to attain the highest excellence in plastic art: abundance of the finest materials—bronze, marble, ivory, and gold—perfect technical skill, profound knowledge of the form and motions of the human frame, and last, not least, a wide-spread love of art in the community at large, which assured to the deserving artist full appreciation and rich reward. Nothing in fact is wanting but some impulse which should stir the heart of the Greek nation to its depths, and inspire and nerve it to the highest achievements in policy and war, in literature and art. And this impulse came, in the fulness of time, from the side of the most formidable enemy of Greece and Europe—from Persia, whose inveterate hostility conferred on the Hellenic people, and through them on all succeeding generations, the same unspeakable blessings which accrued to us and to mankind from the enmity of the Spanish despot in the age of Elizabeth and her successors. Desperate as were the odds against which they

had to contend, the hearts of the Athenians at least were not cowed by the magnitude of the danger, but only made to beat with a stronger, quicker pulsation, which sent the full tide of a more glorious life through every swelling vein and thrilling nerve. Such periods are not only fruitful of great warriors and statesmen, but of immortal poets and artists; and Æschylus and Pheidias are as natural offspring of the Persian wars as Miltiades and Pericles.

The battle of Marathon, in which the Athenians first faced the dreaded Persians¹ and came off victorious, taught them their innate superiority over their barbarian foes, and saved them alike from foreign dependence and domestic tyranny. During the ten succeeding years they lived in the joyous consciousness of victory gained by heroic deeds and of capacity for unbounded sacrifice. Their hearts beat high at the prospect of a renewed struggle, and the memories of the glorious past prepared and strengthened them for the crowning efforts of Salamis, Plataeæ, and Mycale.

The tremendous crisis occasioned by the invasion of the Persians naturally brought the noblest of the Greek races to the front; and when we speak of Greece—her mighty efforts and her glorious triumphs—we generally mean Athens alone. Without the high-spirited, adventurous (many would say imprudent) initiative of Athens, the heroic self-devotion of Leonidas, the selfish patriotism of the Spartans, would have availed but little.²

It was natural that the State which had shown the greatest vigour and made the greatest sacrifices should reap the highest rewards both in national vitality and strength and in external power. Athens, of which we have heard so little in the preceding periods, now assumes the first place in plastic art, while other cities, hitherto so conspicuous, as Sparta, Argos, Sicyon, and Ægina, are either, like the last of these, heard of no more, or take their tone from Athens.

The very misfortunes of this city were favourable to the display of her unrivalled powers of construction. Had it been left uninjured

¹ Herod. vi. 112: 'The Athenians were the first of the Hellenes, as far as we know, who charged the enemy, and the first who braved the sight of the Median dress, and of the men in this dress, for up to this time

the mere name of the Medes was a terror to the Hellenes.'

² Read the noble answer of the Athenians to Alexander, the envoy of Mardonius (Herod. viii. 143).

by the invading hordes of Persia, there would have been but a narrow field for the exercise of the architect's and sculptor's art. Even before the Persian wars, Athens was comparatively a noble city—full of temples and images of the Gods, which were hallowed by the reverence of bygone generations. Who but an alien in race and creed could have wished or dared to lay a hand upon them? It would have been impossible to make room even for the Parthenon of Ictinus and Pheidias by destroying the noble temple of Athene, which had already crowned the Acropolis from the time of the Pisistratidæ. Even in our own times many of the grandest cities of Europe owe their chief beauties to a conflagration. London would have been even uglier than it is but for the great fire of 1666, and Hamburg dates its chief splendour from the year of its destruction by fire in 1842. There is, however, a very good reason for *our* anxiety to preserve what is old in art, because we are not conscious of being better than our fathers, but know, on the contrary, that we could not replace their temples by structures of equal beauty. But Athens was made a *tabula rasa* at the very moment when an Ictinus and a Pheidias were there to write their names upon it in immortal characters. Xerxes and Mardonius did the work of fifty conflagrations, and the patriotism of the Athenians themselves completed the destruction by inducing them to use the poor remains of their city as materials for a wall alike against Persian invasion and Spartan jealousy. 'They spared,' says Thucydides,¹ 'neither public nor private property where the interests of the work were concerned, but pulled down everything;' and thus the ruins of old Athens served to protect the new and more beautiful city which rose from its ashes.

The importance of these so-called fortuitous circumstances can hardly be overrated. The state of the case demanded the immediate and combined efforts of the whole Athenian people, nay, of all the industry and talent to be found in Greece; and fortunately the previous foreign occupation had left the workmen of Athens destitute of employment at the very time when they were most wanted. Themistocles

¹ i. 90: φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος, θθεν τις ὠφέλεια ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον ἀλλὰ καθαιρούντας πάντα.

wisely offered special privileges to artificers of other states, which only their urgent need could have induced the Athenians to offer to aliens ; and artists and workmen flocked from all parts of Greece to find honour and renown, or lucrative employment, in the centre of Grecian life and glory.

CHAPTER XVI.

GOLDEN AGE OF PLASTIC ART.

PHEIDIAS.

ALTHOUGH we can hardly say of ancient Greece that it was *incuriosa suorum*, it is a remarkable fact that we are left to conjecture the date of the birth of a man like Pheidias, who lived in the full blaze of the brightest period of ancient history. The person of the artist is hidden by the dazzling splendour of his works. But we do know that in the very nick of time, when all things lay ready to his hand, when the long labours of preceding generations had overcome every technical difficulty, and subjected the hardest and most stubborn materials to the will and fancy of man ; when the materials themselves — ‘marble, bronze, ivory, gold, ebony, and cypress wood’ — were there in inexhaustible abundance ; when an army of skilled workmen had been collected from far and near to do his bidding ; when a boundless field for the display of his genius and skill had been cleared for him by the malice of the enemy, and the patriotism of his fellow citizens ; when the voice of the whole people was calling upon him for the services which he, of all men, was most capable and most desirous of rendering, came Pheidias, the greatest artist of all times and ages.¹

Pheidias was born probably about B.C. 500, and was therefore ten years old when the battle of Marathon was fought ; he was twenty at the battle of Salamis, and came of age in the year of the crowning victories of Plataæ and Mycale. We know little or nothing of his

¹ Plut. *Pericles*, 12 : ὅπου γὰρ ὅλη ἦν λίθος, χαλκός, ἐλέφας, χρυσός, ἔβενος, κυπάρισσος, αἱ δὲ ταύτην ἐκπονοῦσαι καὶ κατεργαζόμεναι

τέχναι, τέκτονες, πλάσται, χαλκοτύποι, λιθοργοί, βαφεῖς χρυσοῦ μαλακτῆρες καὶ ἐλέφαντος ζωγράφοι, ποικιλταί, τορευταί.

earlier years, but we can easily imagine the effect of those spirit-stirring events on the susceptible mind of this richly gifted youth, as he was just entering into life, in the full flush of his country's triumph. Pheidias was the son of Charmidas,¹ of whom nothing is known; but the fact that his brother, Pænœnus,² like Pheidias himself in his earlier³ years, was a painter, renders it probable that he belonged to a family of artists. His first teacher—probably in the technical part of the sculptor's art—was Hegesias or Hegias.⁴ His second and most important instructor was Ageladas of Argos, who probably came to Athens in Ol. 75. 4 (B.C. 476), when the rebuilding of the city began, and when Pheidias was still a young man. Pheidias appears to have begun his career as a painter, and as such to have come into contact with his great contemporary Polygnotus, whose pictorial influence on the style of Pheidias is traced by some writers in the sculptures of the Theseion. As an independent sculptor he appears first under the administration of Cimon, about the year B.C. 471; but his greatest works were executed during the brilliant administration of his friend and patron Pericles, who entrusted to him the entire and absolute control over the public works with which he sought to enrich and adorn the city. From the meagre notices which have come down to us, we gather that he shared in the illustrious statesman's perils as well as his glory. Like the philosopher Anaxagoras and the gifted hetaera, Aspasia, he was exposed to the bitter enmity of those who envied him his fame and the friendship of Pericles.⁵ 'When he became the friend of Pericles, and acquired the greatest influence through him, some became his enemies through envy, and others wished to test in him the opinion of the Demos concerning Pericles,⁶ whom they feared to attack directly.' A brother artist of Pheidias, named Medon, was suborned to accuse him of embezzling the gold of which the robe of the Athene Parthenos⁷ was to be made. When

¹ Strabo, viii. p. 353. Pausan. v. 10. 2. The inscription on the base of the Zeus at Olympia was Φειδίας Χαρμίδου υἱὸς Ἀθηναῖος μ' ἐποίησε.

² Pausan. v. 11. 6. Strabo (viii. 353) calls Pænœnus ἀδελφίδου.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 54.

⁴ Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 35. 1, p. 282.

⁵ Plut. *Peric.* 13: Πάντα δὲ διεῖπε καὶ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος ἦν αὐτῷ Φειδίας . . . ἐπεστάτει τοῖς τεχνίταις διὰ φίλων Περικλέους.

Conf. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 12. 55, p. 402.

⁶ Plut. *Peric.* 31.

⁷ Eusebius (*Chron.*) dates this statue

he had easily refuted this more infamous charge, by causing the robe to be weighed, he was accused of having sacrilegiously carved a likeness of Pericles and himself on the shield of the Virgin Goddess. The figure of Pericles was represented in combat with an Amazon, his face being cautiously somewhat hidden by his raised arm; Pheidias himself figured as an elderly bald man, raising a stone with both hands above his head in the act of throwing. Of this crime of presumption, according to Plutarch, he was found guilty and thrown into prison, where he is said to have died of disease or poison.¹

The foregoing is taken from Plutarch's life of Pericles, but the Scholia to 'the Peace' of Aristophanes² contains a different, and in some respects more credible, account. Aristophanes, with the usual tendency of comic writers and satirists to represent great events as springing from insignificant causes, brings the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war into connexion with the charge of embezzlement against Pheidias.³ Hermes being asked by the Chorus whose fault it was that the Goddess of Peace had deserted them so long, replies: 'Pheidias was the first cause of this desertion, having fallen into trouble; then Pericles' (who was accused of complicity with Pheidias⁴), 'fearing that he should be involved in Pheidias' misfortune, and dreading your "worrying tempers" (*τὸν αὐτοδὰξ τρόπον*), inflamed the city . . . and blew up such a fire of war that the eyes of the Greeks watered with the smoke.' The Scholiast on this passage of 'the Peace' informs us that 'when Pheidias had been banished for defrauding the city, Pericles, to avoid the necessity of giving in his accounts, began the war; that Pheidias went into exile at Elis, where he executed his greatest work, the Olympian Zeus, and being again convicted of peculation, was put to death.'

In several particulars the latter account is probably correct, though the circumstances under which Pheidias went to Elis—accompanied, as we know, by a train of distinguished artists—and the manner in which he was received by the Eleians, render it impossible to believe that he left Athens as a convicted felon. He was not only

Ol. 85. Acc. to the Scholiast to Aristoph. *Nub.* 859, Pericles was an accomplice in the embezzlement.

¹ Plut. *Peric.* 31. ² v. 573 (ed. Bothe).

³ Aristoph. *Pax*, 573.

⁴ Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* 832.

welcomed at Olympia with the highest honours, but commissioned to execute the grandest and costliest work which the world had ever seen—the image of the great father of Gods and men, the Olympian Zeus. The studio¹ which the Eleians erected for him in the immediate vicinity of the Altis was still shown in the time of Pausanias by the *Φαιδρυνταί* (or Cleansers) to whom the honourable office of preserving it was committed. He was even permitted to carve his name on the base of the statue of Zeus, an immortal honour which was denied him by his own countrymen, in the case of the Athene Parthenos.

WORKS OF PHEIDIAS.

The attention of Themistocles, under the stress of immediate and terrible dangers, was naturally directed to the most practical and necessary operations, and we therefore hear little about works of fine art during his administration. But when the once glorious star of the hero of Salamis, so lately meet companion of the Gods, had set in dishonourable exile, the helm of the state was guided by the liberal, not to say lavish, Cimon. Under his administration the Athenians, assured of the safety of their city, could devote themselves entirely to its adornment. 'The war' (with the Persians), says Diodorus Siculus,² 'having ended in so unexpected a manner, the inhabitants of Greece were not only freed from dangers, but acquired great glory, and every Greek city was filled with such abundance that all wondered at the change. During fifty years from this time Greece made great progress towards prosperity. For in these times the arts flourished through the general affluence, and the greatest artists are said to have lived, among whom was Pheidias the sculptor.'

The Athenian people, more especially, exalted by the consciousness of their victory over enemies, and no less by their undisputed supremacy over rivals in Greece itself, was seized by an enthusiastic zeal for the restoration—on a scale befitting their new rank in the world—of the temples and shrines of those immortal Gods, by whose

¹ Lately discovered outside the W. wall of the Altis at Olympia.

² xii. 1: πολλὰν ἐπίδοσιν πρὸς τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν.

visible intervention they had achieved their triumphs. Cimon employed not only the booty taken from the Persians, but his own great private means, in rendering Athens the grandest and most beautiful city in the world. The Park of the Academy with its shady walks and running streams, and the Portico and groves of the Agora, were his work. It was under his patronage that the young Pheidias first appeared on the stage which he was destined to tread so long, and with such unrivalled glory. We first hear of him in connexion with the adornment of *the Theseion* (temple of Theseus) after the taking of Scyros in 470 B.C. This island of pirates, barren as it was, contained an inestimable treasure in the bones of Theseus. The great Athenian hero, 'as the mythical champion of Democracy,' was naturally in high favour at Athens, especially after the battle of Marathon, in which he had visibly aided the Athenians.¹ In the year 476 B.C., the Athenians were directed by an oracle to bring home his bones from Scyros, and to enshrine them in a manner worthy of their godlike champion and themselves. A skeleton of gigantic size, discovered in the island by Cimon, just at the right moment, was transferred to Athens and conducted in solemn pomp by the jubilant people to its final resting-place, over which a magnificent temple was erected. The precincts of this building were appropriately made a sanctuary in which the poor man and the slave could claim protection from the oppressor.² Pheidias was employed to furnish the Theseion with its plastic ornaments, of which we shall have to speak more at large under the head of extant remains of this period.

Cimon also built the S. wall of the Acropolis, on a buttress of which *the temple of Nike Apteros* was afterwards reared; and began or restored *the Anakeion* (temple of the Dioscuri), and *the temple of Artemis Eucleia*.

It was evidently Cimon's chief delight to make plastic art contribute to the glorification of Athenian valour, and with this view the young Pheidias was employed by him on a *Bronze group of thirteen figures* which was offered at Delphi from the proceeds of a tithe of the

¹ Grote (*Hist. of Greece*, v. 113) in controversy with Clinton, *Fast. Hellen. ad An.* 476.

² Athenæus, vi. 235.

Persian booty. We know nothing of this work beyond the names of the persons represented—viz. *Athene* and *Apollo*, with *Miltiades*, probably between them, in the place of honour; then the national heroes *Erechtheus*, *Cecrops*, and *Pandion*; and seven of the tutelary Eponymi of the ten Phylæ (Tribes), *Leos*, *Antiochus*, *Ægeus*, *Acamas*, *Codrus*, *Theseus* and *Phileas*. Pausanias¹ conjectures that the three kings, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, and *Ptolemy*, were substituted, in the Macedonian era, for the missing Eponymi, *Ajax*, *Æneus* and *Hippothon*. This work will remind us of a similar one by Aristomedon the Argive,² mentioned above, and was no doubt executed by Pheidias before he was completely emancipated from the influence of his master Ageladas.

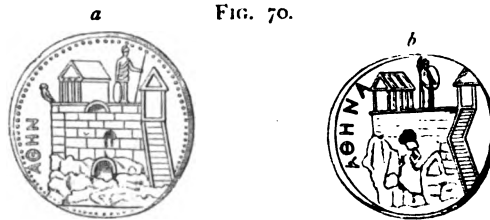
Under Cimon too he made an *Athene of ivory and gold* for the town of Pellene in Achaia, which was his first representation of his favourite Goddess;³ also the *Athene Areia* at Platææ, a colossal acrolith of gilded wood, the nude portions of which were of Pentelican marble,⁴ and which, with the temple in which it stood, is said to have cost eighty talents, or nearly 20,000*l*.⁵

A far more remarkable Pheidiac work of this period was the gigantic *Athene Promachos*⁶ of bronze, which stood on the Acropolis, between the Erechtheium and the Parthenon, as is proved by the discovery of its pedestal in 1840.⁷ This was the living representation of the guardian goddess of the city, the χρυσόλογχος Παλλὰς⁸ (Pallas of the golden spear), before whose awful aspect even Alaric shrank in horror. The crest of her helmet and the point of her spear could be seen by the mariner off the promontory of Sunium,⁹ glittering in the sunlight as a welcome to her own chosen people, and an awful warning to her foes. This implies that the statue must have been higher than the roof of the Parthenon, which rose to sixty-four feet. The *Promachos*, therefore, with its pedestal, must have been at least seventy feet in height. We get some idea of this colossal figure from Athenian coins (fig. 70); but curiously, and unfortunately, the representations on the different coins are not identical, although we cannot

¹ x. 10. 1.² Vide *supra*, p. 90.³ Pausan. i. 28. 2.⁴ Pausan. vii. 27. 2.⁵ Ibid. ix. 4. 1.⁶ Schöll im *Kunstblatt*, 1840, No. 75.⁷ Plutarch, *Aristid.* 20.⁸ Eurip. *Ion*, v. 9.⁹ Pausan. i. 28. 2.

doubt that they are, more or less, accurate copies of the Athene Promachos of the Acropolis.

In one of these (fig. 70, *a*) the goddess grasps the middle of her spear with her left hand, while her shield rests on the ground ; in



ATHENIAN COINS WITH THE ATHENE PROMACHOS.

the other (70, *b*), she is leaning her right hand on the top of her spear, and raising her shield with the left. The fact that the inside of the shield was adorned by the famous toreutic artist Mys with a relief of the *Battle of the Centaurs*, after a design of Parrhasius, a generation after Pheidias, makes it probable that the shield of the great statue was on the ground, as in fig. *a*.

CHAPTER XVII.

*PHEIDIAS UNDER THE ADMINISTRATIONS OF
PERICLES.*

BUT though Cimon did much to encourage art, and was able to employ Pheidias in his earlier years, his administration was but the dawn of the glorious day which broke on Athens when Pericles and Pheidias reigned respectively in the world of politics and the

FIG. 71.



VIEW OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS RESTORED.

world of art. Their gigantic projects for the restoration and adornment of the city were carried out with the same vigour with which they were conceived. In the astoundingly short period of about twenty years, nearly all the great buildings of Athens and Attica

were begun and completed : the *Parthenon* (consecrated Ol. 85. 3-437 B.C.) ; the *Odeum* (concert hall), built partly of the timber of captured Persian ships ; the *Erechtheium* (Ol. 92. 4-408 B.C.) ; and the temples of *Nike apteros*, of *Ares*, of *Hephaestus*, of *Aphrodite Urania*, of *Demeter* in Eleusis, of *Nemesis* in Rhamnus, the *temple at Sunium*, and the *Propylæa* (437-431 B.C.), on the Acropolis of Athens (fig. 71, c). And here we are reminded of the words in which Plutarch¹ speaks of these mighty achievements. 'Hence,' he says, 'we have the more reason to wonder that the structures raised by Pericles should be built in so short a time, and yet built for ages. For as each of them, as soon as it was finished, had *the venerable air of antiquity*, so now that they are old, they have *the freshness of a modern building*. A bloom is diffused over them which preserves their aspect untarnished by time, as if they were animated with a spirit of perpetual youth and unfading elegance.'

ATHENE PARTHENOS.²

The most appropriate subject for the dignified style of Pheidias, and that in which he most delighted, was the great tutelary Goddess of Athens, *Pallas Athênê*, in whom the material and spiritual life of the Athenians centred. To her the city belonged, by right of her victory over Poseidon, and by the award of the great council of the Gods ; and to her its people, in every relation and circumstance of life, looked up for protection, sympathy, and guidance.³ In her divine person were combined and expressed the victorious majesty, the wisdom and virtue, the personal dignity, strength and grace, the nobleness and splendour of the Athenian people, whose representative and guardian she was.

The Scholiast to Demosthenes⁴ speaks of three statues of Athene

¹ Plut. *Peric.* xiii.: μάλιστα θαυμαστὸν ἦν τὸ τάχος.

² For a masterly and exhaustive description of the Parthenon and all that belongs to it, the reader should consult the magnificent work of Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*.

³ Pausan. i. 26. 7: 'Ἰερὰ μὲν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστὶν ἡ τε ἄλλη πόλις καὶ ἡ πᾶσα ὁμοίως γῆ, καὶ γὰρ ὅσοις θεοὺς καθέστηκεν ἄλλους ἐν τοῖς

δήμοις σέβειν οὐδέν τι ἥσσον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἀγούσιν ἐν τιμῇ· τὸ δὲ ἁγιώτατον ἐν κοινῷ πολλοῖς πρότερον νομισθὲν ἔτεσιν ἡ συνήλθον ἀπὸ τῶν δῆμων ἐστὶν Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγάλμα ἐν τῇ νῦν Ἀκροπόλει τότε δὲ ὀνομαζομένη πόλει· φήμη δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔχει πεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ.

⁴ Schol. *Dem. con. Androt.* 13, p. 597 (ed. Reiske).

in different localities : ' 1, the *original xoanon* of olive wood, which was called *Athene Polias*, because the city was her own ; 2, the *Statue of bronze*, set up by the victors at Marathon, which was called *Athene Promachos* ; and 3, the *image of Athene Parthenos*, which the Athenians made of gold and ivory, "because they had become richer through the victory of Salamis, and because the victory itself was greater." ' Pausanias, Pliny, Strabo, Thucydides, Pluto, Plutarch, Aristides, and other writers of antiquity, either describe or refer to the last of these, the *Athene Parthenos*, as the greatest artistic glory of Athens. It was consecrated Ol. 85. 3 (437 B.C.), in the most famous temple of the ancient world, the Parthenon, built by Ictinus on the Acropolis. As the temple itself—which even in its ruins is the wonder and admiration of the world—was constructed from the costliest materials, and embellished by the highest efforts of the sculptor, the painter, the worker in metal, and the embroiderer ; so the denizen of this magnificent 'Chamber of the Virgin' (*παρθενών*), who hallowed it by her indwelling glory, could only be meetly fashioned out of gold and ivory, wrought by hands of such wondrous skill as to make the material seem poor in comparison with the work.¹

The statue itself was about thirty-three feet in height, and with the basis about forty feet. The Virgin Goddess stood erect, robed in a simple chiton of beaten gold reaching to her feet,² and wearing on her bosom, which was covered by the ægis or gorgoneion,³ the head of Medusa in ivory. Her closely fitting Attic helmet, or skull-cap, had a sphinx in round work on the top as crest, and on either side a griffin in high relief.⁴ The sphinx was the emblem of inscrutable wisdom, the griffins of watchfulness and forethought. The soles of her sandals, which were of gold, were very high, and their sides were enriched with elaborate chasing. Her weapons are for the moment laid aside, but in her extended right hand she held a winged figure

¹ It is related that when Pheidias told the Athenians that the *Athene Parthenos* should be made of marble 'because it was more durable,' they listened quietly ; but when he added, 'and also cheaper,' they bade him hold his peace (Parid. *Epit. Valer. Max.* i. 1, Ext. 7).

² Pausan. i. 24. 5: *ἐν χιτῶνι ποδῆρει*.

The large himation worn by the Pallas Giustiniani (in the Vatican) and the Pallas Velletri (in the Louvre) is of later date than the *Athene Parthenos*.

³ See the description of this formidable object in Eurip. *Ion*, 991.

⁴ Vide *infra*, p. 187, fig. 73, a.

of Nike—six feet in height, and wearing a garland—holding either a garland or a *tænia* in her hands, with which to crown the victor.¹ In her left hand the Parthenos held her spear, but rather as a sceptre than a weapon; and on the same side, resting on the ground, was the large circular shield, half concealed by which the Erechthonian serpent,² emblem of the autochthonous Athenians, reared its formidable head. The comparatively blank right side of the figure may have been filled up by more ample folds of the dress, and by the moral weight of the figure of Victory. These accessories—the Nike, the Serpent, and the Sphinx—were objects of the highest admiration to ancient amateurs.³

With regard to the material, we may say generally, that the nude parts were of ivory, the eyes partly of ivory and partly of precious stones, and the dress and weapons of gold.⁴ Thucydides⁵ gives the value of the removable (*περιαίρετον*) robe at forty talents, and Diodorus Siculus⁶ at fifty; perhaps the latter included the metal which was permanently fastened to the statue. The front of the basis of the statue was adorned with reliefs representing the *Birth of Pandora* (or rather her *creation* by Hephæstus) in the presence of *twenty Gods*.⁷ On the sides of the high golden soles of the sandals the *Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ* was chiselled.⁸ The convex surface of the shield contained a *Battle of the Amazons*, and the concave a *Gigantomachia*, arranged as a frieze round the handle. Very careful and elaborate attempts have been made to restore the Parthenos of Pheidias, by the help of descriptions by ancient authors,

¹ In some Attic reliefs with a similar motif, Nike is represented flying away from the goddess with a garland in her hand, and in others Athene herself holds out the crown of victory.

² Pausan. i. 24. 5: Erechthonius, son of Hephæstus and Ge, either wholly or half serpent in form, was adopted by Athene, and entrusted to Herse, Aglauros, and Pandrosos, daughters of Cecrops, in a chest, which the sisters were forbidden to open. Pandrosos alone was obedient to the command. The other two opened the fatal box, and seeing the child in the form of a serpent ('infantumque vident, apporrectumque draconem,' Ovid,

Met. ii. 56), threw themselves in despair from the Acropolis. Apollodor. iii. 14. 6. Hygin. *Fab.* 166. Eurip. *Ion*, 260. Of this serpent Plutarch (*De Iside et Osiride*, 75) remarks that Pheidias added the serpent to the statue of Athene, and the tortoise to that of Aphrodite, to indicate that virgins need a guard, and that home-staying and silence become married women.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 18.

⁴ Plato, *Hipp. Maj.* p. 290 B.

⁵ ii. 13.

⁶ xii. 40.

⁷ Pausan. i. 24. 3.

⁸ 'Adeo momenta omnia artis capacia illi fuere' (sc. Phidiae).—Plin. xxxvi. 18.

and several works of ancient art. De Quincy relied chiefly on the *Gem of Aspasios*¹ for the helmet, and on the *Athene Farnese* for the robe; but his theory that her apparel could not be made too elaborate and costly has not been generally approved. The restoration proposed by Flaxman,² which, in the main, we have adopted in the foregoing description, is far more in accordance with the literary notices, and with the spirit of Pheidias. We are greatly assisted in forming an idea of the general character of the work by some Attic coins, and by one of king Antiochus Euergetes. There are also some Attic reliefs on votive tablets, in which the Parthenos is portrayed, and which illustrate in a remarkable manner the words of Pausanias and Pliny.³ Of still greater importance in this enquiry is the discovery of a *Statuette of Pentelican marble*, found by Lenormant near the Pnyx at Athens, in 1859, and now in the Theseion (fig. 72). This figure, which is rather more than a foot high, is undoubtedly a copy by some rude hand of the familiar form of Pheidias' Parthenos; and though utterly worthless as a work of art, gives us a clearer idea of its general character than any coin or relief could do. As might be

FIG. 72.



STATUETTE FROM THE PARTHENON.

expected in so rude a copy, it is deficient in many of the details of the work of Pheidias as described by ancient authors—the sphinx and griffins of the helmet, the figure of Nike, &c. But it settles the vexed question of the position of the serpent—a position entirely in accordance with the habits of the animal, and the well-known Laocoon episode in Virgil's *Æneid*. The very formal type

¹ Millin. *Gall. Myth.* 37, 132.

² *Lectures on Sc.* pl. 49.

³ These will be found in Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*.

of the Lenormant figure, its strong, full proportions, the heavy folds of the dress, the position of the arms, &c., give it the architectural character which we should expect the statue of Pheidias to possess. The claim of this statuette to be a copy of the Parthenos is greatly strengthened by the subject of the relief on the shield, in which, though much defaced, the *Battle of the Amazons* may be

FIG. 73.



MARBLE SHIELD IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

recognised. Among the other figures represented, we see the 'bald-headed' Pheidias himself wielding an axe.

The value of this coincidence is still further increased by the discovery of a similar but larger shield, in the British Museum (fig. 73), by Professor Conze, which also bears a relief of a battle of the Amazons, and in which the figure of the bald Pheidias is again distinctly seen (fig. 73, *a*). The only difference between the two representations of the great sculptor is, that in the fragment in the British Museum he is wielding an axe, and not, as in the Lenormant shield, a stone.¹

¹ It is said that another fragment of a shield containing the figure of Pheidias has

been lately discovered in the Vatican by Prof. Klügemann, but I have not yet seen it.

The very remarkable figure in the shield of an Amazon stretched at full length on the ground, with her hands clasped above her head, occurs again on some painted vases, the subjects of which are manifestly taken from the Parthenon and the Theseion at Athens.¹

At the end of last year another copy of the Athene Parthenos of Pheidias, the *technique* of which betrays its Roman origin, was discovered by some workmen near the Varvakion at Athens. This figure, which is about three feet high, is of Pentelican marble, highly polished, and shows some traces of gilding. Although some ridicule has been attached to it by the absurd telegram sent by the Mayor of Athens to the Lord Mayor of London, in which the discovery of an Athene Nikephoros by the hand of Pheidias himself was pompously announced, the statuette in question has considerable scientific value. It is, no doubt, in all essential respects, a miniature of the chryselephantine colossus of the Parthenon, and it affords valuable evidence on several points which the Lenormant statuette had left doubtful. The two copies mutually supplement each other in a very remarkable manner; the one giving most clearly just those details of the original which are neglected in the other. The round skull-cap of the Lenormant figure is entirely without ornament, while that of the newly discovered statuette has the Sphinx in round work on the top of the cap, which is surmounted by a lofty crest. On each side is a figure in high relief, which is generally

FIG. 73. a.



ATHENE NIKEPHOROS.

¹ See a relief in the Hemicyclium behind the Egyptian gate-way of the Villa Borghese at Rome (Conze, *Arch. Zeit.* xxxiii. 39).

called a griffin, although it has *the legs and hoofs of a horse*. In the latter work, too, the scales and snake-fringe of the gorgoneion are carefully and elaborately worked out. A still more important feature in the new 'find' is the well-preserved figure of *a winged Nike* on the hand of Athene, holding out the *tænia*. It confirms the acute conjecture of Michaelis in his great work on the Parthenon, that the Goddess of Victory was neither flying directly from nor to her great Patroness,

FIG. 74.



MINERVA MEDICI.

as was generally assumed, but stood sideways, so as to present her profile to the worshipper as he entered the temple.¹

On the other hand, the older copy has the merit of giving the reliefs on the shield with great clearness, and indications at least of the reliefs on the basis, of which the new discovery shows no trace.

The chief novelty in the Athenian statuette is *the pillar* by which the hand of the Goddess Athene is supported. In this respect, too, the artist of the statuette has probably copied the original work. If we consider the great weight borne by the outstretched hand, such a support will appear to be a matter of necessity. It was this consideration, and the evidence of a relief in the Berlin Museum, which led Carl Bötticher, as early as 1857, to conjecture

the existence of such a support in the original work of Pheidias.

Among statues of higher pretensions as works of art which have come down to us, none is so well calculated to give us an idea of the simple grandeur and divine majesty of the Parthenos of Pheidias as the noble torso, eight feet in height, called the *Minerva Medici*,² in the École des Beaux Arts at Paris (fig. 74). The extreme

¹ See Michaelis: 'Eine neue Copie der Parthenos des Pheidias.'

² Meyer (quoted by Emil Braun, *Annal. d. Inst.* xii. 1841) says of this torso: 'La

nostra statua mostra un insieme magnifico, carattere divino, partiti bellissimi, l'impressione totale è ripiena di brio e di spirito.'

simplicity and motionless quietude of the original, of which we get a correct impression from the Lenormant statuette, is, of course, somewhat modified in the Parisian statue. In the latter, the right leg of the Goddess protrudes from the upper garment, and an undergarment of different material is seen; and she wears a chlamys on the left shoulder. But the prevailing tone is one of simple grandeur, and suggests the idea that we have before us a copy of the Parthenos modified to suit the taste of a later period.¹ If, as is generally supposed, it is of Carrara marble, it is probably a Roman work, executed as a temple-image in the best period of Roman imitation.² The other most remarkable representations of the Virgin Goddess are the *Athene Velletri* in the Louvre, a Roman copy of a Greek original of the Pheidias age, of which the head is especially admirable, as the most perfect ideal of the Athene type; and the *Pallas Giustiniani* in the Vatican, also called the *Minerva Medica*, from a mistaken interpretation of the snake. This statue is evidently copied from a bronze original. With these may be compared the very fine statue of *Pallas* in the Museo Torlonia in the Lungara at Rome.

THE LEMNIAN ATHÈNÈ,

of Pheidias, in bronze, was so called from the Attic colonists in Lemnos, who offered this statue on the Acropolis of their mother city, Athens. It appears to have been of an entirely different type from the Parthenos and other representations of the Goddess by the same hand; its chief characteristic being its exceeding beauty. Pliny³ tells us that it was so beautiful that it received 'the surname of beauty itself' (*tam eximiæ pulchritudinis ut formæ cognomen acceperit*), and Lucian⁴ says that 'the outline of the face, the tender loveliness of the cheeks and the symmetry of the nose,' would furnish a model for the delineation of the perfect beauty of Pantheia the Smyrnæan, mistress of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius. It is in

¹ Vide *Annal. dell' Instit.* xii. and *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. 13, of the year 1840.

² This torso is so grand that Bötticher (*Königl. Museen*, p. 374) supposes it to be

the central figure of the E. pediment of the Parthenon; and he declares that it is of Pentelican marble.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 54.

⁴ *Imag.* 4.

reference to this statue that Himerius¹ dilates on the versatile power of Pheidias. 'He does not always,' says this writer, 'represent Athene in arms, but sometimes decks the virgin Goddess by diffusing a blush over her cheek, so that her beauty is concealed by it instead of by her helmet.' Very little value is to be attached to the testimony of a bombastic rhetorician, and it is contrary to all we know of Pheidias to suppose that he would resort to an artifice to colour the bronze (as was done in the case of Silanion's Jocasta), or that he would represent the 'martial maid' as a charming, blushing woman, when even his Aphrodite was of the sterner sort. Two epigrams² are still extant to the same effect as the passages from Lucian and Himerius, and are supposed by some to refer to the Lemnian Athene. The former, by Hermodorus, runs thus: 'When you look, O guest-friend, at the Cnidian Cytherea, you will say, it was she who ruled over mortals and immortals; but when you see Pallas, bold with her spear, among the Cecropidæ, you will exclaim, "after all, Paris was a cow-herd."' *Other statues of Athene* by Pheidias are mentioned, one of which was dedicated in the Temple of Fortuna at Rome by Paulus Æmilius, after his victory over Perseus in 168 B.C. Another is mentioned³ as having been made by Pheidias in a competition with Alcamenes, with which a well-known and interesting story is connected. When the two statues, which were to be placed on lofty pillars (ἐπὶ κίονων ὑψηλῶν), were ready, they were submitted to the judgment of the Athenian public. The Demos, seeing the two on the ground, gave a decided preference to the work of Alcamenes over that of Pheidias, which, 'with its open lips and distended nostrils and other peculiarities adapted to the height of the pillars,'⁴ made so very ugly an appearance, that Pheidias ran a risk of being stoned. But when they were placed on their lofty pedestals the nobility of Pheidias' art was shown forth, and his name was in every mouth, while Alcamenes became a laughing stock.'

¹ *Orat.* 21. 4.

² *Anthol. Græc.* i. 193. Planud. iv. 170 and iv. 168, 248. (Planud. iv. 169). Conf. Insc. found in Paphos. Ros., *N. Rhein.*

Mus. p. 521.

³ Tzet., *Chil.* 353.

⁴ καὶ τὰλλα πρὸς ἀνάλογον ὕψους τοῦ τῶν κίωνων.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PHEIDIAS IN OLYMPIA.

WHATEVER may have been the circumstances under which Pheidias left Athens and went to Elis, there can be no doubt that he was honourably received in Olympia, and entrusted with the most important task which could fall to the lot of a Greek artist, that of representing the great King of Gods and men in the most sacred centre of Hellenic life. We know that Pheidias was already far advanced in years when he carved his own image on the shield of the Athene Parthenos, and, as he probably died in his 70th year, his greatest work must have been executed in the last decade of his life. He repaired to Elis with a goodly train of pupils and fellow artists, who willingly subordinated themselves to the unapproachable master, and sought their chief glory in carrying out his inspired designs. Among his followers were his brother *Panænnus*,¹ who was associated with him in the contract as *συνεργολάβος*, and was employed where painting was required; *Colotes* ('qui cum Phidia Jovem Olympium fecerat'²), who helped Pheidias in the execution of the Olympian Zeus; and *Alcámenes*, whom Pausanias ranks next to Pheidias, and who carved the statues for the western pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. To Pheidias was entrusted, by the general voice of Greeks, the tremendous task of giving a bodily form to their highest conception of the Godhead, the Panhellenic Zeus; a work even greater than that of representing the virgin Goddess Athene, the tutelary divinity of Athens. According to the well-known story, the greatest of sculptors

¹ Strabo (viii. p. 354) calls him his nephew.

² Livius, xxxiv. 87.

derived the central idea of this work from the greatest of poets.¹ Being asked from what model he had formed his Zeus, he replied by quoting the well-known lines of Homer :—

Ἦ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων·
ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπεβρώσαντο ἀνακτος
κρατὸς ἅπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον.²

'He said, and nodded with his shadowy brows,
Waved on the immortal head the ambrosial locks,
And all Olympus trembled at the nod.'

'Starting from such principles,' says Lucian,³ 'Pheidias showed us Jupiter.' 'Pheidias alone,' said Paullus Æmilius,⁴ '*motus animo*' on beholding the God in actual presence ('*Jovem velut præsentem*'), 'has formed the Zeus of Homer.' It was in accordance with the *genius loci* and the art of Pheidias that the great Father of Gods and men should be represented, not in action or excitement, but in the calm consciousness of irresistible power, and in the act of granting a prayer. 'Peaceful and mild,' says Chrysostom, 'he sits enthroned as the presiding genius of united and concordant Greece . . . the Giver of life and the means of life and every other blessing, the common Father and Saviour and Guardian of all mankind.'⁵ Of this wonder of the world Pausanias⁶ has left us so detailed an account that attempts have been made—without much success—to reconstruct it.⁷ Its colossal size, about fifty feet in height, was calculated to strike the beholder with admiration at the very first sight; and this impression was infinitely increased by a closer inspection of the costliness of the material, the perfection of the moulding, and the exquisite workmanship of the minutest details. It combined the awe-inspiring mass of an Egyptian statue with the delicate finish of the smallest gem.

¹ Strabo, viii. p. 353. Conf. Valer. Max. iii. 7, ext. 4. Macrobi. *Saturn.* v. 13, p. 23: 'nam de superciliis et crinibus se Jovis vultum collegisse,' &c.

² *Iliad*, i. 527.

³ *Somn.* 8.

⁴ Liv. xlv. 28 and Plutarch, '*P. Æmilius*.'

Conf. Plutarch, *Sulla*.

⁵ Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* 74, p. 412.

⁶ Pausan. v. 11. 1-10.

⁷ De Quincy, *Jup. Olymp.* p. 274. Flaxman's *Lectures on Sculpture*, plate 20. Conf. Böttiger, *Andeutungen*, p. 93.

According to Pausanias ¹ the God, wrought in ivory and gold (the nude parts in the former, the dress, attributes and ornaments in the latter), was seated, as best consisted with his dignity, on a throne of cedar, wearing on his head a garland of artificial olive branches. In his right hand he held a crowned figure of Nike, also of ivory and gold, with her face turned towards the god, and holding a *tænia* in her hand to bind his victorious brows. In his left hand he held a sceptre adorned with various metals (*μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν διηρησμένον*), one end of which rested on the ground, and the other was surmounted by the favourite bird and messenger of Zeus, the eagle. The upper part of the body was almost entirely nude. The robe,

FIG. 75.



COIN OF ELIS WITH THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS.

which passed over the left shoulder, and completely covered the lower limbs, flowing probably to the feet, was of enamelled gold inlaid with figures (*ζωῖδια*) of animals and flowers, more especially the lily. The soles of his sandals, and the locks of his hair, were also of gold. The God is represented as the great fountain of honour to all the citizens of Greece, and bears the Nike in his hand as himself the greatest of all victors, the *Γιγαντολέτωρ* and *Τιτανοκράτωρ*, as Lucian ² calls him, who had not attained almighty power without struggle and victory. Yet the *tænia* which Nike spreads before him is not intended for the God himself, for *he* is ever crowned, but for the victors in the games,

¹ v. II. 1-10.² *Timon*, 4.

of which Zeus was the eternal president (fig. 75). The throne itself was of gold, ebony, and ivory, and adorned with precious stones, and with figures both painted and carved. The details of the exquisite work which made this throne a triumph of decorative art will be found in Pausanias.¹ I regret that my limits will not allow me to give them here.

In regard to the height of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias Pausanias has left us no exact information, but only remarks that the dimensions given by those who had measured it fall far short of the impression which it makes on the beholder. Strabo² says that its size was such that, notwithstanding the great height of the temple, the artist had failed in preserving the due proportion. 'The figure,' he adds, 'though seated, nearly reached the top of the building; so that if Zeus had risen from his throne he would have carried away the roof.'

Having completed this miracle of genius and skill, which the noblest arts in their highest development combined to enrich and adorn, Pheidias prayed to Zeus to give him a sign from Heaven whether the work was pleasing (*κατὰ γνώμην*) to him, in whose honour it was made. The prayer was answered by a flash of lightning which struck the black pavement in front of the throne, and the spot was still marked in the time of Pausanias by a bronze *hydria*. This black pavement—which, by the way, is still to be seen—was edged with a raised border of Parian marble, to stop the oil with which the wooden kernel of the chryselephantine statue was saturated to counteract the effects of the damp air of the Altis in Olympia.³ Notwithstanding this expedient, however, the ivory soon started, but it was so efficiently restored by the artist Damophon⁴ (Ol. 100–105) as to need no further repairs. The subsequent fate of this great work is very uncertain. According to one writer it was struck by lightning in the time of Julius Cæsar.⁵ Another relates that Caligula wished to take it to Rome, and to substitute his own head for that of Zeus, but was prevented by strange noises (*cachinnus*) from the interior of the statue,

¹ v. 11. 1.

² viii. 353.

³ We are told that the frame-work of the Athene Parthenos, on the contrary, was kept

wet with water to correct the *dryness* of the air on the Acropolis.

⁴ Pausan. iv. 31. 6.

⁵ Eusebius, *Præp. Evangel.* 4. 2. 8.

which dispersed the horrified workmen employed to consummate the sacrilege.¹ It seems probable that it was in existence, though hardly in undiminished glory, in the reign of Julian Apostata (360 A.D.).² It may have been destroyed with the temple when the Olympian games were abolished by the Emperor Theodosius (son of Arcadius),³ in 408 A.D.; although some believed that it was saved from the conflagration in Olympia, transferred to Constantinople and there burnt with the palace of Lausus in 475 A.D.⁴

Ancient literature abounds in references to this statue; and the soberest writers can only speak of it in the language of enthusiasm and hyperbole. It was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world. 'Other wonders we may admire, but this we worship as an incredible (παράδοξον) work of art, as the very image (μίμημα) of Zeus himself.'⁵ 'Cronos (Saturn) was the father of Zeus in Heaven and Pheidias in Elis.' 'Pheidias never indeed beheld Jupiter, but he conceived the Gods in his mind and displayed them to men by his wonderful art';⁶ and 'no one who had seen his Zeus could easily conceive him in another form.'⁷ 'Those who enter the temple' of Zeus at Olympia 'no longer think that they see ivory from the Indians or beaten gold (μεταλλευθεν) from Thrace, but the son of Cronos and Rhea transferred to earth (μετοικισμένον ἐς γῆν) by Pheidias.'⁸ 'Either the god has come down from Heaven to earth to show his form, or thou, O Pheidias, hast gone to Heaven to see the god.'⁹ 'Go to Olympia,' says Epictetus, 'that you may see the work of Pheidias, and let each of you consider it a misfortune to die without a knowledge of these things' (ἀνιστόρητον τούτων).¹⁰ Another writer¹¹ ascribes to this statue the same virtue of stilling sorrow as was possessed by Helen's grief-dispelling potion: ¹² 'such light and grace, O Pheidias,

¹ Sueton. *Calig.* 22. Conf. Cassius Dio, lix. 58. 3, who relates other miracles; and Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* xix. 1, who says that Caligula employed Memmius Regulus.

² Libanius, *Epist.* (ed. Amstelæd. 1738).

³ *Schol. Lucian*, p. 221 (ed. Jacobitz).

⁴ Cedren. *Comp. Hist.* p. 322 B (ed. Paris).

⁵ Hyginus, *Fab.* 223. Philon. Byzant. *De Septem Orbis Spectaculis*.

⁶ Seneca Rhetor. *Controv.* x. 34. Conf. Plotinus, *Ennead.* v. 8, p. 1002.

⁷ Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 53, p. 401.

⁸ Lucian, *De Sacrif.* 11.

⁹ *Anthol. Græc.* ii. 208. 48.

¹⁰ Arrian. *Epictetus*, i. 6. 23.

¹¹ Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 12. 25, p. 400.

¹² Homer, *Odys.* iv. 221 :—

ρηπειθέες τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπιλήθον ἀπάντων.

are in this art of thine.' 'It seems to me,' says the same author, 'that in the presence of this image, the man who is overburdened in his mind, and worn out with misfortunes and griefs, would forget all that is terrible and hard to bear in human life, so nobly hast thou conceived and executed thy work.' Quintilian, when speaking of the Athene Parthenos and the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, declares that their beauty 'added new power to the established faith, so nearly did the grandeur of the work approach to the majesty of the Gods themselves.'¹

The power of language can go no farther than this in the endeavour to express the feelings of awe and wonder, of love and joy, with

FIG. 76.



BUST OF ZEUS.

which this glorious image filled the hearts of all beholders. As we read the burning words in which they vainly strove to give expression to the emotions which glowed in their hearts, we remember the words of the Apostle to those who had seen this miracle of beauty; we see the inspired artist 'feeling after the Lord if haply he might find Him.'

The magnificent bust in the Sala rotonda of the Vatican, known by the name of the *Jupiter Otricoli* (fig. 76), is supposed by some writers to be a copy from the great work of Pheidias. It belongs, no doubt, to the Roman period; but it is equally certain that the design is *not* Roman, but only copied, with certain modifications, from some noble Greek original. It gives with great clearness the characteristics of the type of Zeus, first settled by Pheidias, which recur in all subsequent representations of this deity, and some of his reputed sons—Asklepios, Alexander the Great, &c. Among these characteristics are the manner in which the hair rises straight up on the forehead,² and falls down on each side of the head like a mane; the brow, clear and open above, and prominently

¹ *Instit. Orat.* xii. 10. 9. Valer. Max. iii. 7, ext. 4. Conf. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* *Tyan.* iv. 38.

² ἀνάσλλον τρίχωμα, Aristot. *Physiogn.* v. 8. ἀνασπολή τῆς κόμης, Plut. *Pomp.* 2, *relicina frons.*

arched below ; the full massive beard flowing down in rich curls ; the deep-set but widely-opened eyes ; and the refined and noble expression of mingled majesty and mildness in the face, so suitable to the omnipotent ruler and gracious father of Gods and men.¹ Statues of Zeus are to be found in almost every museum in Europe, but, singularly enough, none of them are of the highest class. Among the best are the *Jupiter Verospi* in the Vatican,² and a statue in the collection of Mr. Smith Barry, at Marbrook.³

APHRODITE URANIA.

Among the works which were in all probability executed by Pheidias during his sojourn in Olympia we may reckon the *Aphrodite Urania* (the heavenly). The goddess of love seems hardly a suitable subject for the severe and stately chisel of Pheidias, who delighted to represent the majesty and grandeur of the Gods,⁴ and alone of men had the power to do it.⁵ But we must remember that the Aphrodite of Praxiteles was not the only, or the highest, type of this Goddess ; and that if Pheidias portrayed her, it would not be as the lovely, charming woman, still less the voluptuous wanton. He contemplated her in her more dignified character, as the principle of love in nature and the universe, as the great, powerful, and beneficent Goddess beloved of Gods and men, whom Lucretius invokes in his stately lines :

Æneadum genetrix, hominum divumque voluptas,
Alma Venus ! cœli subter labentia signa
Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes
Concelebras.

Great mother of Æneas' race, thou joy of Gods and men,
Beneath the shining orbs that roll beyond our human ken
Thy spirit, Venus, fills the world in every hour of birth,
Throughout the sail-swept ocean wave, and all the teeming earth.—H. A. P.

According to Pausanias this statue of the Aphrodite Urania by

¹ This bust should be seen from below.

² Visconti, *M. Pio Cl.* i. pl. 1.

³ Clarac (*Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 665-694) publishes this and many other statues of Zeus in Rome, Naples, Florence, Paris, London, Madrid, &c.

⁴ Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9: 'Pheidias tamen Diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex creditur.'

⁵ Φειδίου χεῖρες μόναι δύναμεναι θεοὺς τίκτειν (Philon. Byzant. *De Septem Orbis Spectaculis*).

Pheidias was in a temple behind the Stoa at Athens erected from the spoils of Corcyra. The materials were gold and silver, and the goddess was represented with one foot resting on a *tortoise*, the emblem of silence and home-staying domesticity.¹ He adds that in the sacred enclosure (τέμενος) of the same temple there stood a bronze statue of the opposite type of the goddess, the *Aphrodite Pandemos*, riding on a goat. He does not name the artist of the latter figure, but leaves it to his readers to compare the two.²

ANADUMENOS.

To the same period of Pheidias' life is ascribed a bronze statue at Olympia of a youth, not Pantarces, in the act of binding his brows with the *tænia* of victory, and hence, like similar statues, called *Anadumenos* (ἀναδούμενος).

AMAZON.

Of uncertain date, as indeed are the foregoing, is an *Amazon* which Pheidias is said to have executed, in competition with Polycleitus, Cresilas, Cydon, and Phradmon, for the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Considering the nature of the subject, which was not one to bring out the highest powers of Pheidias, we are not much surprised to learn that he only obtained the second prize and that Polycleitus carried off the first.³ Lucian refers to this statue as leaning on a spear, and as being remarkable for the beauty of the mouth and neck. It is generally supposed that we have a copy of this work in the well-known statue in the Vatican, which, as Overbeck points out, should be restored according to an ancient gem (fig. 77).⁴

Pausanias and Pliny speak of other statues in bronze or marble as probably works of Pheidias, but our limits will only allow us

¹ Plut. *Conjug. Præc.* 32. οἰκουρίας σύμβολον ταῖς γυναῖξιν καὶ σωπῆς· δεῖ γὰρ ἡ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα λαλεῖν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός. Nothing therefore can be wider of the truth than a notice in the Schol. Greg. Nazianz. (*Catal. manuscriptor. qui a Clarke comparati in Bib. Bodl. adservantur*): τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην ἀνέθηκε ὡς

πάντα τὸν ὄντα εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἔλκεσθαι συνουσίας.

² Pausan. i. 14. Conf. Anthol. Pal. vi. 340, for comparison between the two types of Aphrodite.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 53.

⁴ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Griech. Plastik*, i. 347.

to refer very briefly to them. Among these were figures (in bronze) of

Athene, which was probably first set up in Triteia in Achaia,¹ and was subsequently consecrated by Paulus Æmilius, near the Temple of Fortune in Rome,² in honour of his victory over Perseus (168 B.C.);

Apollo Parnopios (the averter of locusts) near the Parthenon at Athens;³ and (in marble) of

Hermes Pronaos, near the entrance of the Ismenion at Thebes, besides which stood an *Athene* by Scopas;⁴ a second

Aphrodite Urania near the Cerameicus at Athens;⁵ and an

Aphrodite, 'of remarkable beauty,' which afterwards adorned the Porticus Octaviæ at Rome.⁶

Of the statues and reliefs of heroes or mere mortals attributed to Pheidias, we have already mentioned the thirteen bronze figures of *Miltiades and the mythical heroes* Erechtheus, Cecrops, Pandion, &c.,⁷ set up in celebration of the victory at Marathon; the *reliefs of Pericles and Pheidias* himself on the shield of the Parthenos;⁸ the statues of *Pantarcus*⁹ on the throne of the Olympian Zeus in Elis, and of the *Anadumenos*¹⁰ in Olympia, which some suppose to have been a portrait statue of Pantarcus. Besides these we read of *Signa palliata* of bronze, probably portraits, which Quintus Lutatius Catulus set up in the Temple of Fortune;¹¹ a *Nude Colossus*;¹² and a *Kleiduchus*¹³ (κλειδοῦχος), the figure of a priestess holding the key of a temple in her hand.

FIG. 77.



COPY OF PHEIDIAS' AMAZON.

¹ Pausan. vii. 22. 9. Conf. Ulrichs, *Chrest. Plin.* p. 318.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 54.

³ Pausan. i. 24. 8.

⁴ Pausan. i. 14. 6.

⁵ Ibid. ix. 10. 2.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 15.

⁷ *Supra*, p. 178.

⁸ p. 42.

⁹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 54.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ pp. 176 and 186.

¹² p. 196.

¹³ *Ibid.*

As might be expected, the attempt was made to give value to many inferior works by inscribing on them the mighty name of Pheidias. The best known of these are the very fine *colossal statues* which adorn *the Monte Cavallo* at Rome, and which bear respectively the proud inscription 'Opus Phidiæ,' and 'Opus Praxitelis.' They date in all probability from the time of Augustus.¹

Grandeur of design was united in Pheidias with the most careful diligence and the greatest accuracy in details. The Emperor Julian says that 'the wise Pheidias' was not only known for his images of the Gods at Athens and Olympia, but for the wonderful art which he displayed in representing the *cicada*, the *bee*, and even the *fly*.² The splendid rhetorician Dio Chrysostom represents Pheidias as claiming no other superiority than that which he derived from 'accuracy of work.'³ It would appear from this that the great artist agreed with the definition of genius as 'the faculty of taking pains.' Pliny even calls him the inventor of the *toreutic art* (ἡ τορευτική), by which he means the art of engraving and embossing, and says that Polycleitus learned it of him.⁴

GENIUS OF PHEIDIAS.

Ancient writers naturally dwell less on those merits of Pheidias which he shared with other artists, because their attention was riveted on the higher qualities which he possessed alone. A Pythagoras gained lasting fame for his attention to metre and symmetry; a Myron for his power of endowing men and the lower animals with physical life; a Calamis for making the face of his statues the index of the soul. Of Pheidias no such special or partial pre-eminence is recorded, but it is silently assumed that he possessed in immeasurable abundance all the wealth of knowledge and skill which had been

¹ Wagner, *Im Kunstblatt*, 1824, No. 93. Conf. Brunn, *Künstler-Gesch.* i. 187.

² Julian Imper. *Epist.* 3. Conf. Nicephor. *Gregor. Hist.* viii. 7.

³ Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 56, p. 403: καὶ ὅσα μὲν λιθοζῶν ἔργα ἢ γραφέων ἀρχαῖότερα τῆς

ἐμῆς τέχνης σύμφωνα ἦσαν, πλὴν ὅσον, κατὰ τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τῆς ποιήσεως.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 54. Conf. Martial, *Ep.* iii. 35:—

Artis Phidiacæ toreuma cæli (clarum)
Pisces adspicis: adde aquam natabunt.

accumulated by his predecessors through the long ages of the past, and was able to use *all* the resources of art in the embodiment of ideas which were visible to him alone. We might indeed dwell with admiration on the extraordinary amount of varied knowledge¹—of architecture, of form and colour, symmetry and rhythm—which could alone enable him to do what he did; or on his wondrous technical skill in dealing with the most varied materials—gold, ivory, bronze, marble and ebony; a knowledge and a skill sufficient to make a thousand reputations. But in all these qualifications, important and meritorious as they are, he was approached by many, and in some of them possibly surpassed by his successors. We can only understand the place which both the ancient and the modern world have assigned to Pheidias in the Pantheon of Art, by fixing our attention on that one quality which raises him to the same rank as his country's greatest poets—his Ideality.

Cicero when speaking of the Olympian Zeus says: 'The great artist when he was moulding his Jupiter or Minerva was not looking at any form of these deities of which he might make a copy, but there dwelt in his mind a certain form (*species*) of surpassing beauty, the sight and intense contemplation of which directed his art and his hand to produce a similitude.'² Like the ideas of Plato, these forms or species were not produced, but existed in the reason and intelligence of man.³ 'Did the Pheidias and the Praxiteles,' asks Thespion⁴ sarcastically, 'ascend into Heaven, and taking an impression from the forms of the Gods mould them by their art; or was it something else which guided them in their work?' 'Something else,'

¹ 'Sic ego nunc tibi refero artem sine scientia esse non posse' (Cicero, *Acad. Prior.* ii. 47. 146).

² Cic. *Orat.* ii. 9.

³ *Ibid.* iii. 10: 'Harum rerum formas appellat ille non intelligendi solum sed etiam dicendi gravissimus auctor et magister Plato; easque gigni negat et ait semper esse ac ratione et intelligentia contineri.'

⁴ Philostratus, *De Vita Apollonii Tyan.* vi. 19: οἱ Φειδία δὲ εἶπε (Θεσπεσίων) καὶ οἱ Πραξιτέλεις μὴ ἀνελθόντες εἰς οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπομαζόμενοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη τέχνην αὐτὰ ἐποιούντο, ἢ ἕτερόν τι ἦν, ὃ ἐφίστη αὐτοὺς

τῷ πλάττειν; ἕτερον εἶπε ('Απολλώνιος) καὶ μεστόν γε σοφίας πρᾶγμα. ποῖον εἶπεν; οὐ γὰρ ἂν τι παρὰ τὴν μίμησιν εἴποις, φαντασίᾳ, εἶπε, ταῦτα εἰργάσατο σοφωτέρα μίμησις δημιουργός. μίμησις μὲν γὰρ μόνον δημιουργήσει δ' εἶδεν, φαντασία δὲ καὶ ὃ μὴ εἶδεν, ὑποθήσεται γὰρ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος. Thespion argues against the Greek representations of Gods, &c. and in favour of the Egyptian symbolic method: σοφὸν γὰρ εἶπερ τι Αἰγυπτίων, καὶ τὸ μὴ θρασύνεσθαι εἰς τὰ τῶν θεῶν εἶδη, ξυμβολικὰ δὲ αὐτὰ ποιέσθαι καὶ ὑπονούμενα καὶ γὰρ ἂν καὶ σεμνοτέρα οὕτως φαίνοιτο.

replied Apollonius, * * * 'for by his imagination (*φαντασία*) the artist fashioned these forms much more wisely than by imitation; for imitation only represents what it has seen, but imagination what it has not seen, which is suggested to it by reference to existing things' (*πρὸς τὴν ἀναφορὰν τοῦ ὄντος*). The Greeks held that mind and body were or ought to be in strict correlation and harmony. When therefore the artist set himself to give visible form to a god who ruled the world by his power and wisdom, he conceived not a composite symbolic monster like the barbarians, but a form not altogether different from that of man, but as much higher, grander, nobler, as is the mind of the Omniscient than the mind of man. For such a being, as Cicero says, there is no model, nor was the conception of it to be attained by any scientific rules, but only by the loftiest genius in a moment of ecstatic inspiration.¹ Yet ideal as he was, in the highest sense of the word, he was far removed from the vagueness, the carelessness and caprice which are often thought to be the natural attributes of transcendent genius.²

As we might expect from the characteristic bent of his genius, Pheidias sought his subjects on the very summit of Olympus. In a few instances, indeed, he condescended to represent man, but, as Quintilian says, 'he was thought to have succeeded better in making Gods than men.' It was in the creation of the super-sensual, the ideal, that he had no rival, and no second.

Lastly, in forming an idea of the style of Pheidias, we must remember that he had a conscious and intentional leaning towards an archaic severity which was more in harmony with the awful dignity and sublimity of the beings whom he loved to portray than the softness and delicacy of the later Attic school.

¹ 'Pheidias,' says the Schol. to Suidas *Ἰδέωβος ἰαρός*, 'practised his art *ἐνθουσιῶν*,' with his mind's eye 'in a fine frenzy rolling.'

² Because genius, mostly of the second order, is often allied with moral extravagance, disorder and eccentricity, these are sometimes supposed to be the signs and natural concomitants of genius. But as Schiller says: 'Das echte Kunstgenie ist

immer daran zu erkennen, dass es bei dem glühendsten Gefühl für das Ganze, Kälte und ausdauernde Geduld für das Einzelne, behält, und um der Vollkommenheit keinen Abbruch zu thun lieber den Genuss der Vollendung aufopfert.'

καὶ τὸ εὐθὲς, οὐ τὸ γενναῖον πλεῖστον μέτεχει, says Thucydides.

Nec quicquam magnum est nisi quod simul est placidum. — Seneca.

CHAPTER XIX.

CONTEMPORARIES AND PUPILS OF PHEIDIAS.

ALCAMENES,

Ol. 83-94 (448-404 B.C.).¹

IT is in one respect a misfortune to a great man to be the contemporary of an infinitely greater, for in the full blaze of day the brightest stars are lost to sight. Yet even the genius of Pheidias could not have produced its lasting effect on the art of Greece and the world, had he not been surrounded and seconded by other artists of no ordinary merit. Among the pupils of Pheidias Pausanias assigns the first place to Alcamenes,² who, though born in Lemnos, was an Attic citizen by his descent from the Attic Kleruchi in that island. He is therefore sometimes called an Athenian³ and sometimes a Lemnian.⁴ Pliny, too, speaks of him as being distinguished among the first artists of the period; and both writers⁵ refer with high praise to a statue by Alcamenes of *Aphrodite ἐν κήποις*⁶ (in the gardens), outside the walls of Athens, to which Pheidias himself is said to have given the last touch. Lucian⁷ also refers to it as the 'finest of this artist's works,' and notices especially 'the beauty of the cheeks, the hands, the finely tapered fingers, and the delicate rhythm

¹ Brunn says, 'Beginning of career, Ol. 84.'

² Pausan. v. 108.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 16.

⁴ Suidas s. v. Alcamenes. O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst*, Sec. 112.

⁵ i. 19. 2.

⁶ Some writers think that we have a copy of the Aphrodite of Alcamenes in a fine

statue in the Torlonia Museum in the Lungara at Rome.

⁷ *Imag.* 6: τὰ μῆλα δὲ καὶ ὅσα τῆς ὕψους ἀντῶν, παρ' Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐν κήποις λήψεσθαι καὶ προσέτι χειρῶν ἄκρα καὶ καρπῶν τὸ εὐρυθμον καὶ δακτύλων τὸ εὐάγων ἐς λεπτὸν ἀπολήγον παρὰ τῆς ἐν κήποις καὶ ταῦτα.

of the wrists,' an idea of which, as has been well pointed out,¹ may be gained from the beautiful bronze *Athene Agoraia* in the Uffizi at Florence, with the right hand held out in calm declamation.

We have no means of forming a judgment respecting the style of Alcamenes or the difference between his *Aphrodite* and that of his great master. His works were numerous and included several deities: a statue of *Here*² in a temple between Phalerum and Athens; another of *Ares* in Athens itself; a chryselephantine statue of *Dionysus*³ in the Theatre at Athens, of which we have the type on Athenian coins, both bronze and silver,⁴ where the God is represented with a beard, sitting on a throne, and holding a cup in his hand from which he dispenses his gifts to mortals; and a bronze *Pentathlos*,⁵

FIG. 78.



HEAD OF ASKLEPIOS IN THE
BRITISH MUSEUM.

surnamed *cucrinomenos* (approved pattern). Alcamenes was also employed at a late age, Ol. 94. 2 (B.C. 402), to execute a marble group of *Athene and Heracles*, which Thrasybulus and the Athenians offered in the Heracleion at Thebes to commemorate the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants.⁶ He also executed a statue of *Asklepios* (*Æsculapius*) in gold and ivory. He probably fixed the type of this deity, whom he represents, as we still find him in later art, as a sort of humanized Zeus Olympius, seated on a throne. Asklepios was much worshipped by the Greeks on account of the very great value they attached to bodily health.⁷ He had a large temple on the Acropolis, of which the remains are still seen. The likeness to Zeus is clearly marked

¹ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, i. 241.

² Pausan. i. 1. 5. Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, iii. 466, 872.

³ Pausan. i. 20. 2.

⁴ Beulé, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, pp. 261, 262.

⁵ One practised in all the five gymnastic exercises.

⁶ Pausan. ix. 11. 4.

⁷ Ariphron of Sicily:—

μετὰ σείῳ, μάκαρ Ὑγίεια
τέθαλε πάντα καὶ λαμβύει Χαρίτων ἔαρι
σέθεν δὲ χωρὶς οὐτὶς εὐδαιμόνων ἔφην.

in the beautiful head, generally supposed to be that of Asklepios, in the British Museum (fig. 78). More important in the history of art are his *Hecate Epipyrgidia* ('upon the tower')—which stood by the Temple of Nike apteros (the wingless victory) at Athens—because the goddess is here, for the first time, represented in her triple form;¹ and his *Hephæstus* (Vulcan), in which figure the characteristic lameness of the God of flame was so skilfully indicated as not to mar the beauty of the figure.² 'The beholder admires in the statue of Hephæstus at Athens' (besides other signs of the most finished art), 'this feature especially, that it slightly represents the lameness concealed beneath his garment, not, as it were, blaming the defect, but gracefully indicating the well-known and characteristic mark of the god.'³

Alcamenes is further known as the principal coadjutor of Pheidias in the plastic adornment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. He is said to have executed for the western pediment of that building *the Battle of the Centaurs and Lapithæ*, in which Peirithous and Theseus formed the central figures. This mythical feat of arms, like *the Battle of the Amazons*, was a very favourite subject with the Athenians, whose semi-divine hero Theseus played the principal part in both.

PÆONIUS OF MENDE.

Pæonius has been generally regarded as a pupil of Pheidias, because he was employed at some time or other in the plastic decoration of the same temple—the Temple of Zeus at Olympia. The opinions of recent writers that he learned his art in a very different school, and that he must be altogether dissociated from Pheidias, derives strong confirmation from the style of his works, considerable remains of which have been lately found in the ruins of Olympia. The most remarkable of these—*the Nike on a pillar*—lately found in the very spot indicated by Pausanias, was probably executed in the 81st

¹ Pausan. ii. 30. 2.

² Cic. *Nat. Deor.* i. 30: 'Apparet claudicationis non deformis.'

³ Valer. Max. viii. 11, ext. 3: 'Tenet vi-sentes Athenis Vulcanus Alcamenis manibus

fabricatus . . . stat dissimulatæ claudicationis sub veste leviter vestigium repræsentans, ut non exprobrans tanquam vitium, ita tamen certam propriamque Dei notam decore significans.'

Ol. (456 B.C.), some twenty years before the arrival of Pheidias in Elis.¹ The conjecture of Ottfried Müller and Brunn, therefore, that Pheidias found the sculptures of the eastern pediment already finished, and that he was invited to Olympia by the Eleians in consequence of the death of Pæonius, is by no means without foundation.²

To Pæonius was entrusted the decoration of the eastern pediment of the temple, as to Alcamenes that of the western.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF PÆONIUS.

The subject chosen by, or for, Pæonius was *the chariot race between Ænomaus, King of Pisa, and Pelops*, who by his victory in the contest obtained the sovereignty of the Peloponnesus. The actual race would have been ill-suited to the triangular form of the *ἀετός*; the actors are therefore represented as engaged in the final preparations just before the start.³ Zeus, probably in archaic form, occupied the centre of the group. Next to the god, on the right, was *Ænomaus*, with his wife *Sterope*, daughter of Atlas; then *Myrtilus*, the charioteer, sitting in front of his four horses; then two nameless persons, probably *grooms*, or attendants of some sort; and in the angle a figure representing the river *Cladeus*, one of the streams which bounded the Altis, and was honoured by the Eleians next to the *Alpheius*. On the left of Zeus, in strict parallelism with the personages on the right, were *Pelops*, *Hippodamia*, the *Charioteer* (whom the Træzenians called *Sphairos*, but the *cicerone* (ἑξηγητής) who conducted Pausanias, Cillas), *the horses and grooms* of Pelops, and, in the angle, the river *Alpheius*.

Remains of this group also have been discovered at Olympia, and we shall therefore speak more fully of it in the following chapter, under the head of extant works.

The figure mentioned above of *Nike on a pillar* was erected

¹ Ulrichs, *Verhandl. d. 25. Philologischen Versammlung zu Halle*, 1867.

² O. Müller, *Hallische Literatur Zeitung*, 1835, p. 233. Brunn, *Pæonios und die Nordgriech. Kunst*, könig. baier. Acad.

6. März 1876 und 13. Jan. 1877.

³ Pausan. v. 10. 6: *ὁμιλλὰ ἐπὶ μέλλουσα καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ*. Vide *infra*, p. 233.

at Olympia by the Messenian Dorians to celebrate the taking of Naupactus from the Athenians, in Ol. 87. 4 (429 B.C.) or Ol. 66. 4 (425 B.C.). It is one of the most beautiful and best preserved of the works of art lately disinterred from the sacred soil of the Altis.¹

AGORACRITUS OF PAROS.

Agoracritus is spoken of by Pausanias, Pliny, and many other writers, as the rival of Alcamenes, and the favourite pupil of Pheidias. It is even said that the great master gave Agoracritus some of his own works, and allowed him to inscribe his name upon them, so that ancient writers were often in doubt to which of the two artists a statue belonged. 'Many others,' says Zenobius,² 'have inscribed the name of another artist on their own work.' For example, a *statue of Rhea* (Cybele) in the shrine of the Great Mother at Athens, which Pliny calls *Agoracriti opus*,³ is attributed by Pausanias⁴ and others to Pheidias himself.

The latter writer also mentions two bronze statues of *Athene Itonia* and *Zeus*, in the Temple of Athene at Coronæa, by the hand of Agoracritus.⁵ We know nothing further of the former statue, but there is a curious notice in Strabo referring to the same group, in which he calls Zeus by the name of *Hades*.⁶ And this is important as showing that it was not a copy of the glorious, triumphant, joyous, Zeus of Pheidias, but the God in his sterner, gloomier character, as king of the realms of shadows and death.

But the most celebrated work of Agoracritus was the colossal *hololith statue of Nemesis*,⁷ carved, according to the story, from the block of marble which the Persians brought with them to Marathon to make a trophy of.⁸ Pliny relates that this statue was the same as

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 237.

² Zenob. v. 82.

³ Plin. xxxvi. 17.

⁴ i. 3. 5.

⁵ Ibid. ix. 34. 1.

⁶ Strabo, ix. 4. 11. Conf. Gori, ii. 72. I, for a Florentine gem in which Athene Itonia is represented sitting beside Hades.

⁷ Zenob. v. 82.

⁸ Pausan. i. 33. 2: ἐς τροπαίου ποιήσιν. Conf. *Anthol. Græc.* iv. 170, 257. Planud. iv. 263:—

καί με λίθον Πέρσαι δούρ' ἤγαγον ὄφρα τρόπαιον
στήσωσιντα νίκας· εἰμὶ δὲ νυν Νέμεσις
'Ἀμφοτέροις δ' ἔστηκε καὶ Ἑλλήνεσσι τρόπαιον
νίκας, καὶ Πέρσαισι τοῦ πολέμου νήμεσις.

the *Venus* with which Agoracritus competed for a prize against Alcámenes, and which Varro 'preferred to all other statues.' Disgusted with the preference given by the partial Athenians to his rival—'not on account of the superiority of his work, but because he was their fellow citizen'¹—Agoracritus sold his statue on condition that it should not remain at Athens, and should change its name, after the necessary modification, to Nemesis. That such a change should be considered possible brings very forcibly to our minds the difference between the severe type of the Aphrodite Urania of Pheidias and his school, and the soft, alluring Paphian goddess of a later age.

There is a small but beautiful antique statue of Nemesis in the Lateran Museum, which is very probably a copy of the work of Agoracritus. The *πῆχυς* (or cubit) of the Greeks was, as the word denotes, the length of the forearm from elbow to wrist. The Greek artist, instead of placing her usual attribute, the cubit, in her hand, to mark the goddess of measure or moderation, shows prominently the part of the arm in question.

In the construction of the chryselephantine statue of Zeus at Olympia, Pheidias is said to have been assisted by another artist,

COLOTES,

probably a Parian, whom Pliny² calls a pupil of Pheidias, while Pausanias³ mentions an otherwise unknown Pasiteles⁴ as his teacher. His chief independent work was a *chryselephantine Athene* on the Acropolis of Elis, the inside of whose shield was painted by Panænus. The helmet of the goddess was adorned with the figure of a cock, as the most courageous and combative of birds, or as an emblem of watchfulness, 'as the sacred bird of *Athene Ergane*' (the strenuous worker, *operosa Minerva*).⁵ This statue too was attributed by some

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 17: 'Vicique Alcámenes non opere sed civitatis suffragiis contra peregrinum suo faventis.'

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 87, xxxv. 54.

³ v. 20. 2.

⁴ Not of course to be confounded with the Pasiteles who flourished about the time of Pompey the Great.

⁵ Pausan. vi. 26. 3.

to Pheidias himself. Colotes also made a statue of *Asklepios* for Cyllene on the coast of Elis, which Strabo calls θαυμαστόν ἰδεῖν (wonderful to behold); some statues of *Philosophers*; and a table of gold and ivory, which stood in front of the image of Zeus at Olympia, and on which the crowns of the victors were laid.

THEOCOSMUS OF MEGARA

is said to have been assisted by Pheidias in the execution of a statue of Zeus on a throne, in the Olympieion at Megara, the completion of which was prevented by the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war. On this account 'only the face was of ivory and gold, and the rest of the figure of clay and gyps.'¹ Above the head of Zeus were the *Horæ* and *Mæræ* (Fates), because he alone can control the Fates, and duly regulate the Seasons.

THRASYMEDES OF PAROS,

son of Arignotus of Paros, is said to have made a chryselephantine image of *Asklepios* for Epidaurus, half the size of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias. We have a representation of this god on a coin of Epidaurus (fig. 79), in which, as in the description of the figure by Pausanias,² Asklepios has a staff or sceptre in one hand, and holds the other over the head of a serpent; under the throne on which he sits lies a dog.³ The throne itself, like that of the Olympian Zeus, was ornamented with reliefs, representing the *Exploits of the Argives*—*Bellerophon and the Chimæra*, and *Perseus bearing away the head of Medusa*. We are justified in reckoning him among the pupils of Pheidias because this work is attributed to the great master himself.⁴

FIG. 79.



COIN OF EPIDAUROS.

¹ Pausan. i. 40. 4: πηλοῦ τε ἔστι καὶ γύψου.

² ii. 27. 2.

³ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, i. 250.

Pausan. ii. 27. 2.

⁴ Athenagoras, *Leg. pr. Chr.* 14, p. 61 (ed. Dechair). Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, i. 245.

PRAXIAS AND ANDROSTHENES OF ATHENS,

Ol. 85-90 (B.C. 440-420).

Although these artists were not pupils of Pheidias, they belong to his period, and were employed in the plastic decoration of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹ The pedimental group of this temple contained statues of *Artemis*, *Leto*, *the Muses*, *Helios* (setting), *Dionysos*, and the *Thyiades* (Bacchantes). The first mentioned of these were executed by Praxias, but as he died in the middle of his work, the group was completed by another Athenian, Androsthenes, a pupil of Eucadmus. The only direct evidence of their belonging to this period is the fact that Praxias is called a pupil of Calamis, whose prime fell about Ol. 80 (B.C. 460). We may assume therefore that Praxias was actively exercising his art between the 85th and 90th Ol. (440-420 B.C.). An interesting confirmation of this hypothesis has been pointed out by Welcker in a chorus of the 'Ion' of Euripides, which directly refers to the sculptures described by Pausanias:—

Οὐκ ἐν ταῖς ζαθείαις Ἀθί-
ναις εὐκίονες ἦσαν αὐ-
λαὶ θεῶν μόνον, οὐδ' ἀγνι-
άτιδες θεραπείαι·
ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Λοξία
τῷ Λατοῦς διδύμων προσώ-
πων καλλιβλέφαρον φῶς.²

Not alone did lordly Athens pillared courts for prayer upraise,
Or perform the vow to Phœbus, guardian of the city ways :
Here we hail a kindred glory, where within the Delphic shrine
Splendour crowns the radiant faces of Latona's twins divine.—H. A. P.

If, as Welcker³ assumes, this tragedy was first brought on to the stage in Ol. 89 (B.C. 424), or a little later, the sculptures of the Delphian Temple must have been already in their places in the pediment at

¹ Pausan. x. 19. 4. Conf. Welcker, *Alt. Denkm.* i. 151.

² Eurip. *Ion*, 184.

³ *Alt. Denkm.* i. 151. Conf. Brunn, *Künstler-Geschichte*, i. 248.

that date. The same may be said of the Metopes, to five of which Euripides distinctly alludes in the same chorus. The subjects of these were, (1) *Heracles, Iolaus*, and the *Lernæan Hydra*;¹ (2) *Bellerophon and the Chimæra*;² (3) *Pallas* brandishing the gorgoneion, 'the fierce-eyed shield' (γοργῶπιν ἵνυ), against the giant *Enceladus*;³ (4) *Zeus* blasting *Mimas* with his thunderbolt;⁴ and (5) *Dionysos* destroying another giant with his 'unwarlike ivy-twined thyrsos'.⁵

¹ Eurip. *Ion*, vv. 190-218 :—

Ἴδου τά-δ' ἄθρησον,
Δερναιὸν ὕδραν ἐναίρει
χρυσείαις ἄρπαις ὁ Διὸς παῖς.

² *Ibid.* :—

Καὶ μὲν τότε δ' ἄθρησον
πτερούργος ἐφεδρὸν ἵππου·
τὴν πυρπνέουσαν ἐναίρει
τρισώματον Ἀλκάν.

³ *Ibid.* :—

Δεύσσεις οὖν ἐπ' Ἑγκελάδῃ

γοργῶπιν πάλλουναν ἵνυ;
λεύσσω Παλλὰδ' ἐμὴν θεόν.

⁴ *Ibid.* :—

τί γάρ; κεραυνὸν
ἀμφίπυρον ὀβριμον ἐν Διὶ
ἐπηβόλοισι χερσίν;
ὄρω, τὸν δαΐιον Μίμαντα
πυρὶ καταϊθαλοί.

Conf. Eurip. *Hec.* 470.

⁵ *Ibid.* :—

καὶ Βρόμιος ἄλλον
ἀπολέμοις κισσίνοισι βάκτροις
ἐναίρει Γῆς τέκνων ὁ Βακχεύς.

CHAPTER XX.

EXTANT WORKS OF THE PERICLEAN PERIOD.

THE attention of ancient Greek and Roman writers was almost exclusively directed to those great masterpieces of sculpture in which this branch of art developed itself in perfect freedom and independence. Unhappily for us nearly all these works are lost. Of all the marvellous achievements of which Pausanias, Pliny, Lucian, Cicero and others speak with enthusiasm, we can hardly boast of possessing more than two or three examples, and we are fortunate when we meet with copies of some of them sufficiently true to give us an idea of their style and merits. The noblest remains of Greek art which we possess are specimens of sculpture not walking in her own way, but assuming the gait of Architecture, her more solid, staid, and serious sister. There are obvious reasons why architectural statues and reliefs, and these alone, have escaped destruction. They were always of stone, which presented to the plunderer none of the attractions of bronze, silver, gold, and ivory. In their lofty position, too, they were more out of reach, and even as works of art they were of less value when taken from the place for which they were exclusively intended. And hence it happens that while the *Sosandra* of Calamis, the *Cow* of Myron, the *Athene Parthenos* and the *Panhellenic Zeus* of Pheidias, the *Cnidian Venus* of Praxiteles, are lost to us for ever, we still possess important remains of pedimental groups from the school of Pheidias, which bear the impress of the great master's genius, if not the very traces of his hand.

PLASTIC ORNAMENTS OF THE GREEK TEMPLE.¹

We have already given a very brief description of the Greek temple, in which our chief attention was directed to those parts of it which were decorated by the sculptor or the painter. We proceed to say a few words about the plastic ornaments themselves. The principal of these are

THE TEMPLE-IMAGE.

Even this, as we have seen in the highest examples—the Panhellenic Zeus and the Athene Parthenos—was modified by architectural laws, so as to form as it were the moral centre of the whole edifice.

THE PEDIMENT.

It is a striking proof of the living power of Greek art, that it seems not merely to submit to the restrictions under which it has to work, but to derive fresh advantages from them, and like the patriot to transform its fetters into splendid ornaments. The noblest works we possess were executed under many apparently unfavourable conditions, resulting from the rigidly defined forms of architecture. The genius of the artist was cast, as it were, like fused gold, in geometrical moulds, and each mathematical form brought with it different laws and requirements.

In the Pediment, the space between the apex of the triangle and the base is the highest, and naturally forms the centre of action, and is occupied by the principal member of the group. The other figures must therefore decrease in height as they approach the angles at the base; and it is natural that they should likewise gradually decline in importance as well as size, and stand not only in strict relation, but in subordination, to the central figures. The form of the pediment also leads to unity of action, and this is for the most part strictly observed; although we read with astonishment in Pausanias, that the *ἀετός* of the *Heracleion* in Thebes contained the

¹ Vide *supra*, pp. 43-46.

labours of Heracles by Praxiteles, and that the hero was represented several times in different sizes in the same field!¹

As the two wings of the *ἀετός* agree exactly, we find a correspondence, or parallelism, between the two sides, both in physical bulk and moral importance. Of this nicely adjusted balance, carried even to an extreme, the Æginetan group affords an excellent example. Lastly, the great depth of the recess formed by the far projecting cornice of the roof, and the architrave, which throws the triangular field into deep shadow, requires that the group which occupies it should be executed not in relief, but in round figures.

THE TRIGLYPHON.²

The oblong spaces between the triglyphs, called metopes, required very different subjects from those which were best suited to the pediment, and the subjects themselves called for a very different treatment. In the Doric frieze the connexion between the different compartments is interrupted. Each metope has an independent existence, and its plastic ornament should represent a complete action. And yet, as all the metopes form part of the same frieze, there may be, and generally is, a certain moral connexion between the scenes portrayed on them; as, for example, the different exploits of the same hero—Heracles or Theseus. In this case, too, the massive frame in which the field is set requires that the figures should be, not indeed actual statues, as in the pediments, but very high reliefs, such as we find in the Temples of Selinus and Olympia, and in the Parthenon.

THE IONIC FRIEZE.

The third great field for the display of the sculptor's art was the Ionic frieze, which, as we have seen, is found on the Cella wall of the otherwise Doric Temple of Athene Parthenos at Athens. This mingling of different orders of architecture in one building was introduced as early as the time of Pericles. On the exterior of the

¹ Pausan. ix. 11. 6.

² The Doric frieze, composed of alternate metopes and triglyphs.

building, of course, the Doric frieze with its triglyphs and metopes was still rigorously adhered to, or the whole character of the building would have been changed; but the architect was allowed to use the continuous frieze of the Ionic order in the interior. In the Parthenon we find it surrounding the outside of the Cella, the Pronaos, and Opisthodomos; but even here the guttæ, which are characteristic of the Doric style, are marked, as a sort of indication of, and apology for, a deviation from strict uniformity.

The Ionic frieze, as we have seen, is only separated from the architrave by a small cornice, and runs like a broad ribbon round the whole building, being divided into four parts by the angles of the parallelogram. It is evident that a frieze of this kind must be filled in a different way from either pediment or metope. It may be either divided into four scenes, independent but more or less connected, or the same action may be carried through all four sides, as in the famous frieze of the Parthenon.

It is, therefore, especially well suited to a solemn procession, as in the Parthenon, or to a battle broken up into single combats, as in the marbles of the Theseion (Temple of Theseus), at Athens, and the Temple of Apollo in Phigaleia. As no shade is thrown on the Ionic frieze from the sides, and the cornice above is comparatively slight, neither the round statues of the pediment nor the *alto rilievo* of the metope would be suitable to it. The relief of the Ionic frieze, therefore, is extremely low (*basso rilievo*); that of the Parthenon, for example, which is 500 feet long and $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet high, rises only about $1\frac{1}{3}$ to 2 in. above the surface of the frieze.

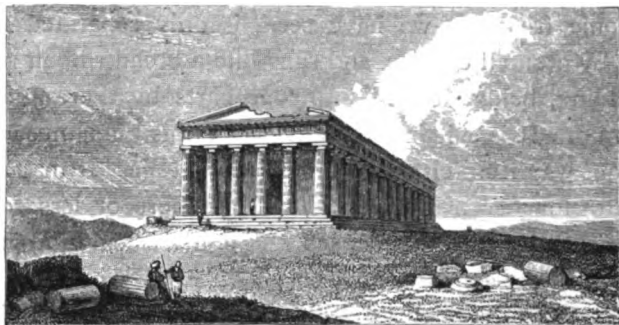
The plastic decoration of a temple in the best period of Greek art formed a sort of commentary on the nature, history, and worship of the indwelling God, and acted a part, as has been well said, corresponding to that of the Chorus in a Greek drama.

SCULPTURES OF THE THESEION AT ATHENS.

We have already spoken of a temple erected in Athens in honour of Theseus, but it is still a matter of controversy whether the so-called

Theseion at Athens (fig. 80) is really the Cimonian building referred to above.¹ If it is, the sculptures, which may still be seen in their original place, must have been added at a period subsequent to its completion, as they are executed rather in the style of the Parthenon marbles than that of such works as the statues of Harmodius and Aristogeiton by Antenor.

FIG. 80.



TEMPLE OF THESEUS, AT ATHENS.
(Drawn on the spot by G. Scharf, jun.)

The sculptures of the Theseion consisted of :

I. *A pedimental group* on the W. façade, which has not been found. The E. pediment appears to have had no plastic ornament.

II. *Eighteen metopes*, ten on the E. front, and four on each of the N. and S. sides respectively. The remaining fifty metopes bore no reliefs ; and indeed it is quite an exception where all the available fields of the Doric frieze are filled up.

III. *Two Ionic friezes*, the first of Greek composition, one on the Pronaos (on the east), and the other on the Opisthodomos (on the west).

THE METOPES.²

The metopes of the Theseion are Myronic in style, perhaps by Myron himself, and are rather statues than strict reliefs. The ten metopes

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 178.

² Conf. Archaic vase in Brit. Mus., first Vase-room, Case 20, No. 57.

on the eastern front of the temple, which are well preserved, represent *the Labours of Heracles*; and the eight on the adjoining sides *the Exploits of Theseus*. Beginning at the north-east corner, we have on the east façade: I. *The Contest of Heracles with the Nemean lion*.¹ II. *The Lernæan Hydra*. III. *The capture of the Ceryneian stag*. IV. *The presentation of the Erymanthian boar to Eurystheus*. V. *The taming of the man-eating mares of Diomedes*. VI. *The dragging of Cerberus from Hades to the upper world*. VII. Doubtful; some conjecture *the fight with Cycnus, son of Ares*.² VIII. *The capture of*

FIG. 81.



THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR.

the girdle of Hippolyte. IX. *The Contest with the triple Geryon*. X. *The acquisition of the golden apples of the Hesperides*.

The eight metopes on the S. and N. sides contain *the exploits of Theseus*.³ Those on the S. side, beginning at the S.E. angle, are:

I. *The desperate fight with the Minotaur*⁴ (fig. 81). II. *The Capture of the Marathonian bull* (fig. 82). III. *The punishment*

¹ Stuart, *Antiquities of Athens*, iii. ch. i. pl. 6 and 13. *Marbles of Brit. Mus.* ix. p. 100, pl. 20. Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marbles*, ii. n. 155.

² Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*.

³ Conf. vase in Brit. Mus., Table-case N, No. 125.

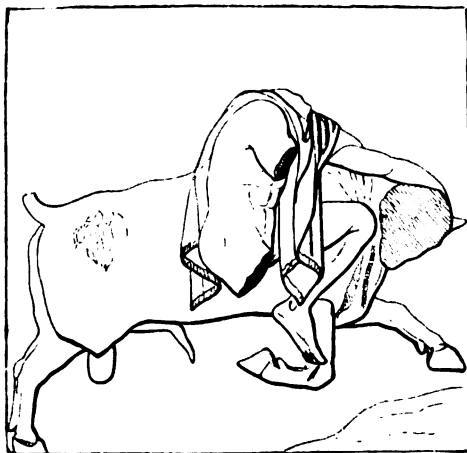
⁴ Vase in Brit. Mus., Table-case H, No. 68. Conf. *Vaso del Mus. Campana, Monum. d. Inst.* vol. vi. Tav. 15.

of *Sinis* (or *Pityocampes*, 'the Pine bender'), a famous robber of the Corinthian Isthmus. IV. Doubtful; perhaps *the punishment of Procrustes*.

Those of the N. side are much defaced. They are supposed to represent:

V. *The defeat of Periphētes Corynētes*, a robber of Epidaurus. VI. *Theseus wrestling with the Arcadian Cercyon?* (or *Heracles and Antæus*, as some conjecture, although it seems natural that the hero should be the same in this metope as in the seven others). VII. *The punishment of Sciron*, a robber of Attica and Megaris. VIII. The

FIG. 82



THESEUS AND THE MARATHONIAN BULL.

Capture of the Cromyonian sow. There are casts of several of these metopes in the British Museum.

It seems singular at first sight that the metopes of the front of a Temple of Theseus should be designed to glorify the deeds of Heracles. Perhaps the former occupied the prominent place in the pedimental group, in which case the principal metopes might well be assigned to Heracles, whom Theseus rivalled in the splendour of his achievements,¹ while he surpassed him in the voluntary

¹ Plutarch, *Thes.* c. 29: "ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς.

and independent nature of his services to his country and his kind.¹

All these metopes manifest perfect freedom of style and great technical skill, though they are executed in the broad and somewhat coarse style suited to the metope, in the decoration of which the artist looked to general effect rather than delicacy of detail. The most interesting perhaps is the struggle between *Theseus and the Minotaur* (fig. 81), in which the beauty and comparative lightness and elegance of Theseus' form are displayed in striking contrast to the mere brute force of the mongrel monster.

THE WESTERN FRIEZE.²

The subject of the Ionic frieze which surrounds the opisthodomos of the Theseion is *the Battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths* (fig. 84),

FIG. 83.



CENTAUROMACHIA FROM THE THESEION.

which owed its importance to the presence of Theseus. Some of the features which we naturally expect, and almost invariably find, in this scene are wanting here—viz. the wife of Peirithous and the other women who were the *causa malorum*; but the unmistakeable presence

¹ Conf. Isocrat. *Hel.* sec. 25, 26, quoted in Brunn's *Bilder d. Theseion*, Sitz. d. kön. bair. Akad. 4 Juli 1874, p. 65.

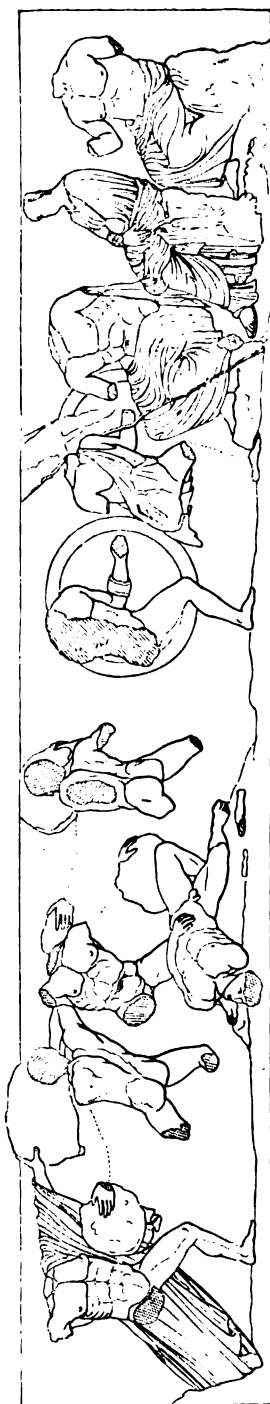
² Casts of the Theseion frieze may be seen in the Elgin Room of the Brit. Museum.

FIG. 84.



PART OF THE WESTERN FRIEZE OF THE THESEION.

FIG. 85.



PART OF THE EASTERN FRIEZE OF THE THESEION.

of the invulnerable *Cæneus*, who is attacked by two Centaurs, as in the Phigaleian frieze, leaves no room for doubt as to the subject. The execution is fresh, vigorous, and truthful, and the artist shows himself capable of representing the human form not only in its highest beauty and even grace, but in the most complicated and unusual attitudes, with a skill worthy of a Myron. Observe, for example, the figure of Theseus; the Lapith on the ground, over whom the Centaur is prancing in triumph (fig. 84); and the Centaur on his back (fig. 83). A certain degree of archaism is observable, but this is evidently conscious and intentional, and is well suited to the architectural character of the work, and to the mythical nature of the subject.

As compared with the Phigaleian frieze, it is certainly inferior in variety, but it is more natural, more entirely free from all undue aiming at effect.

THE EASTERN FRIEZE.¹

Much greater difficulty attends the interpretation of the Eastern frieze (fig. 85), and none of the many theories which have been advanced concerning it have met with general acceptance. It represents, as we see, *a contest between civilised warriors and barbarians*, of whom the latter are defending themselves with blocks of stone. The battle is taking place in the presence of two distinct groups (figs. 85 and 86), of three persons each, seated just above the Antes of the Temple, and apparently watching the issue. Of these the only one who can be certainly identified is *Athene* in the left group, whose helmet was seen by Stuart.² Her companions are probably *Zeus* and *Herc* (fig. 86). By some writers the stone-throwers are supposed to be Giants, and by others Thracian barbarians aiding the Eleusinians against the Athenians. The principal feature of the scene is that three men are defending themselves with stones against the attacks

¹ Stuart, *Antiq. of Athens*, pl. 4, 18, 19. *Conf. Marb. of Brit. Mus.* pl. 12; and Ellis, *Elgin and Phigaleian Marb.* 136. Stuart is wrong in the order of the fourth and fifth slabs. *Vide Müller and Wieseler, Denkmäler,*

Taf. xxi.

² *Antiq. of Athens*, iii. ch. i. pl. 6, 13. *Conf. Marb. of Brit. Museum*, ix. pl. 20; and Ellis, *Elgin and Phigal. Marb.* ii. 155.

of a single hero (fig. 85), whom we may fairly take to be Theseus, the champion of civilisation against barbarism. It is also a matter of dispute whether the two groups of Deities are taking different sides, as in Homer, or are all favouring the Grecian heroes.

The Theseus' myths, as is well known, were not completed in all their details until after the age of Homer and the Cyclic poets, and

FIG. 86.



THE SEATED DIVINITIES OF THE THESEION FRIEZE.

have consequently neither the definiteness nor the consistency of other fables of the same nature. On the whole, the explanation which brings the relief into connexion with the story of Theseus and Sciron,¹ who is sometimes called a robber, and sometimes a general of the Megarians,² affords the best solution of the difficulty.

¹ For the full elucidation of this view see the interesting treatise of Prof. Brunn,

Sitzungsber. d. kön. bayer. Akad. 1874.

² Pausan. i. 44. 6 and i. 39. 6.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE SCULPTURES OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS
AT OLYMPIA.

MANY circumstances combine to render the Temple of Zeus at Olympia one of the most interesting monuments of ancient Greece. It was hallowed beyond all other sanctuaries by the visible presence of the great Father of Gods and men, represented in all his majesty by the greatest artist of the world. The sacred plain of the Altis, in which it stood, consecrated and planted by the Idæan Heracles himself,¹ was the centre of Hellenic life, in which all the tribes of Greece assembled to celebrate, in honour of the God whom they all acknowledged as supreme, the games they so dearly loved. In this thrice hallowed spot Zeus himself was born, and nursed by the Idæan Dactyls. It was here that he wrestled with Cronos for the empire of the World. Here Apollo outran the swift-footed Hermes on the course, and vanquished Ares himself in boxing.² And hither for eleven hundred years came the noblest men of Hellenic race to display in keen but friendly rivalry their matchless powers of mind and body, and to receive from the fountain of honour, from the Olympian Zeus himself, the garland of wild olive—the worthless but inestimable palm,³ which ‘raised them to the Gods who rule mankind.’

¹ Pindar, *Ol.* xi. v. 43 (ed. Dyssen) :—

ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐν Πίσσῃ ἔλσαις ὄλον τε στρατὸν
λαίαν τε πᾶσαν Διὸς ἀλκιμος
νιὸς σταθμᾶτο ζάθεον ἄλσος πατρὶ μεγίστῃ· περὶ
δὲ πάσαις Ἄλτιν μὲν ὄγ' ἐν καθαρῇ
δίεκρινε, τὸ δὲ κύκλῳ πέδον
ἔθηκε δόρου λύσιν,
τιμάσαις πόρον Ἀλφειοῦ
μετὰ δώδεκ' ἀνάκτων θεῶν καὶ πάγον
Κρόνου προσεφθέξατο.

Then the valiant son of Zeus (Heracles), collecting together at Pisa his whole host and all the booty, measured ground for a sacred grove (i.e. the whole *τέμενος*) to his almighty sire; and having fenced

round the Altis, he left it to stand separate on a clear spot, while the plain all around he appointed as a resting-place for refreshment at the evening meal (i.e. after the games), and raised an altar in honour of the river-god Alpheius, with the twelve principal deities. And he called it the hill of Cronos.

² Pausan. v. 7.

³ Pindar, *Ol.* iii. v. 13 :—

ἀμφὶ κόμαισι βάλλῃ γλανκόχροα κόσμον ἐλαίης· τάν ποτε
Ἰστρον ἀπὸ σκιαρᾶν παγὰν ἵνεικεν Ἀμφιτρωνιᾶδας
μνάμα τῶν Οὐλύμπκιᾶ καλλίστον ἄθλων, etc.

Pindar, *Pylh.* viii. 93 : ἀρπαλέαν δόσιν

The attention of archæologists and lovers of art in general has been strongly turned of late years towards this now desolate spot. The German Government, with the wisdom and liberality which distinguish it whenever the interests of art are concerned, recently sent an expedition to make excavations in the Altis, and especially in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Zeus. This interesting work has been carried on with indefatigable, self-sacrificing zeal by distinguished German scholars and architects, and has been crowned with considerable success.

This 'sanctuary of the Pan-hellenic brotherhood,'¹ once filled with the best life of the ancient world, fell after various vicissitudes under Turkish rule in the fifteenth century. From that period it was lost to the sight and almost to the memory of the civilised world until the latter half of the eighteenth century, when it was visited by our countryman, Richard Chandler. His visit, however, excited so little notice in Europe, that the great father of archæology, Winckelmann, writing in 1767, says that no one in modern times had ever set foot in Olympia. It was subsequently surveyed towards the beginning of the present century by the French travellers Fauvel and Poqueville, and by our own countrymen Dodwell, Pell and Leake, the last of whom settled the position of the Temple, an exact plan of which was made by Stanhope and others in 1813. In the year 1829 a French expedition was sent under Dubois and Blouet to explore the Peloponnesus and the Cyclades, and it was by them that the famous metopes of the Temple of the Olympian Zeus were discovered which now adorn the gallery of the Louvre. Professor Ernst Curtius recommended to the Prussian Government a renewal of the researches in Olympia as early as the year 1852; but it was not until the year 1874 that he obtained the requisite powers from the Ministry at Berlin to treat with the Government at Athens, and to begin the operations referred to above.

We shall speak first of the long and well known metopes in the Louvre.

πενταθλου, 'the greedily desired prize of the pentathlon.'

¹ The interesting *Berichte der Ausgrab-*

ungen in Olympia, by Prof. Treu and others, should be read by every lover of Greek antiquity. Conf. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, x. 436.

THE METOPES OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA.¹

The twelve metopes which adorned the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, six on the eastern, and six on the western façade, represented the famous '*Labours of Heracles*.' They were not in the usual place on the outer frieze of the Peristyle, but on the wall of the Cella under the Portico, where the light was comparatively weak, and the artist had to look more to general effect in distance and obscurity than to great accuracy of detail. Pausanias² gives the subjects of eleven of them, but does not say whose work they were.

THE WESTERN METOPES.

The series of metopes began at the left-hand corner of the W. front over the Opisthodomos, with the *Nemæan Lion*. Then follow in succession to the right the *Lernæan Hydra*—the *Stymphalian Birds*—the *Cretan Bull*—the *Brazen-footed Hind*—and the *Contest with the Amazon* for her girdle.

THE EASTERN METOPES

represented the capture of the *Erymanthian Boar*—the *Mares of Diomedes*—the *Triple Geryon*—*Heracles*, *Atlas* and the *Hesperides*—the *Augæan Stables*—and the *Bringing of Cerberus from Hades*.

Three of these metopes are almost entirely preserved; viz. the *Atlas metope*—the *Cretan Bull*—and the *Stymphalian Birds*. Of five more, viz. the *Augæan Stables*—the *Triple Geryon*—the *Hydra*—the *Nemæan Lion*—and the *Erymanthian Boar*, about half has been

¹ Treu, *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, iv. cap. 4.

² v. io. 9: 'Ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ Ἡρακλέους τὰ πολλὰ τῶν ἔργων. Ἐπὲρ μὲν τοῦ ναοῦ πεποιήται τῶν θυρῶν ἡ ἐξ Ἀρκαδίας ἄγγρα τοῦ ὕδρος, καὶ τὰ πρὸς Διομήδην τὸν θρᾶκα, καὶ ἐν Ἐρυθείᾳ πρὸς Γερυόνην, καὶ Ἀτλαντὸς τε τὸ φόρημα ἐκδέχεσθαι μέλλων,

καὶ τῆς κόπρου καθαίρων τὴν γῆν ἐστὶν Ἡλείοις. Ἐπὲρ δὲ τοῦ ὀπισθοδόμου τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ ζωστῆρος τὴν Ἀμαζόνα ἐστὶν ἀφαιρούμενος, καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν ἑλαφόν, καὶ τὸν ἐν Κνωσῶ ταῦρον καὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Στυμφήλῳ, καὶ ἐς ὄδραν, καὶ τὸν ἐν τῇ γῇ Ἀργεῖα λέοντα.

discovered. Of the remaining four, viz. *Cerberus—the Keryneian Hind—the Amazon—and the Mares of Diomedes*, we have more or less considerable fragments.

The best preserved of all is the so-called *Atlas metope* (Germ. discov.).¹ In this, the most perfect of all the metopes, *Heracles* (fig. 87) is represented standing with his neck—on which is a cushion—bowed by the weight of the superincumbent world, here represented by the

FIG. 87.



HERACLES, ATLAS, AND HESPERID.

simas or cornice of the building.² *Atlas* stands before him holding out *the apples of the Hesperides*, three in each hand, to the labouring hero, who is unable to take them. The artist seems to follow the myth, which represents *Atlas* as unwilling to resume his eternal burden. Behind *Heracles* stands a maiden, probably a *Hesperid*, who touches the cushion with her left hand, as if desirous of aiding the overburthened hero in his tremendous task.³

The nude figures of this group are of great excellence, and show the careful hand of an artist trained, after the manner of the Peloponnesian school, in close attention to the general proportions of the human form, and to anatomical detail. The head of *Heracles* is that of a Peloponnesian athlete, and may fairly be regarded as the prototype from which the *Diadumenos'* head of *Polycleitus* was evolved.⁴

The Hesperid makes a less favourable impression, partly be-

¹ In the following description, the abbreviations *Fr.* and *Germ.* will be used to show by which expedition a metope, or a part of a metope, was discovered.

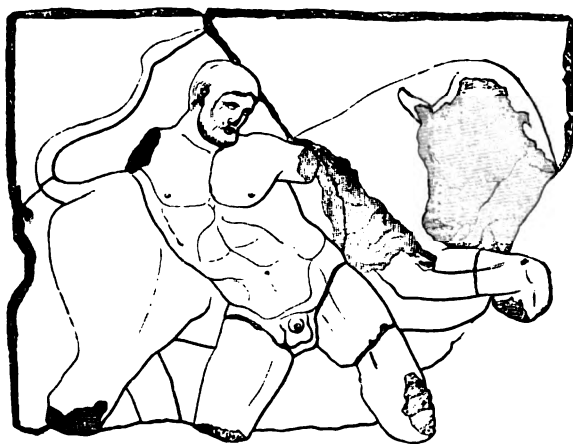
² Pausanias (v. 10. 9) mistook the position of the figures. He says, καὶ Ἀτλαντὸς τε τὸ φόρμα ἐκδέχεται μέλλων.

³ See the beautiful copy of this metope in *Ausgrabungen zu Olympia*, vol. i. taf. 26, and the interesting treatise of E. Curtius, *Mittheilungen des Ath. Inst.* i. taf. 11, p. 206.

⁴ Brunn, *Die Sculpturen von Olympia*, p. 14, 1877.

cause she is dressed, and partly because she is not in profile, but *en face*. Yet her drapery contrasts favourably with that of Pallas in the Stymphalian relief (fig. 89). In the latter it is difficult to discover any system at all, while in that of the Hesperid we find the greatest order and mathematical precision, especially in the perpendicular folds which fall over the legs, and in the horizontal folds across the breast, which remind us of the *Hestia Giustiniani*,¹ and the two dancing women in bronze from Herculaneum, in the Museum at

FIG. 88.



HERACLES AND THE CRETAN BULL.

Naples. It is, however, only fair to remark that the arrangement of drapery in a *seated* figure is a very difficult task.

The metope of *Heracles and the Cretan Bull* (body of bull, Fr.; head and legs, Germ.) is well known to all visitors of the Louvre² (fig. 88). The *motif* is extremely simple and intelligible. Heracles is represented as a model of mere material strength in its greatest possible development. His limbs are moulded in gigantic proportions, and though the bull is the very *beau idéal* of ponderous strength, he seems to master it without much effort. There is no

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 167.

² *Expéd. de Morée*, i. pl. 76, 1. Conf. vase in Brit. Mus., Table-case I, 125.

exercise of gymnastic skill, as in the parallel representation of *Theseus and the Marathonian Bull*.¹ Heracles seizes the beast by the nose,² leans heavily against its side, and all resistance and even motion are checked at once. This relief gives the best illustration of Winckelmann's remark, that Zeus resembled the lion and Heracles the bull.

The Stymphalian Birds (figure of Athênê, Fr. ; figure of Heracles, Germ.).

FIG. 89.



PALLAS FROM THE METOPE OF THE STYMPHALIAN BIRDS.

To the female figure seated on a rock, which occupies the left half of the well-known metope in the Louvre³ (fig. 89), the German excavators have now added the figure of *Heracles*, who is represented holding out some object—probably one of the birds of the Stymphalian lake, in bronze—to his patroness.⁴ Little as her rustic air and careless attitude accord with our idea of the majestic *Pallas*, her ægis-like leather garment, with its jagged edge, leaves no doubt that the Virgin Goddess is intended, and not, as some have thought, a *Nymph of the Lake*.⁵ In the works of early Greek art *Pallas* alone is present as the witness of the deeds of her favourite *Heracles*.

The date of these reliefs is probably about the middle of the fifth century.⁶ The archaic folds of Athênê's dress—of which only the general disposition is given, without any details—and the absence of all expression in the

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 218.

² Not by the horn, as was thought before the recent discovery of the head (Treu, *Bericht aus Olympia*, 1879, No. 39).

³ *Expéd. de Morée*, i. pl. 77. I.

⁴ Treu, *Ausgrab. zu Ol.* iv. p. 29. The complete metope may be seen in a cast in the Olympian collection in Berlin, and a copy of it in Meyer's *Conversation's Lexicon* (3rd

edit.), Supplem. vol. i., in the article 'Olympia,' and in Overbeck, *Ges. der Plastik* (3rd ed.), p. 442.

⁵ Conf. a painted vase in Brit. Mus., Table-case I, 125, representing the contest of *Theseus* and the *Sow of Cromyon*, in the presence of the nymph *Phæa*.

⁶ Vid. Furtwängler, *Abhandlungen d. Berlin. Acad. phil.-hist. d.* 1879.

hero's face (unless it be an 'Æginetan smile'), preclude a later origin. Only the eyes might seem to belong to a more advanced period of art.

In the metope representing *the Contest with the Nemæan Lion*¹ (lion, Fr.; head and hand of Heracles, Germ.) the lion is almost entire, and the head and hand of Heracles have been lately found in Olympia. The poor beast is lying on his side under the heavy foot of Heracles, past all power of further resistance. In front of the lion's hind leg is the left shin-bone of the hero, and behind it the remains of his club, on which his left hand must have rested.² There is room for another figure—of the size of the Hesperid in the *Atlas metope*—between the lion's head and the left edge of the metope. The hero, whose eyes and hair are coloured *red*,³ leans his head upon his hand as if in meditation. It is remarkable that he is here represented as a beardless youth, perhaps to remind the spectator that this was the first of his great exploits. The thought that many such terrific foes as the one he has just encountered awaited him in his laborious career might well, for a moment, depress the youthful hero.⁴

In the metope of *the Augæan Stables* (Germ.) the figure of Athênê, nearly complete, standing with helmet, shield, and lance, occupies the left side. Heracles, of whom we have the left leg and other fragments, is striding to the left, as if in the act of sweeping.

Of the metope of *the triple Geryon*, the figure of the monster (Fr.) has long been known. To this the upper part of Heracles (Germ.) has been lately added. The triple giant in full armour occupies the right of the slab. He wears two of his shields on his arms;⁵ the third has slipped down and touches the ground. Heracles plants his foot on the thigh of Geryon, and is probably brandishing his club. Between his legs was the dead body of the herdsman Eurytion. A beautiful head of Heracles⁶ has been quite recently found, which pro-

¹ Conf. vase in Brit. Mus., Table-case H, No. 84, in first Vase-room.

² Treu, *Bericht*, 42.

³ *Expéd. de Morée*, i. pl. 74. 2.

⁴ Compare the dejected drooping head of the Heracles Farnese, which represents him towards the end of his career.

⁵ Lenormant, *Bullet. d. Inst.* 1832, p. 17, and Blouet, *Expéd. d. Morée*, i. pl. 75, 1. Conf. an archaic amphora in Brit. Mus., Table-case A, No. 28 G.

⁶ A photograph of this head will soon appear in vol. v. of the *Ausgrab. zu Ol.*

bably belongs to this metope, and it seems probable that the vacant space on the slab was filled by the figure of Athênê.¹

The Hydra metope (Germ.) has been found in innumerable fragments, which have been put together, so as to show the body, necks, and heads of the hideous monster.²

Of the metope of *Heracles bringing the Boar to Eurystheus*, we have a fragment of *Heracles' head—the Boar's snout* (Fr.)—and *the Cask* from which the head and shoulders of Eurystheus project (Germ.). Heracles comes from the left side carrying the boar on his shoulders. He fixes his left foot on the edge of the cask in which is Eurystheus, who raises his arms in supplication and terror, while Heracles seems about to drop the huge beast upon him.³

Of *the Cerberus metope* (Germ.) we have *the dog's nose and a paw*, and a considerable portion of *the figure of Heracles*. The latter was represented striding to the left and dragging the dog, of whom only the upper part was visible, from the depths of Tartarus to the light of day.⁴ The goddess Athênê probably occupied the left side of the slab, as spectatress of the scene.

The only part of *the Amazon metope* which has been found is *the head of Hippolyte*. How the subject was treated we have no means of determining. In the sarcophagus at Paris, Heracles sets his foot on her prostrate body.⁵

The metope of *the Keryncian Hind* is represented by only *the torso of the beast* (Germ.), *the head of Heracles* (Fr.), and *his leg* (Germ.). The fragments prove that the knee of the hero was pressed on the back of the hind, which is all that we know of the *motif*.

The Mares of Diomedé. Of this metope we have only *one horse's head* (Fr.).

From the brief account given above it will be seen that we have now *all* the eastern metopes, and one half of the western, either in good preservation, or sufficiently so as to enable us to understand their compositions.

¹ Treu, *Bericht*, 42.

² *Ibid.* 41.

³ Conf. same *motif* on a vase in the Royal Museum at Berlin.

⁴ As in the Theseion metope, *Mon. d. Inst.* x. Taf. 59. 1. Vid. *supra*, p. 217

⁵ Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.* 196, 212.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

(Fig. 90.)

The remains of the eastern Pedimental group, lately rescued from the ruins of the Temple of Zeus in Olympia, correspond in the main to the description of Pausanias;¹ and there can be no reasonable doubt of their identity with what he saw some seventeen centuries ago.

The association of the name of Pæonius with that of Pheidias, whose pupil he was supposed to be, naturally led men to expect in the chief work of the former something of Attic style and Pheidias excellence. Those who go to Olympia with such expectations, raised to the highest pitch by the universal tendency to exaggerate the value of a new discovery made at a vast expense of labour and money, are doomed to painful surprise and grievous disappointment. It would be difficult to find a greater contrast in the whole range of ancient sculptures than that which exists between the marbles of the Parthenon, designed by Pheidias, and the group by Pæonius, his supposed pupil, which we are now considering. If we would do justice to the works before us, and derive from them the enjoyment they are capable

¹ V. 10. 6: τὰ δὲ ἐν αἰτοῖς, ἔστιν ἔμπροσθεν Πέλοπος ἢ πρὸς Οἰνόμαον τῶν ἵππων ἀμύλλα ἐπὶ μέλλουσα, καὶ τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ. Διὸς δὲ ἀγάλματος κατὰ μέσον πεποιημένου μάλιστα τὸν αἰτὸν ἔστιν Οἰνόμαος ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐπικείμενος κρῶνος τῇ κεφαλῇ παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν γυνὴ Στερόπη θυγατέρων καὶ αὐτῇ τῶν Ἀτλαντος. Μυρτίλος δέ, ὃς ἤλαυνε τῷ Οἰνομάρῳ τὸ ἔρμα, κἀθῆται πρὸ τῶν ἵππων· οἱ δὲ εἰσὶν ἀριθμὸν οἱ ἵπποι τέσσαρες. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν εἰσὶν ἄνδρες δύο· ὀνόματα μὲν σφισιν οὐκ ἔστι, θεραπεύειν δὲ ἔρα τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τούτοις προσετέτακτο ὑπὸ τοῦ Οἰνομάρου. πρὸς αὐτῷ δὲ κατὰκειται τῷ πέρατι Κλάδεος. ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐς τὰ ἄλλα παρ' Ἡλείων τιμὰς ποταμῶν μάλιστα μετὰ γὰρ Ἀλφειῶν. τὰ δὲ ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς ὁ Πέλοψ καὶ Ἱπποδάμεια καὶ ὃ τε ἡνιοχὸς ἔστι τοῦ Πέλοπος καὶ ἵπποι, δύο τε ἄνδρες, ἱπποκομοὶ δὲ καὶ οὗτοι τῷ Πέλοπι. καὶ αὖθις ὁ αἰτὸς κατεῖσιν ἐς στενόν, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτο

Ἀλφειὸς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πεποιήται. τῷ δὲ ἀνδρὶ ὃς ἡνιοχεῖ τῷ Πέλοπι λόγῳ μὲν τῷ Τροισηνίων ἔστιν ὄνομα Σφαῖρος, ὃ δὲ ἐξηγητὴς ἔφασκεν ὁ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ Κίλλαν εἶναι. τὰ μὲν δὲ ἔμπροσθεν ἐν τοῖς αἰτοῖς Παιωνίου, γένος ἐκ Μένδης τῆς Θρακίας τὰ δὲ ὕπισθεν αὐτῶν Ἀλκαμένους ἄνδρὸς ἡλικίαν τε κατὰ Φειδίαν καὶ τὰ δευτερεῖα ἐνεγκαμένου σοφίας ἐς ποίησιν ἀγαλμάτων. τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς αἰτοῖς ἔστιν αὐτῷ Λαπιθῶν ἐν τῷ Πειρίθῳ γάμῳ πρὸς Κενταύρους ἡ μάχη. κατὰ μὲν δὲ τοῦ αἰτοῦ τὸ μέσον Πειρίθους ἔστί, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν τῇ μὲν Εὐρυτίῳ ἡρπακῶς τὴν γυναῖκά ἔστι τοῦ Πειρίθου, καὶ ἀμύνων Καίνευς τῷ Πειρίθῳ, τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους. Κένταυρος δὲ ὁ μὲν παρθένος ὁ δὲ παῖδα ἡρπακῶς ἔστιν ὥραϊον. ἐποίησε δὲ (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) ταῦτα ὁ Ἀλκαμένης, Πειρίθου τε εἶναι Διὸς ἐν ἔπεισι τοῖς Ὀμήρου δεδιδαγμένους καὶ Θησέα ἐπιστάμενος ὥς εἴη τέταρτος (ἀπόγονος) Πέλοπος.

of affording, we must for the moment forget that they are attributed to pupils of Pheidias, and judge them by a lower standard. We must, moreover, not be contented with looking at the originals as they lie disjointed and separated in the dark barn at Olympia. By the long, patient, and skilful labours of German archæologists, and especially of Dr. Treu, who for four years superintended the excavations in the Altis, casts of the separate fragments have been combined into figures, and figures arranged into groups, so that we can now form a fair opinion of the composition and execution of these celebrated works.

The subject of the Eastern pediment by Pæonius, as we have said above, is the *preparation*¹ for the race between *Pelops* and *Ænomaus*.² The central figure of *Zeus* (fig. 90, *h*)—which is not, as we might perhaps expect, in archaic form as a temple-image—is nude to the hips, the lower limbs being wrapped in the himation. On the right of Zeus is the nude and youthful form of *Pelops* (fig. 90, *g*) wearing a helmet, and raising his right arm, which may have held a spear or sceptre. His head is turned away from the centre,³ towards the broad and massive form of his future bride *Hippodameia* (*Deidameia*) (fig. 90, *f*), who is robed in archaic drapery, similar to that of the *Hesperid* in the *Atlas* metope. She is slightly turned towards him,⁴ and thus the pair are placed in a posture suitable to their relation. With her left hand she is supposed to be drawing a veil over her shoulder in her character of bride expectant. On the other side of Zeus is *Ænomaus* (fig. 90, *i*), whose right shoulder is covered by his mantle. His left arm is raised, and his right hand rests on his hip, in a fashion not altogether heroic. Next to *Ænomaus* is his wife *Sterope* (fig. 90, *k*), a stately matronly figure, standing erect in long flowing robes, supporting her drooping head on her right hand as if in gloomy meditation, and with her left arm crossed under her breast. It should

¹ Pausan. v. 10. 6: τὸ ἔργον τοῦ δρόμου παρὰ ἀμφοτέρων ἐν παρασκευῇ.

² Conf. a terra-cotta relief in Brit. Mus. in which the same subject is treated; also a crater in Brit. Mus., Table-case D, No. 2; and another crater, Table-case K, No. 2, in which the Centaur *Eurytion* is represented seizing *Laodamia*, bride of *Peirithous*; also

an Apulian amphora, Table-case O, No. 1, in which the decapitated heads of two unsuccessful suitors are represented.

³ This position is not properly given in the engraving.

⁴ The head of this heroine has been discovered in this position.

be remarked that both Sterope and Hippodameia are on as large (if not larger) a scale as their heroic and royal husbands! Next to Sterope, according to Pausanias, is the charioteer of CEnomaus, the traitor *Myrtilus* (fig. 90, *l*), sitting on the ground in front of his horses, with his head averted from the lord whom he has betrayed; and on the other side, next to Hippodameia, is *Cillus* (or *Sphairos*), Pelops' charioteer¹ (fig. 90, *e*). Of the four horses (fig. 90, *d, m*) in each wing of the *âerôs*, the one nearest the spectator is executed in round form; the others one behind another in relief. Behind the horses are two male figures, whom Pausanias took for grooms. The one on the side of CEnomaus is an old man of singularly coarse and ungainly appearance (fig. 90, *n*), whom some writers suppose to be one of the seers, who could hardly fail on such an occasion. The corresponding figure behind the chariot of Pelops, in the attitude of a charioteer (fig. 90, *c*), evidently held the reins, for which holes are found in the horses' heads. Then follow on the side of Pelops the figure of a boy kneeling (fig. 90, *b*), and on that of CEnomaus a kneeling girl (fig. 90, *o*); and the river gods *Alpheius* (fig. 90, *a*) and *Cladeus* (fig. 90, *p*) occupy the two angles respectively.

On looking at the remains of this group placed in their proper order, the first thing that strikes us is the rigid parallelism of the composition, carried even to formal stiffness—so unlike the agreeable variety which characterises even the calm and dignified consessus of the Gods in the sculptures of the Parthenon. The five central figures stand side by side in perpendicular and parallel lines, with little apparent connexion. Some of them, and especially that of Zeus, indeed, are not without dignity, although the foremost personage, Pelops, ought not to stand by the side of Zeus with his arm akimbo! The subordinate persons of the group are treated in a most realistic style, only worthy of a Demetrius of Alopeke;² and where the artist wishes to represent ease or repose, we find an ungraceful carelessness of bearing. The figure of the Seer (fig. 90, *n*), for example, is in the highest degree ordinary and clumsy, and might

¹ Some writers reverse the positions of Pelops and CEnomaus, and call the bald-headed figure (*n*) behind the horses on the left hand of Zeus, Myrtilus.

² Vide *infra*, p. 340.

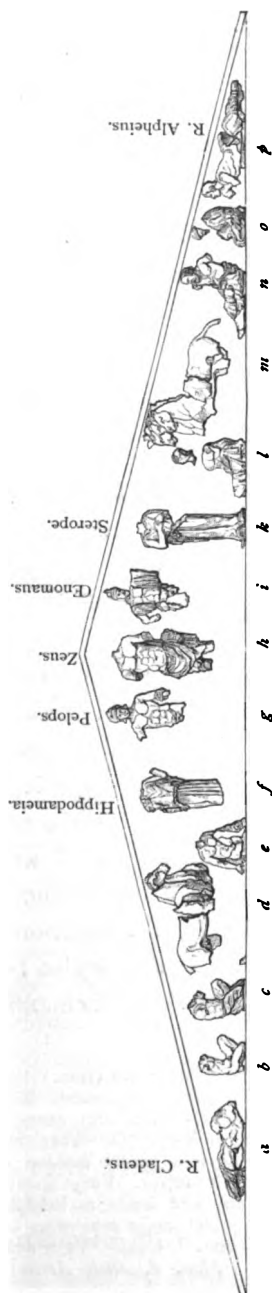
well be taken from the first chance passer-by in the streets. And lastly in the Rivers Alpheius and Cladeus (fig. 90, *a, p*), instead of the languid, graceful repose, not without nobility, of the Parthenon River God, whose soft and flowing lines and surfaces rest on a perfect anatomical framework of bone and muscle, we find two flabby forms in singularly ungainly and uncomfortable attitudes.

The figures of the Eastern Pediment have not even the lifeless accuracy nor the strict logical connexion and sequence of the Æginetan group; still less the life and power and rhythmical flow of the corresponding sculptures in the Parthenon.

When we come to consider their technical execution, we find the same comparative inferiority. It is a well-known and honourable characteristic of the best Greek art that it bestowed the same loving care on all parts of a figure, even those which were less seen or not seen at all. This is true of the Æginetan, and especially so of the Elgin, marbles. But in the pediments of the Olympian Temple only the side which is turned towards the spectator is thought worthy of attention; the rest is left rough and unfinished. Even in the western pediment, ascribed to Alcamenes, the same unworthy negligence is shown, and the upper portion of the arm of Theseus, which could not be seen from below, *was never carved at all*.

The drapery of the figures shows the same want of 'school'—of conformity to the principles of plastic art. In the best periods and works of Grecian art the position of every fold is the resultant of various conditions—the nature of the material, its thickness and weight, the way in which it *breaks*, the form which it envelopes, the movements by which it is stirred; and every fold and every line are parts of a connected and harmonious system. In the Olympian figures, though the position of each portion of the dress may be natural, there is no connexion between its several parts, and the general result is singularly inharmonious.

FIG. 90.



THE EASTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA BY PÆONIUS (?) ACCORDING TO TREU'S ARRANGEMENT.

FIG. 91.



THE WESTERN PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA BY ALCAMENES (?) ACCORDING TO TREU'S ARRANGEMENT.

THE WESTERN PEDIMENT BY ALCAMENES.¹

(Fig. 91.)

We have seen reason to doubt the generally assumed relation between Pheidias and Pæonius, which is neither attested by any ancient writer, nor rendered probable by any analogy in the style of their respective works. But with respect to Alcamenes, there can be no doubt that he was a younger contemporary and pupil of Pheidias. To him was entrusted the execution of the group for the Western Pediment, the subject of which was *the Battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths*, in which the great national hero of Attica, Theseus, gained immortal glory for his country and himself. Instead therefore of the absolute repose, not to say lifelessness, of the eastern pediment, the nature of the subject leads us to look for scenes of furious riot and conflict, such as are recorded in ancient mythology and in the pages of Pausanias.²

Fragments of a very large proportion of this group have been discovered, and casts of them skilfully combined in the Museum at Berlin. The tall central figure in archaic style, which Pausanias mistook for Peirithous, is evidently a god, probably *Apollo*. This tall majestic figure is extending his arm over Hippodameia, as if to protect her (fig. 91, *l*). On his right is *Eurytion* (fig. 91, *i*) with the face of a Silenus, carrying off *Hippodameia* (or *Deidameia*) (fig. 91, *k*).³ The head of the audacious Centaur is seized by his beautiful prey. On the left of Apollo is *another Centaur* (fig. 91, *o*), who is also bearing off *a woman* (fig. 91, *m*), whose beautiful and interesting face expresses

¹ Vid. Treu's *Reconstructionsentwurf in den 'Ausgrabungen zu Ol.'* B. iii. taf. 26-27, cap. 3, and B. iv. cap. 3. Conf. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik* (3rd ed.), i. fig. 90.

² v. 10. 8.

³ Conf. *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* 1854: 'Pittura vascularia della collezione Fillipaldi a Anzi. Vaso Italo-Greco di cui si deve la cognizione al Brunn' (*Bullet. d. Inst. Arch.* 1853, p. 166). In this very beautiful composition *Deidameia* is represented in a rich bridal dress in the

grasp of the centaur *Eurytion*. She holds out her hand for help towards *Peirithous*, who is behind *Eurytion*, and raises his club to strike the monster. On either side of the central group is a pretty maiden showing signs of extreme terror. *Eurytion* is crowned with flowers, and holds a branch in his hand. A goblet, *origo malorum*, is falling to the ground. Conf. 'Vaso del Museo Borbonico,' *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* vol. vi. Taf. 38.

the anxiety and dejection suited to her position. Her garment has slipped from her shoulder and leaves her bosom exposed. The head and torso behind Eurytion belong to the figure of *Peirithous* (fig. 91, *h*), who is hastening to protect his bride; and by the side of the Centaur, on Apollo's left hand, stood, probably, the principal actor in the Centauromachy—*Theseus* (fig. 91, *n*)—who has left the mark of his axe in the head of the ravisher. Next to Theseus is a *Centaur* (fig. 91, *q*) carrying off a *boy* (fig. 91, *p*); then another *Centaur* (fig. 91, *s*), who has seized a *woman* (fig. 91, *r*) with both his hands, by the waist and feet, and is endeavouring to throw her on to his equine back. She endeavours to loosen the grasp of his right hand, while a *kneeling Lapith* (or Greek) (fig. 91, *t*) thrusts his sword, which was of bronze, into the monster's heart. Next to the Lapith is an *old female slave* (fig. 91, *u*) of Semitic type, lying on the ground and wailing. On the other side, next to Peirithous, is a *Lapith* (fig. 91, *g*), who has passed his arm round a *Centaur's* neck (fig. 91, *f*), and tries to throttle him. The Centaur fixes his teeth in the Lapith's arm. Next to this group is a *kneeling girl* (fig. 91, *e*), whom a *Centaur* (fig. 91, *d*) has seized by her luxuriant hair. Then a *Lapith* (fig. 91, *c*), who with his body thrown violently forward, clasps the ravishing monster round the neck with both his arms, and endeavours to drag him away. Then follows a *female slave* (fig. 91, *b*), who is tearing her hair in grief and terror. The two corners are occupied by *nymphs* (fig. 91, *a*, *v*) stretched at full length on the ground, one of whom, to the right of Apollo, has a beautiful face.

Few remains of ancient art, as may be gathered from what we have said, have produced such a crop of difficulties, diametrically opposite opinions, and contending theories, as the recent discoveries at Olympia. And no wonder, when we find in the ruins of the same building works of high plastic merit and strict Peloponnesian style, like the Atlas Metope, side by side with the many extremely realistic and slovenly figures in the pediments; and when, what is still more strange, we learn from high authority, that some of the latter are by the same hand as the beautiful, though perhaps over-estimated Nike! The Olympian Metopes in the Louvre, too, are attributed by competent authorities, both English and German,

to the same artist. If the Eleians, it is asked, had a native artist capable of producing the Atlas metope, why should they send for Pæonius? Had the former finished his work and died before the arrival of the latter? And if Pæonius could design and carve the charming figure of Nike on the pillar, how could he so far forget his cunning as to fashion such a Seer and such an Alpheius?

This last difficulty has been found so great that an entirely new theory has been propounded to explain it. Professor Brunn has endeavoured to prove that Pæonius belonged to an entirely distinct North Grecian School of pictorial sculpture, formed under the influence of the great painter Polygnotus, and to a certain degree Asiatic in its character.¹ Other works of the same nature and of undoubted N. Grecian origin—as *the Sepulchral Relief of Philis* from Thasos, now in the Louvre,² and of *The Warrior* of Thessalonica—are adduced in confirmation. According to this view we are to regard the figures of the Eastern Pediment not as bad statues, hardly as plastic works at all, but rather as *the groundwork for painting*, by which a certain pleasing effect might be produced in the chiaro-oscuro of the frieze under the portico. Ingenious as this theory is, and admirable as is the skill with which it is supported, we cannot think that it meets the difficulty. It might, perhaps, account for laxity and want of thoroughness of execution, but hardly for the positive meanness and vulgarity of many of the figures in the eastern pediment. Mr. Newton, who has paid great attention to the subject, says that ‘the two sculptors employed on these pediments furnished, no doubt, the general designs, but left them to be executed by local half-trained artists who had not the benefit of their constant *surveillance*, and who consequently “scamped” their work.’ Unfortunately for this explanation, which might otherwise seem to meet the difficulty, the designs—especially that of the eastern pediment—appear as unworthy of a great artist as the execution.

¹ Newton and Mr. S. Colvin in *The Academy*, No. 208, Ap. 29, 1877.

² Brunn, *Pæonios u. die Nord-griech. Kunst*, München, Mai, 1876.

³ *Annal. d. Inst.* 1872, Taf. 50. Conf. Relief of two girls from Pharsalus, in Louvre. Brunn, *Pæon. &c.*, p. 323.

THE NIKE OF PÆONIUS.¹

(Fig. 92.)

Happily for the fame of Pæonius another work by his hand has been discovered at Olympia, very different in style from the statues of the Eastern Pediment, and so much superior to them that, were it not for apparently indubitable testimony, we could hardly believe them to be the works of the same artist. The figure of *the Winged Nike on a pillar*, the discovery of which, in 1875, caused so great a sensation in the archaeological world, is interesting and important for many reasons; but chiefly because it is one of the very few Greek works we possess of which both the design and the execution can be traced to a celebrated sculptor.

We read in Pausanias,² 'Those of the Dorian Messenians who once received Naupactus from the Athenians (Ol. 81. 2, or 87. 4, or 88. 4?) offered the statue of Nike on a pillar. It is the work of Pæonius the Mendæan, and was erected from the booty taken from the enemy, as I think, in the war against the Acarnanians and Cæniadæ. But the Messenians themselves say that it was an offering for the operations undertaken jointly with the Athenians in the Island of Sphacteria, Ol. 88. 4 (B.C. 425), and that they had not inscribed the name of the enemy through fear of the Lacedæmonians, while they had no reason to fear the Cæniadæ and Acarnanians.'

FIG. 92.



THE NIKE OF PÆONIUS.

¹ See the plates in *Ausgrabungen zu Ol.* vol. i. Taf. 9-12. The back of Nike's head has been found; vid. *Treu's Olympiabericht*, No.

38. A photograph of it will appear in vol. v. of the *Ausgrabungen zu Ol.*

² v. 26. 1.

On the 20th of Dec. 1875, a triangular block of marble was dug up at Olympia, about thirty yards from the S.E. corner of the Temple of Zeus, bearing this inscription in letters of the 5th cent. B.C., 'Offered from a tithe of the booty to the Olympian Zeus.' Below this, and in smaller characters, as usual with artists of the best period, are the words 'Pæonius the Mendæan made it, *who was victor also in the execution of the pediment of the temple.*' On the following day the upper part of the figure itself was found near the block containing the inscription; and the lower part a few yards off, built into one of the latest walls. The back of her head and her left leg have been more recently discovered.¹ The figure is of Parian marble, rather more than six feet in height. The Goddess of Victory is happily represented as descending from above, and slightly bending forward in an easy and graceful attitude as she approaches the ground. Her right foot just touches the rock at the centre of one side of the triangular pillar; the left leg is bare, and the long flowing garment cleaves closely to the right leg, and shows off its beautiful proportions. The high-girt robe, once encircled at the waist by a broad band of metal, is fastened on the right shoulder, and falls in short folds over her girdle. 'Below, where the loose robe, framing the form in broader and broader masses, floats down, the breeze, which meets the flying figure, causes a play and counter-play of the folds, which in its lively and elegant movement, caught from the moment, may be called a miracle of art.'² On the left side is the fragment of a bird, which Curtius takes for an eagle, as symbol of the air through which the Goddess moves. The pillar, which Pausanias mentions, consisted originally of ten triangular blocks of marble, diminishing in size from below, all of which have been found. They rest on a basis formed of two blocks of limestone. To judge fairly of this pleasing work, we should see it in its proper place on a lofty pillar, as we have now the opportunity of doing in the Olympia Museum in Berlin.

However much we may admire the originality and boldness of

¹ Vid. Treu, *Olympiabericht*, 38. Vol. v. of the *Ausgrab. zu Ol.* will contain a photo-

graph of the head.

² Hirschfeld, *Rundschau*, Nov. 1877.

conception displayed in this beautiful figure, it is impossible to chime in with the high-flown language of its discoverer. It is 'a work,' says Hirschfeld, 'which at one stroke places its creator, after centuries of oblivion, by the side of the greatest sculptors of all ages.'¹ 'The first discovery,' he says elsewhere, 'we were fortunate enough to make was *a work fully equal in value to the Elgin Marbles, and that not only from the period in which it was executed, but from its intrinsic merit*: this was the Nike of Pæonius.'² This is certainly not the impression that it made on me, nor has the verdict here pronounced been confirmed by the general voice of archæologists. The Nike of Pæonius, pleasing as it is, is not only inferior to the Parthenon sculptures, but does not even resemble them in style, and has not those characteristics of the Pheidian, or even of the Attic, school in general, which are often found in works of no greater merit than the Olympian Nike.³

¹ *Rundschau*, 1877, p. 318.

² Hirschfeld in *Macmillan's Mag.* Nov. 1877:

³ Read the masterly investigation of this subject in Brunn's *Sculpturen v. Olympia*

Sitzungsber. d. kön. baier. Acad. Jan. 1877, Of a similar design are a gilded Nike of terra-cotta in the Antiquarium at Munich, and two elegant terra-cotta figures of the same goddess in the Brit. Museum.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON
(*ELGIN MARBLES*).

THE highest point in the region of Greek art that we have been permitted to behold is crowned by the Parthenon, in the plastic decoration of which Pheidias lavished a wealth of imagination, knowledge, and technical skill, of Peloponnesian accuracy and Attic grace, such as the world has never seen before or since the Periclean age.

We know that there was a higher point, a summit on which stood the glorified figures of the Panhellenic Zeus and the Athênê Parthenos—a summit which is for ever hidden from our gaze in impenetrable clouds. What remains to us of the Parthenon is not the work of Sculpture pure and simple, but modified to suit the requirements of the architect. Yet it is inestimably precious, because in the so-called ‘Elgin marbles’ we have the only work of art which we can confidently regard as having been designed, if not executed, by Pheidias himself.

It is a very remarkable fact, and one which gives us a deep insight into the character of the Athenians, that the central figure in their religion, the most perfect representative of their feelings, thoughts, and aspirations, was not Zeus or Hêrê, nor the most popular gods of all times and nations, Ares and Aphrodite, but Athênê, the Virgin, the Goddess of wise counsel and brave deed ! She was enthroned in the very heart of their citadel ; and she stood in colossal grandeur on the battlements to terrify their foes, and to give the first welcome to the mariner or the exile when he approached his divine and beautiful home, which reposed in safety under the protection of her lance and shield.

It requires a strong effort of the imagination to grasp the multiplex and at first sight incongruous elements which make up the character of Athènè as represented to us in Greek literature and art. The wide range of her different qualities and functions is strikingly brought before us in the *Iliad*,¹ where in company with Hêrê she rushes to the battle before Troy, and emboldens Diomed to face the God of War in arms. Throwing away the veil of airy texture, *which she herself had made*,² she

The cuirass donn'd of cloud-compelling force
And stood accoutred for the bloody fray.
Her tasselled ægis round her shoulders next
She threw, with terror circled all around,
And on its face were figured deeds of arms
And Strife and Courage high, and panic Rout.
There too a Gorgon's head of monstrous size
Frown'd terrible, portent of angry Jove.

In her hand
A spear she bore, long, weighty, tough, wherewith
The mighty daughter of a mighty sire
Sweeps down the ranks of those her hate pursues.

(Lord Derby's *Translation*.)

And yet this same terrible Goddess, who raves and storms in the midst of din and carnage, appears as the prudent friend of her favourite Achilles, and restrains him from avenging a very real insult and wrong :

From Heaven ^a I came to curb, if thou wilt hear,
Thy fury

She springs forth fully armed from the head of Zeus with a mighty shout, 'at which Heaven and mother Earth shivered,'⁴ and yet her greatest and most precious gift to her darling people is not the war-horse but the olive, the emblem of peace, which was planted in her honour on the sacred 'olive-bearing' hill.⁵ She stands in full armour,

¹ v. 733.

² ὅν ῥ' αὐτὴ ποιήσατο καὶ κάμει χερσίν.

³ *Iliad*, i. 207.

⁴ Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 37 :—

Ὀὐρανὸς δ' ἰφίμει νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ.
ὑπερμάει βοᾷ.

⁵ *Herc. Furens*, 1178 :—

ἐλαιόφορος ὄχθος.

Ion, 1480 :—

ἐλαιοφυῆς πάγος.

with brandished lance, on the highest point of the Acropolis, and yet she is the patroness of all household and female work, in which she herself excels. She loves the fiery Diomed, the headstrong, warlike Achilles, but her greatest favourite is Odysseus, just because he gains his ends by counsel rather than by force; because he is 'ποικιλομήτης' (of various wiles): 'Thou art of all men far the first in counsel and discourse, and I in the company of all the Gods win renown for wit and wile.'¹

The key to her character is found in the myth of her birth. She springs from the brain of Zeus, not from his heart or blood; nor did any mother infuse into her being female desires or weaknesses.²

Her representation in art embodies this conception of the poets. She is the prominent deity in the earliest periods, in which, as we might expect, the warlike side of her character predominates. The old Trojan Palladium,³ supposed to be in Athens, represented her brandishing her lance in her right hand, and in an attitude of attack. But even here she carries in her left the distaff and the spindle, and the lamp of enlightenment. In so-called archaic art of a later period—as in the central figure of the Æginetan group—she wears the peplos in rigid folds over the chiton, and a large ægis, which covers her whole breast and falls halfway down her back; and she stands, helmet on head, with raised lance and shield ready for attack or defence. The proportions of her limbs are rather male than female,⁴ and the face is stern and without a trace of womanly tenderness. In the Attic art of Pheidias, the features of the old rude type are changed into dignity and grandeur, without losing their stern severity. In still later periods the ægis is more and more contracted, the spear becomes almost a sceptre, and the shield is rested on the ground; and in the decline of art the attempt is made to invest her with a soft and lovely grace, in which her individuality is lost.

¹ *Odys.* xiii. 297, Butcher and Lang.

² Eurip. *Ion*, 453:—

σὶ γὰρ ὀδύνας λοχιά
ἀνελκισθῆναι ἔμαρ
Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω.

³ Apollod. iii. 12: *διωπετής*. Conf. Pausan. i. 265.

⁴ *Orphic hymn*, xxxi. :—

ἄρσεν καὶ θηλύς.

THE PARTHENON.

(Fig. 93.)

In the construction of the new Parthenon the traditions of the older building of the Pisistratidæ were in the main observed by the architects Ictinus and Callicrates. The Parthenon, or Hecatompedos, as it is frequently called, appears—though opinions vary on this point—not to have been a temple in the full sense of the word, like that of the Athênê Polias.¹ It was rather ‘a new festive edifice and treasure-house, which by blending intimately together the fulfilment of political and religious ends was to serve to represent the piety and artistic culture, the wealth and the festive splendour, in fine all the glories which Athens had achieved by her valour and her wisdom.’² The site of the old ante-Persian temple was somewhat enlarged, and upon it a kind of platform of marble (*κρηπίς*), rising three steps, was placed, the upper surface of which (*stylobate*) was about 228 by 101 feet. Near the edge of the stylobate rose the external row of columns, eight each on the E. and W. fronts, and seventeen on each side.³ Behind the eight pillars at each end of the temple was another row of six somewhat smaller ones, surmounted by an epistyle or architrave, which was continued round all four sides of the cella. This inner architrave has some Doric details, but instead of the triglyphon (the alternation of triglyph and metope) the continuous Ionic frieze was introduced, and was adorned with the matchless bas-reliefs of the Panathenaic pompa, which are the pride of our British Museum.⁴

This glorious edifice, whose ruins still affect the beholder with admiration and awe, was completed in Ol. 85. 3 (438 B.C.), and used at

¹ Bötticher, ‘über agonale Festtempel’ (*Philologus*, xvii. 3, xviii. 1 and 3, and xix. 1). It is generally supposed that the name Parthenon was confined to that division of the temple which contained the statue of the Goddess. But in the inscription on the bronze tablet preserved in the Parthenon, the statue is mentioned as being in the Hecatompedon, while the tablet itself was in the Parthenon (Köhler, *Mittheil. d. deut. Inst.*

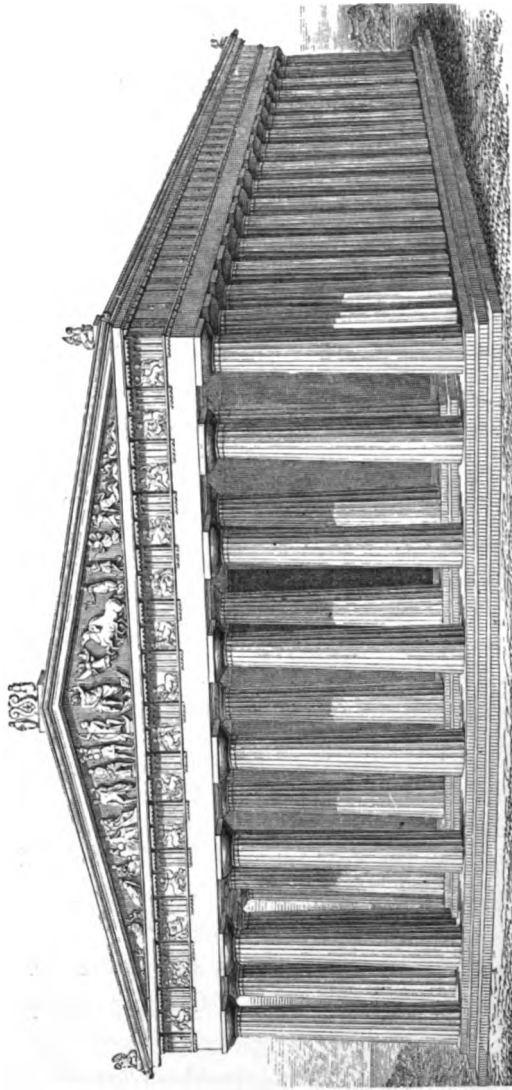
zu Athen, v. 90; and *Academy*, Aug. 7, 1880).

² Curtius, *Hist. of Greece* (Ward’s translation).

³ The Parthenon therefore is Peripteros Hypaithros.

⁴ For a full description of the Parthenon see Bötticher, ‘*Zeitschrift für Bauwesen*,’ Jahrg. 1850–1; Penrose, *An Investigation of the Principles of Athenian Archit.*, 1851, and Michaelis’ ‘*der Parthenon*.’

FIG. 93.



THE PARTHENON.

the Panathenaic festival of that year. Its plastic ornaments consisted in *the great chryselephantine statue of Athênê* described above,¹ *the fifty marble statues*, larger than life, of the two pediments, *the ninety-*

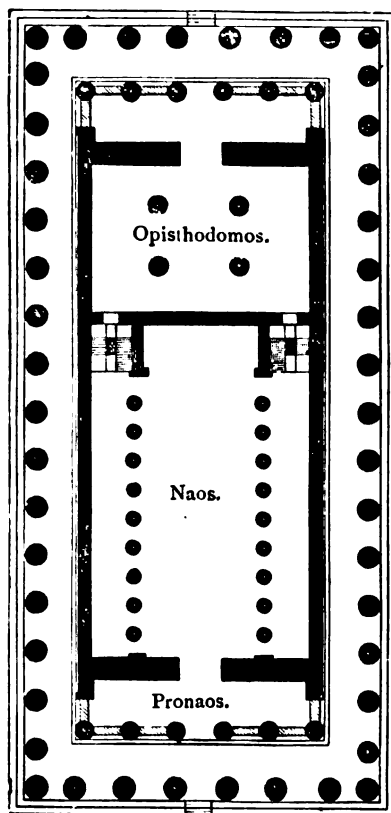
¹ P. 183.

two metopes of the Doric triglyphon, and the innumerable figures on the Ionic frieze, which was 523 feet long.

These precious productions of the purest and noblest art passed tolerably unscathed for about twenty centuries through the changing fortunes of the Temple, which in the fifth or sixth century of our era became a Christian church, and in the fifteenth a Turkish mosque. As a church it was dedicated to the Mother of God, and in 1019 the Emperor Basileos II. is said to have celebrated a thanksgiving there to the 'Θεοτόκος.' It was visited by several of the coryphæi of the Renaissance, and among others by Ciriaco de Pizziccoli of Ancona, who went twice to Athens and made drawings of the Parthenon, which look like caricatures.¹ Under the dominion of the Turks, however, Athens was gradually lost sight of, so that the Tübingen Professor Martin Crusius² wrote to a Greek Professor at Constantinople to ask whether it still existed.

In the seventeenth century Athens was again visited by English and French travellers. The Jesuits had a mission there from 1645-1648 B.C., and were succeeded by the Capuchins in 1658. The reports of these missionaries, among whom were men of classical learning and taste, brought the Parthenon once more to the notice of the civilised world. Our own countrymen Spon and Wheler ob-

FIG. 94.



GROUND PLAN OF PARTHENON.

¹ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, Taf. vii. 1, iv. xiii. xiv.

² Crusius became Professor at Tübingen in 1559.

tained admission to it in 1676, and made both measurements and drawings, the results of which they published (in 1678 and 1682) in an account of their travels. But the most important work was done by the French painter Carrey, who went to Constantinople in the suite of the French Ambassador, Marquis de Nointel, in 1674. Leave was bought by the latter from the Turkish commandant for Carrey to make drawings; and in the very short space of time allowed him (fourteen days) this indefatigable painter copied the groups of both pediments, thirty-two metopes, the whole of the E. and W. friezes, half the N. frieze, and seventeen slabs from the middle of the S. frieze!¹

But the end was at hand. About ten years after the visit of Spon and Wheler the Greeks sought the aid of Venice against the Turks. The latter, expecting an attack, fortified themselves on the Acropolis, using the materials obtained by pulling down that gem of Attic architecture, the Temple of Nike Apteros (wingless victory), and other buildings. The Venetian army, consisting chiefly of German mercenaries, under Morosini and Königsmark, tried to *undermine the Acropolis*, and failing in this, sent a bomb into the Parthenon, in which the Turks had stored their powder. By the explosion which ensued the centre of the building was destroyed, and with it a portion of the N. and S. metopes and friezes.² The two pediments naturally suffered but little, the eastern not at all, as we possess all that Carrey drew, and even some figures that he never saw. Great devastations were afterwards committed by the Venetian officers, and Morosini, the Captain-General, destroyed the famous chariot of Athênê and the statue of Poseidon in the W. Pediment, in a clumsy attempt to remove them from their place.

Our space will not allow of our giving a full account of the efforts made by English and French travellers in the latter half of the eighteenth century to bring the Parthenon to the notice of the European public. In 1797 Count Choiseul-Gouffier, the French Ambassador at Constantinople, obtained leave for his artist, Fauvel, to draw and take casts from the Parthenon marbles; and the latter managed to convey a slab of the Ionic frieze and a metope from the south triglyphon to

¹ Michael. *der Parthenon*.

² See the model of the Parthenon in the Elgin room of the Brit. Mus.

France. It was partly in rivalry with Choiseul that our own Ambassador to the Porte, Lord Elgin, proposed to Pitt in 1799 to secure some of the precious plunder for England. The great minister, fully occupied with Napoleon Bonaparte and Egypt, was not exactly in a mood to attend to Archæology; and Elgin, with the sympathy and assistance of Sir W. Hamilton, Ambassador at the Court of Naples, determined to proceed with the matter at his own expense. After a thousand difficulties the priceless booty was shipped in eighty chests for England in 1812. While in Burlington House, in which the marbles found their first resting-place on English soil, they were seen by Visconti, and in 1815 by Canova, who estimated them at 100,000*l*. But Parliament took a different view of the matter, and purchased them for 35,000*l*.—about half what they had cost Lord Elgin. Casts of the different statues, reliefs, &c. were sent to Paris, Stuttgart, and other parts of the Continent, and everywhere aroused the highest enthusiasm, and became the centre of every school of art. Danecker, who had casts of the so-called 'Theseus' and the 'River God,' writes¹ to a friend: 'These two have affected me so much, that I must say they are the highest that I have seen in art. They are formed as it were after nature, and yet I have never had the happiness to see such natures.' Göthe thought himself 'happy to have lived long enough' to see the Elgin Marbles; and in 1817 he made the proposition that every German sculptor should be helped to study in London, 'and if not to become a Pheidias, at least to go to school with him.' In the same strain spoke O. Müller, Brönsted, Welcker, &c. In short, not only in England, but throughout the civilised world, the transference of the Parthenon sculptures to an inviolable asylum was hailed as a great era in the history of plastic art.

There are, of course, two ways of looking at the proceedings of Lord Elgin. Those who would justify him may say that he was in a position to see that these unique and inestimable remains of Pheidian art would either be sold or destroyed *piecemeal* by the Turks and Greeks, or carried off bodily to Paris by the French. Failing of assistance from his own Government, he took upon himself the

¹ In a letter to Welcker about the formation of a Gallery of Casts in Bonn. See Michaelis, *der Parthenon*, p. 86.

expense and risk and infinite trouble of securing them for his own country. Whether he hoped, as his detractors say, to make a profit by their sale, it is impossible for us to decide. Probably not, for their value at that time was not fully appreciated by the public at large; and, at any rate, if his object was a mercenary one, he entirely failed in attaining it.

The other view is that which has been stated with characteristic vigour by Lord Byron in his 'Childe Harold' and 'The Curse of Athena.' The great poet charges Lord Elgin with having torn 'The last poor plunder from a bleeding land,' and being base enough to make the State 'receiver of his pilfered prey;' and denounces him as a 'dull spoiler,' and a 'filthy jackall,' an 'Alaric,' an 'Eratosthenes,' and worst of all, '*a Scot!*'

Whatever opinion we may form of Lord Elgin's character and motives, no one who knows anything of the subsequent history of Greece can doubt that he was instrumental in preserving the most precious remains of Greek art from impending destruction. He procured for them a shrine in the very heart of modern civilisation, where they are treasured like the bones of saints and martyrs; and he thereby conferred the greatest boon not only on his own country, but on the whole civilised world, Greece itself included.

The metopes of the Parthenon were originally ninety-two in number, thirty-two on each of the N. and S., and fourteen on each of the E. and W. sides. The eastern and western metopes are almost all¹ in their original places on the building, but dreadfully mutilated, not so much by the gentle and tasteful hand of Time as by the brutal violence of deliberate malice. The reliefs of the central portion of the S. and N. walls perished, of course, in the explosion caused by the well-aimed shell of the Lüneburg lieutenant in 1687. The N. side suffered most, and only twelve of the thirty-two metopes are still in their original places, viz. three at the eastern, and nine at the western end, which are all mutilated beyond recognition. We are more fortunate in regard to the southern metopes, many of which are in good preservation, and are rendered intelligible by the aid of Carrey's drawings.

¹ Except No. 8 on the E., and No. 1 on the W.

Ancient literature affords us no clue to the interpretation of the various scenes represented in the triglyphon of the Parthenon, or to the discovery of the central idea which connects them; and many archæologists have given up the attempt to understand them. Ross¹ was of opinion that the metopes were put into their places indiscriminately as they happened to come from the sculptor's hands. There are, however, some grounds for believing that the reliefs of the eastern façade represented the *Gigantomachia* (Battle of the Gods and Giants), those of the western the *Amazonomachia*² (Battle of Greeks and Amazons). The southern metopes are intelligible enough; they represent the *Centauiromachia* (Battle of Centaurs and Lapiths³) at the wedding feast of Peirithous. The subject of the northern metopes remains problematical.

METOPES OF THE EASTERN FRONT.

In the eastern façade the two intercolumnia on the extreme right and left, containing two metopes each, are separated from the two middle intercolumnia, which have also two metopes each, by Nos. V. and X.⁴ Leake conjectures that they represented the exploits of Athênê herself and the chief Attic heroes. O. Müller recognises *Pallas victorious over the Giants* and *Apollo contending with Heracles for the Tripod*. Michaelis and Petersen also accept the *Gigantomachia* as the subject of the frieze, and think that they see *Dionysus* in No. II., *Ares* in III., *Artemis* in XII., and *Hêrê* (or *Demeter*) in IV. *Chariots* are seen on Nos. V., VII., and X., from which it is inferred that the Gods are going into battle in heroic fashion, and that Goddesses acted as charioteers, after the manner of *Hêrê* in the *Iliad*, *Artemis* in the *Phigaleian frieze*, and *Athênê* in the chariot of *Heracles* on ancient vases.⁵ In No. VII. *the horses are winged*, and it is therefore conjectured that the victor in the succeeding metope VIII. was *Zeus himself driven by Athena Nike*.⁶

¹ *Theseion*, p. 7.

² Dodwell and Leake.

³ Virg. *Georg.* ii. 457. Ovid, *Met.* xii. 210.

⁴ Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 143. The Roman numerals indicate the order of the metopes

on the Parthenon as given by Michaelis.

⁵ Gerhard, *Antike Vasenbilder*, i. 62.

⁶ Bötticher, *Philologus*, l.c. Michaelis, *Parthenon*, p. 145.

METOPES OF THE WESTERN FRONT.

These are in even worse condition than the eastern, spoken of above, and afford a still more favourable playground for the lively imagination of archæological seers. Cockerell declares that they can all be decyphered except VI. and VII., and that they represent alternately *a horseman with an enemy* stretched on the ground before him, and *two combatants on foot*. Leake and others¹ see traces of *Persian costumes* in Nos. X. and XIV., and think that *the Battle of Marathon* is intended.

So completely, however, have these metopes been effaced that it is uncertain whether the riders in Nos. I., III., V., IX., XIII. are male or female. If women, then they are Amazons, for we are told that these strong-minded females appeared on horseback in Mikon's famous picture in the Pœcile in Athens.² No. I., of which there is a cast in the British Museum (No. 18), contains a very striking figure on horseback, apparently *an Amazon*, moving rapidly to the right, in the act of throwing a spear.

METOPES OF THE NORTHERN SIDE.

Twenty of these perished in the explosion of 1687, and of those which still remain in their original places, Nos. II., XXVI., and XXX. are effaced beyond all hope of interpretation. Some suppose that they represented *the Battle of the Amazons*,³ with which the long-draped women, which are still recognizable, would hardly agree. Michaelis⁴ conjectures that Nos. XXIV. and XXV. contain *scenes from the 'Iliupersis'* (capture of Troy), and with these he connects XXVII. and XXVIII. In XXV. he recognises *Helen* seeking asylum at *Athênê's* image, under the protection of *Aphrodite and Eros*, from the vengeance of *Menelaus*, who drops his sword. On the left side, he thinks, stands the goddess *Peitho* (Persuasion) with a branch in her hand.

¹ O. Müller, Brönsted, Beulé.

² Michaelis, *der Parthenon*, p. 149. Conf. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 678; Klügemann, *Ann.*

d. Inst. xxxix. 211.

³ Dodwell and Leake.

⁴ *Parthenon*, p. 138.

METOPES OF THE SOUTH SIDE.

It is from these that our knowledge of the high reliefs of the Parthenon must be chiefly obtained, for they are the only ones sufficiently well preserved to enable us to judge fairly of their merits, and they are also the most easily accessible. Of these most interesting works, fifteen were secured for England by Lord Elgin, and are now in the British Museum; a sixteenth was carried off at an earlier period by Count Choiseul and placed in the Louvre.¹ *The head of a Centaur, the head of a Greek, and other fragments*, from metope No. 3, in the British Museum, were carried off to Copenhagen by an officer of the Venetian army in 1687.

Of the twelve metopes at the west end of the south side ten contained a series of *single combats between a Centaur and a Lapith* (or Greek) and two represented *the rape of women by Centaurs*. The centre of this side seems to have been filled from XIII.–XXI. by reliefs of various mythical scenes, which are variously interpreted by different writers, but by none in a satisfactory manner.² Of the rest from XXII.–XXXII. the great majority show *Centaurs and Lapiths*, and three have *female figures* instead of Lapiths.

Very remarkable is the difference of style in the metopes from the same (south) side in the British Museum—a difference so great that we find it impossible to attribute them to the same school of artists. Many, no doubt, were the work of older contemporaries of Pheidias, who adhered to the older Attic school; and others, as is thought, show strong traces of Myronic influence.³ In some of them the faces and figures of the Centaurs are coarse and ugly in the extreme, while the Centaur in metope No. 15 (of the British Museum) has a comparatively refined and noble face,⁴ and a carefully trimmed beard. It has been observed that in the metopes of the oldest style the tail

¹ This was restored by the French sculptor Lange, after Carrey's drawing.

² Brönsted, *Reisen u. Untersuch. in Griechenland*, B. 2.

³ Brunn, *Ann. d. Arch. Inst.* vol. xxx. p. 381. *Conf. Anc. Marbles*, vol. vii.

⁴ These are the nobler centaurs described by Diodorus (iv. 13) as ἀπὸ μὲν μητρὸς θεοῦ ὄντας, τὸ δὲ τάχος ἔχοντας Ἰππων, ῥώμῃ δὲ δισσωμάτους θήρας, ἐμπειρίαν τε καὶ σύνεσιν ἔχοντας ἀνδρῶν.

of the horses hangs down stiff and motionless, while in others, and notably in the best, this chief index of equine emotion is raised and

FIG. 95.



METOPE XXIX.

FIG. 96.

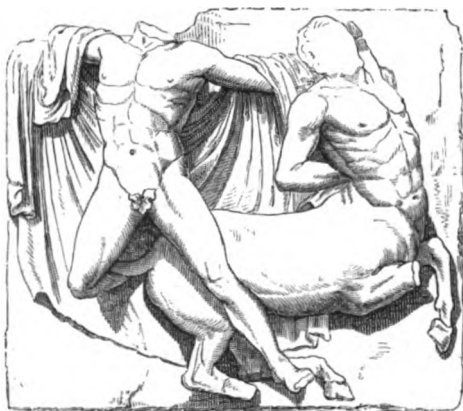


METOPE I.

violently agitated. One of the most remarkable is No. II. (No. 1, Brit. Mus.), in which the Lapith is forcing down the Centaur with his

left knee, and with his left hand endeavouring to throttle the monster, who has his mouth wide open gasping for breath. No. XXIX. (No. 14,

FIG. 97.



METOPE XXVII.

FIG. 98.

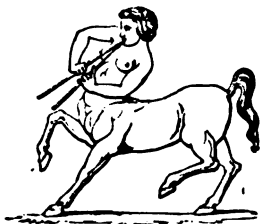


METOPE XXVIII.

Brit. Mus.) (fig. 95) represents an old Centaur, the only one who has the ears of a beast, carrying off a richly draped woman, and apparently

greatly embarrassed in his task by her weight. The most beautiful of the whole series are No. I. (fig. 96) (still in its place on the temple), where the Centaur has got the Lapith's head 'in chancery'; No. XXVII. (12, Brit. Mus.) (fig. 97), in which the magnificent form of the Lapith, who is stopping the flight of the Centaur, is shown to

FIG. 99.

FEMALE CENTAUR, PLAYING
THE DOUBLE FLUTE.

(From a bronze bas-relief in
the Museum of Naples.)

great advantage against the background of his outspread mantle; and No. XXVIII. (13, Brit. Mus.) (fig. 98), to which by common consent the palm has been awarded, where the Centaur is rearing triumphantly over his prostrate foe, with every muscle and fibre of his body instinct with life and vigour.

We have here the most perfect blending of the human and equine form: 'Quadrupedesque hominis cum pectore pectora junctos.'

The *Centauress* (fig. 99) is not unknown to ancient art, but occurs very rarely, and generally in the retinue of Dionysus.¹ The invention is attributed to the painter Zeuxis, and Lucian² praises him for the bold innovation. There were, however, representations of the Centauress on vases before the time of Zeuxis.³

¹ Vid. Bas-relief in the Vatican found on the coast of Campania (Visconti, *Mus. P. Cl.* iv. Pl. 21). Conf. Ovid, *Mét.* 'Ocyrrhoe,' the daughter of the Centaur Chiron.

² 'Zeuxis,' 3. ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις τολμήμασι καὶ θήλειαν Ἰπποκένταυρον ὃ Ζεῦξις ἐποίησεν ἀνατρέφουσάν γε προσέτι παιδίῳ Ἰπποκενταύρῳ

διδόμεν κομιδῇ νηπίῳ. Winckelmann (*Mon. ined.* 80) mentions a gem representing a Centauress giving suck to a baby Centaur, and thinks that it is a copy of a picture of Zeuxis.

³ Bötticher, *Vasengem.* iii. 148.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON

(CONTINUED).

THE PEDIMENTS.

PAUSANIAS, who has given us so minute a description of the groups which adorned the eastern and western gables of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, is almost silent concerning the nobler work in the corresponding parts of the Parthenon. The scene in the pediment above the entrance to the Parthenon, he tells us,¹ referred to *the Birth of Athênê*, and the group in the western pediment to *the Contest of Poseidon and Athênê* for the land of Attica. And this is all the notice taken in ancient literature of works before which we stand in reverential awe, like the invading Gauls before the Roman Senate!

THE WESTERN PEDIMENT.

Of the group in this pediment, in which *the Contest between Poseidon and Athênê* is represented, and which Carrey (fig. 100) saw almost complete, we possess only a few mutilated remains. These are *the River Cephissus* (fig. 100, *a*) in the left corner; *the Torso of the male figure* (fig. 100, *b*) standing near the chariot of Athênê; *the Breast of Athênê*, with the ægis, and perhaps *the mutilated Head of the same Goddess*; *the Chest, back and sides of Poseidon*² (fig. 100, *k*); the Torso of the

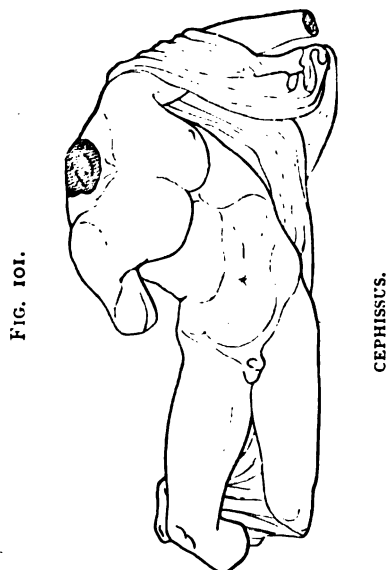
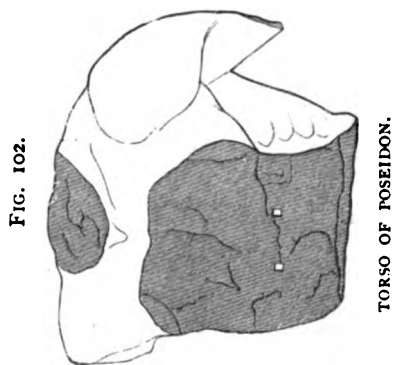
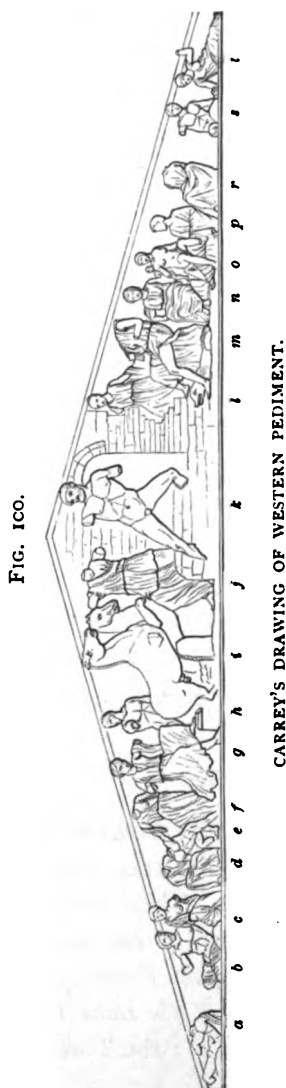
¹ i. 24. 5.² It is singular and fortunate that just that portion of Poseidon's mighty frame should have been preserved which Homer refers to

as peculiarly characteristic of the God, when he ascribes to Agamemnon :

Ἄρπιδὲ ζώνην, στέρνον δὲ Ποσειδάωνι.

The girth of Mars with Neptune's ample chest.
(*Iliad*, ii. 479.)

female charioteer of Poseidon, perhaps *Amphitrite*; fragments of *the Woman with a child at her side* (fig. 100, n), all of which are in the



British Museum. Also *two figures, male and female* (fig. 100, b, c), next to the river god, in the left corner; *a fragment of Poseidon's breast*; some *fragments of Horses*; the greater part of *the Kneeling figure*

(fig. 100, s) in the right corner, and several *uncertain torsos and fragments*; all of which are still on the Parthenon, or in the Museum at Athens; and lastly, a beautiful female head, now at Paris, called the '*Weber head*,' which probably belongs to this group, but cannot be assigned with certainty to any one of the existing figures. It is evident, therefore, that we can only obtain an idea of the manner in which the subject is treated by referring to Carrey's sketches (the originals of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris), and to the brief notice of Pausanias, which we have quoted above.

As the scene is exclusively Attic, it is fitly bounded by the Gods of the national rivers, *the Ilissus* and *the Cephissus*. According to the well-known myth the Goddess Athênê, newly born from the head of Zeus, disputed the possession of Attica with Poseidon, the other claimant of the land.¹ The great council of the Gods assembled on the Acropolis to decide the question according to the value of the gift which each competitor could offer to the Athenian people. Poseidon struck the rock with his trident² and caused a perennial salt spring to flow from it; or, according to other accounts, his gift was the horse. Athênê produced the useful olive³ from the bare rock, and was immediately hailed as victor in the contest. These miraculous gifts were preserved in the Erechtheium and the Temple of Athênê Polias respectively.

The moment chosen by the artist for representation is the one immediately after the decision. Poseidon, who, according to Carrey, has transgressed his bounds and intruded on to Athênê's side, shrinks back in fear and wrath.⁴ Athênê, whose head is turned away from the centre, hastens with triumphant steps to her chariot.

Although there is a great difference of opinion respecting the other figures, most authorities agree that the two colossal statues in the centre represent *Poseidon* and *Athênê*, and those in the right and left

¹ Herod. viii. 55. Ovid, *Met.* vi. 70:—

Antiquam de terræ nomine litem.

Virgil, *Georg.* i. 12. Pausan. i. 24.

² Æschylus refers to the mark left by the stroke (*Suppl.* 214).

³ The pride felt by the Athenians for the olive is very remarkable. Homer, *Od.* xi. 590; xiii. 372. Pindar, *Ol.* x. 13 (ed.

Dyssen). Soph. *Æd. Col.* 694, 794:—

Ὁ τῆδε θέλλει μέγιστα χώρα,
γλαυκᾶς παιδοτρόφον φύλλον ἐλαίας.

Eurip.: Παλλὰδος ἄγρον ἀγαλμα. Æsch.: Στέφανος ἀρετᾶς. Conf. Virgil and Lorenzo de Medici.

⁴ Welcker (*Alte Denkm.* i. 67) thinks that he retreats before Athênê's upraised lance.

corner, respectively, the river gods, *Cephissus* and *Ilissus*. The Olympian judges of the cause are not represented, as the presence of Zeus would throw Athênê into the shade. In Homeric fashion the combatants bring their chariots into the field, and the horses probably served to separate the august forms of Poseidon and Athênê from the subordinate personages of the group.¹ Large fragments of *the trunk of an olive tree*² discovered *in situ* show that the precious gift of Athênê occupied a prominent place, perhaps between the widely separated legs of Poseidon. The *salt spring* may have been indicated by water under the horses of the sea God, or only by *the Dolphin*, which Carrey's drawing shows beneath the chariot of Amphitrite. Some writers³ assume that this chariot was drawn by Hippocamps⁴ (monsters with horse's body and fishes' tail—*merhorses*), of whose tails fragments have been found.⁵ Portions of wings, too, have been discovered, which Newton assigns to the same monsters. The first in the train of Poseidon, and nearest to the God, is a figure (fig. 100, *l*) whose sex is scarcely distinguishable in Carrey's drawing. Cockerell refers to it as '*a personage seemingly female*;' other writers call it Hêrê, Thetis, a Nereid, &c. Then follows a seated figure of large dimensions, in the attitude of a charioteer, whom all writers for the last fifty years have recognised as *Amphitrite* *κωνωπίς* (of the dark blue eyes) (fig. 100, *m*) driving her husband's chariot. Then comes *Leucothea* (fig. 100, *n*) with her son *Palæmon-Melicertes*, and next to them *Thalassa* (fig. 100, *p*), with *Aphrodite* (fig. 100, *o*) in her lap, for the first time represented nude, and *Eros*. Next to *Thalassa* is a seated female (fig. 100, *r*) whom Michaelis calls *a Nereid* and Welcker *Peitho*, both of whom would suit the situation; and then come the figures which most writers agree in calling *Ilissus* (fig. 100, *s*), the river god, and his favourite fountain nymph *Callirrhoe* (fig. 100, *t*).

Turning now to the train of Athênê, on the left as given by Carrey, we find behind the goddess, and partly hidden by her horses, a tall

¹ Fragments of these horses which show their surpassing beauty were discovered in 1835 (C. T. Newton, *Transactions of Royal Society*, v. 6).

² Overbeck, *Plastik*, i. 276.

³ Overbeck and Michaelis.

⁴ Pausan. ii. 1. 9. Virgil, *Georg.* iv. 38.

⁵ Michaelis, *Parth.* Taf. viii. 17. The large fragment in Athens, generally supposed to be a portion of the Dolphin drawn by Carrey, probably belongs to these Hippocamps.

male figure, whom Michaelis, with good reason I think, calls *Hermes*¹ (fig. 100, *h*). As suitable charioteer of the victorious goddess we find *Nike* (fig. 100, *g*), and behind her a group of two females, *Cora* (Proserpine) (fig. 100, *f*) and *Demeter* (Ceres) (fig. 100, *d*), united by the boy *Iacchus* (fig. 100, *e*), who is between them. Then follow the loving group *Heracles* (fig. 100, *b*) and *Hebe*² (fig. 100, *c*), and the *River Cephissus* (fig. 100, *a*) in the corner.

In considering this group as a whole we cannot but be struck by the contrast between the agitation and hurry which prevail in the centre, and the almost unruffled calmness of the corner figures. From the violent wrath of Poseidon and the lively triumphant joy of Athênê we pass in regular gradation, through the impatience of the rearing horses, and the activity of the busy charioteers, to the dignified repose of the seated women and the languid listlessness of the river Gods. The attention of all seems more or less turned towards the important transaction in the centre, and the boy *Iacchus* is apparently eager to get as far as possible from the awful scene; but on the whole the threatening wave of emotion gradually subsides into a perfect calm.

Want of space prevents our giving that special analysis of each member in the pedimental group which its value and importance loudly call for. We must therefore refer the reader to Michaelis' 'Der Parthenon,' in which he will find a minute description and criticism of every figure. This great work must always be the quarry from which all future writers on the subject will draw much of their material, although they need not always give it the shape which he recommends.

THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

(Fig. 103.)

Of this pediment we possess not only all the figures which Carrey saw, but two or three more which have been discovered since his time. Unfortunately the central, i.e. in every way, the most important,

¹ Cockerell says it is *Erechtheus*, Welcker calls it *Ares*, and Bötticher *Cecrops*.

² According to Welcker and Brusian.

Michaelis says Asklepios and Hygieia, and Bötticher (*Zephoros am Parthenon*, p. 115) *Marathon* and *Salamis*.

group is entirely lost, and we have no drawings in this case to show us the original design of the artist.

The subject, as we learn from Pausanias, was *the Birth of Athênê*, but there is nothing in the existing remains from which we could have deduced this fact. The chief actors, in the centre of the scene, are wanting, and the vacant space affords a wide field to the imagination of archæologists, which they have not failed to occupy in force. How was the great event—the birth of the tutelary Goddess of Athens—represented? According to the most generally received version of the myth, Athênê sprang forth in full armour from the head of Zeus, which Hephæstus had split open with his axe.¹ We cannot for a moment suppose that Pheidias, like some of the most ancient vase painters, would follow the very words of the tradition, and represent the great goddess as a little doll emerging from her father's head.² Nor can we agree with the interpretation of Ottfried Müller, who thinks that Zeus, enthroned, held the new-born goddess on his knee.³ The rough surgical operation itself is singularly unfitted for plastic treatment, and the artist would hardly like to pourtray the wise and warlike maid as a little child, even in the arms of Zeus. Every consideration would lead him to choose the moment *after* the birth, and to show her to the Gods in colossal and majestic form, brandishing her lance, and uttering her war-cry.⁴ It was thus that the poet Pindar saw her when he sang how

Heaven and Mother Earth shuddered at the sight of her.⁵

We may further assume as certain that Zeus himself was present, probably as central figure with his new-born daughter on one

¹ Pind. *Ol.* vii. 35 :—

ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχραισιν
χαλκελάτῃ πελίκῃ πατέρος Ἀθηναία κορυφᾶν κατ'
ἄκραν
ἀνορούσας ἄλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοῇ.

Conf. Hesiod, *Theog.* 924.

² She is thus represented on vases in the Brit. Museum (Table-case H, No. 65, and Case L, No. 114, where she is standing on the head of Zeus); and on a mirror and two vases from the Campana collection, now in Paris; on a vase (Pelice) found at Vulci, where Zeus is seated with Hephæstus standing on one side of him, and Eileithyia on the other. Vid. Brunn, *Annal. d. Inst.*

1861, p. 299, and Birch, *Anc. Pottery*, i. 283.

³ Denkm. ii. 228.

⁴ Cockerell, *Anc. Marbles*, vi. 13, 21.

Hom. *Hymn.* 28. 7.

⁵ Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 38 :—

Οὐρανὸς δ' ἐφρίξεν νιν καὶ Γαῖα μήτηρ.

Conf. Shelley to Minerva :—

Wonder strange possessed
The everlasting Gods, that shape to see
Shaking a javelin keen, impetuously
Rush from the crest of ægis-bearing Jove.
Fearfully Heaven was shaken, and did move
Beneath the might of the Cærulean-eyed
Earth dre idfully surrounded far and wide,
And lifted from its depths; the sea swelled high
In purple billows.

side, and Hephæstus on the other, in the capacity of Olympian *accoucheur*.¹

FIG. 103.



CARREY'S DRAWING OF THE EASTERN PEDIMENT.

FIG. 105.



THESEUS (?).

FIG. 104.



HELIOS ON HIS CHARIOT.

¹ Sometimes the operation is assigned to Prometheus. Eurip. *Ion*, 452 :—

Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω
Προμηθεὶ Τητᾶνι λοχυν-
θεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας
κορυφᾶς Διός.

Michaelis follows Lloyd (*Trans. of R. Soc.* new series, vii. 6, 2) in giving Athênê the post of honour in the centre, and imagines her to be rushing forward lance in hand like the Minerva in the Vatican (Visconti, *Pio Clem.* ii. 23).

A great difference of opinion among commentators prevails also respecting the locality in which the scene is enacted—a point of great importance in its connexion with the characters themselves. Is it Heaven or Earth, or both? And are the forms before us those of the Olympian Gods alone, or are some of them local deities or national heroes? The only two figures which present no difficulty are those of the Rising sun (*Helios*) in the left, and the Setting moon (*Selênê*) in the right corner, by which the scene is closed on either side in the same way as the Birth of Aphrodite on the basis of the statue of Zeus at Olympia.¹ We are inclined to the opinion that the place is *the rock of Olympus*, and that *Helios* and *Selênê* indicate the firmament of Heaven in which they move, and the new and brighter day which dawned upon the world at the advent of *Athênê*.²

EXTANT FIGURES OF THE E. PEDIMENT.

Beginning at the left corner we find :—

I. *The powerful arms and neck of Helios* (fig. 104) just emerging from the sea, and before him

II. *The heads of his immortal steeds*, straining wildly at the bit with a fiery ardour which the outstretched arms of the God himself can hardly curb. The head of the off-horse is turned to the right by the sharply tightened rein, and protrudes beyond the line of the geison. We see from the sketch of Carrey that the two other horses of the quadriga were represented in relief on the tympanum.

III. '*Theseus*' (?) (fig. 105). Next to the impetuous horses of the Sun God lies in perfect repose the godlike form, generally known under the name of Theseus. This figure is the object of wondering and despairing study to countless artists; and from the ease and majesty of the attitude, the extraordinary perfection of the anatomical structure, and the matchless skill with which the texture and elasticity of the skin and muscles are represented, justly ranks as the greatest marvel of plastic art.

¹ See the same *motif* on a vase in the Brit. Mus. (Table-case F, No. 174).

² Michael. *Parth.* 167.

The figure is entirely nude, and rests on a mantle, under which the paws and part of the hide of a lion or tiger are visible. Cockerell¹ therefore thinks that *Heracles* is here represented, enjoying celestial repose after the toils and dangers of his beneficent career. The raised right hand, he says, held a wine-cup, like the same hero in a similar posture on a coin of Croton. Michaelis takes him for *Dionysus*, and places a thyrsus in his hand. We can only say that there are no sufficient grounds for altogether accepting or entirely repudiating any of these interpretations.

IV. and V. *Demeter* (Ceres)? (fig. 103, *d*) and *Cora* (Proserpine)? (fig. 103, *e*). Next to the youthful hero are the figures of two noble and majestic females seated on square stools covered by a folded carpet. They are heavily and richly clothed in a loosely flowing chiton, fastened on the shoulder, and covering all but the beautiful arms and neck. The lower limbs are wrapped in a broad mantle. Whoever they may be—*Demeter* and *Cora*, or, as others² think, the Attic *Horæ*, or *Aphrodite* and *Peitho*³—they are evidently united by the closest ties. The one who sits next to *Theseus* is as yet in undisturbed repose, and still rests her arm familiarly on her companion's shoulder. The other has just heard the announcement of *Athênê's* birth from the heavenly messenger, and throwing up her arm in joyful surprise prepares to rise from her seat, at the same time turning her head to communicate the glad tidings to her friend.

VI. The next figure is undoubtedly that of *Iris* (fig. 103, *f*), represented as a tall, slim girl, clad in the *χίτων σχιστή* (slit tunic), which exposed the left side of the person below the girdle.⁴ Her mantle, of which only a fragment remains, was filled by the wind, and gave her the appearance of hovering in airy lightness.

The wind outblows
Her scarf into a fluttering pavilion.

The folds of her dress seem to indicate a descending motion through the air, which favours the theory that she is on her way from

¹ *Anc. Marbles*, &c. vi. title-page.

² Brönsted. Conf. Overbeck, *Ges. d. Plastik*.

³ Leake.

⁴ Welcker calls her *Oreithyia*.

Olympus to the world below, and not to the Gods on the pediment itself, who are eye-witnesses of the great event.

The whole of the centre, which contained all the principal personages in the scene, is irretrievably lost. In Carrey's drawings we find a gap, representing about thirty feet, extending from the figure of Iris to *the three seated women (Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos ?)*, now in the British Museum, generally known under the name of the Mœræ or Fates. Since Carrey's time, however, two important torsos have been discovered, the position of which may be conjectured with some degree of certainty.

The first of these,

VII. is *the Torso of a male figure* found in 1836, and still in Athens, which is larger than Demeter and Cora (IV. and V.), and was therefore nearer to the centre. It probably represents *Hephæstus* (or Prometheus). As both arms and legs are lost, it is impossible to say what part he played in the Olympian drama.¹ The position of the shoulders and neck indicates that he was bearing some great weight, and Ross conjectures that Hephæstus is here represented raising his axe with both arms above his head. This would be inconsistent with the opinion given above that the birth has already taken place, and the raised arms may quite as well be a lively illustration of the wonder and awe which seized upon the Gods at the miracle enacted before their eyes:²—

σείβω δ' ἔχε πάντας ὀρώντας ἀθανάτους.³

On the ground of a passage in Euripides which refers to the sculptures of the Parthenon, Michaelis, following Brönsted, decides in favour of Prometheus as the assistant of Zeus on this occasion. Lloyd places him immediately beside the central figure of Athênê.

The second figure, discovered since the time of Carrey, is that of

VII. *Nike*⁴ (Brit. Mus.), generally considered as the pendant to Iris in the right wing, although the former is executed on a much

¹ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 114.

² Mich. *Parth.* 175. Frieder. *Baust.* p. 143.

³ *Hom. Hymn*, 28. 6.

⁴ *Ion*, 452. Conf. 184; W. Lloyd, *Transact. of Royal Soc.* vii. plate 3.

more robust scale. The right leg, which is now attached to the torso, was discovered by Mr. Lloyd in 1860. The Goddess was originally winged, as we learn from the square holes in her shoulder-blades, and is striding along in a vigorous and somewhat masculine manner. A lively controversy has arisen respecting the attitude and functions of this noble figure. According to the earlier view her action is exactly parallel with that of Iris, and she too is hastening away from the scene of action to bear the good news to the outer world.

This view of the matter arises chiefly from a too great eagerness to show in the pedimental group of the Parthenon the same rigid parallelism which we find in the Æginetan marbles; whereas, in a design of Pheidias, we ought rather to look for a pleasing variety in the midst of order. And that is just what we do find in the present case. The two figures of Iris and Nike correspond with one another in their character as attendants of the Gods, and in the speed and lightness of their movements, but they are not monotonous counterparts of one another in all respects. The best aspect of Nike is obtained by placing her with her face towards the centre, and Visconti has no doubt hit upon the true interpretation when he says *La Victoire a vu naître la vierge guerrière qui sera sa compagne inséparable; elle en tressaille de joie*. His judgment is accepted by Welcker, who adds, 'she stood in front either raising her arms or stretching them out before her,' probably holding out a *tænia* with which to welcome and to crown the new-born Goddess.

VIII. IX. X. *Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos?* the three daughters of Cecrops,¹ or Pandrosos, Thallo, Karpo² (fig. 103, *g, h, i*).

This celebrated group of three seated Goddesses holds among draped figures the same undisputed pre-eminence as the 'Theseus' among the nude. The first (on the left of the group) is a fully developed majestic form (fig. 103, *g*), arrayed in talaric chiton, and a mantle wrapt round her lower limbs. She sits upright on a separate rock, slightly turned towards the two others, who share a similar seat between them.

¹ Pausan. i. 2. 5; i. 27. 3; i. 18. 27.

² Michaelis, *Parthenon*. Pandrosos, 'the all-bedewing,' and the two Attic Horæ, Thallo (Θαλλός, a young shoot or scion) and Karpo (Καρπός, fruit).—Pausan. ix. 35. 1.

Her attention, however, has just been called away from her sisters to the centre, towards which she is looking.¹ In Carrey's drawing she is close to the pair on her left (fig. 103, *h, i*), but she is evidently not so intimately connected with them as they are with one another.

The next figure to the right (fig. 106, *a*) is also sitting upright at the end of a long couch-like rock, which is covered by a folded cloth of some stiff substance. She too is clothed in the short-sleeved Ionic chiton of a fine material, and a mantle which envelopes her legs. She has been sitting with her whole body turned towards the corner of the pediment, and supporting the glorious form of her companion (fig. 106, *b*), who is reclining at full length on her bosom in affectionate

FIG. 106.



DAUGHTERS OF CECROPS?

confidence and luxurious ease. She too has just made a movement to the right, and draws her legs under her as if preparing to rise. This change of position has slightly disturbed the recumbent figure, and obliged her to raise herself a little from her companion's lap, so that her chiton slips downwards, and reveals the lovely shoulder and bosom. The artist has lavished on their attire a superabundant wealth of lovely details, which invests their majestic forms with an ineffable grace and charm. The hard marble is absolutely transformed by the skill of the artist into the soft and delicate material of the chiton, which flows freely and easily round the figure, adapting itself to every movement

¹ There is some difference of opinion as to the proper position of this figure; there

are good reasons for turning it rather more towards the centre of action.

of the glorious limbs, covering, but never altogether hiding, the exquisite proportions of the beautiful and queenly forms. Here indeed we may say with Welcker that in the highest Greek art '*the dress is the echo of the form.*'

We should add that the aristocratic air of these figures was further heightened by rich bracelets and other ornaments of metal, the presence of which is surely indicated by the rivet-holes in which they were fastened.

XI. *Selênē*. A fragment of this Goddess driving the chariot of the setting moon was found to the east of the temple in 1840, and its right place in the pediment marked out by Beulé and Lloyd.¹ Like her pendant Helios, in the left corner, she only projects with part of her body above the surface of the waves, beneath which she is slowly sinking. Her small slight figure is clad in a simple chiton girt by two crossed bands over the breast, after the manner of charioteers, and she leans slightly forward in the attitude suitable to driving. On her back is a mutilated fragment of what was perhaps a chlamys, which fell like a shawl over her arms.

XII. *Horse's head* (fig. 103, *k*).² Goethe remarks of this matchless head that it is formed in the spirit of the sublimest poetry and reality combined; and that the artist has portrayed '*the original horse*' (Urpferd), which he had either seen with his own eyes or conceived in his mind. The head hangs partly over the edge of the geison, which has been cut away to make room for it. In Carrey's time there was still a defaced remnant of a second horse on the pediment. Very fine is the contrast between the impetuous rush with which the horses of the rising Sun burst wildly on to the scene, and the gentle gliding motion of the chariot of the Moon as it slowly and quietly sinks beneath the western wave.

We have already had occasion to dwell on the beauty and originality of design which distinguish this noblest of pedimental groups. The laws of the relief style in general and those which naturally arise from the triangular form of the *ἀετός*—the centraliza-

¹ This figure is not found in Carrey's drawings.

² Ruhl, *Pferdebildung d. ant. Plastik*, p. 23.

tion of interest, the parallelism of the two wings, the gradual increase in size and moral importance of the figures from the corners to the centre—are all strictly observed, but the artist never allows himself to be enslaved to the law; as administered by him it is no dead letter, but a living principle, a source of new and varied beauties. In the Æginetan group¹ the sculptor is evidently oppressed by the conditions under which he works, and the uniformity he observes is so rigid as to be almost wearisome. But by the genius of Pheidias this essential characteristic is relieved by such an infinite variety of graceful detail, that he seems to us to know no law but that of his own fertile imagination. Take for example the chariots of Helios and Selene in the left and right corners respectively. The external parallelism between them is perfect, and yet with what different thoughts and feelings do they fill our minds. And so with the Iris and the Nike. The one is borne aloft on her light and fluttering drapery, the other on her wings; the one is hurrying away from the scene of action to spread the joyful news, the other is flying towards the centre holding out the inestimable and immortal crown of victory in her outstretched hand.

In the Æginetan group again the increase of importance from corner to centre which the form of the pediment requires is for the most part external and formal. We pass from lying to kneeling, and then to standing figures. But in the Parthenon group there is a steady increase not only in the height of the figures, but in the liveliness of their movements, and in their moral importance; and the scene continually increases both in volume and interest, like the grand elastic *crescendo* in the march of Chopin.

Scarcely less surprising or less admirable than the general design, which we can ascribe to no one but Pheidias, is the variety of invention displayed in the individual groups and figures, and the air of majesty with which they are invested. As we gaze on these marvellous productions of a marvellous age, a sense of harmony and nobility pervades the soul. We feel that we are in the presence of beings of a grander mould, who are at once simpler and nobler than

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 124.

ourselves, whose ways are higher than our ways; who, unlike the creations of later and more trivial art, neither seek nor desire our admiration, and who, though so far removed from us, are as real existences in our eyes as the characters of Homer and Sophocles. 'These figures,' says Friederichs, 'are not *copied* from nature, but *created* after nature (*nachgeschaffen nicht nachgeahmt*), and although in these mighty and majestic forms the smallest details—even to the folds of the skin—are given, yet they appear to be born easily and without trouble, like a dialogue of Plato.'

It has been remarked that, with one or two exceptions, the back of all these figures is executed with the same care as the front. This has been sometimes ascribed to a supposed custom of submitting statues to the criticism of the public before placing them on the temple. It seems, however, to proceed rather from an instinct of creative genius, which is only found in certain periods of art. 'It has always filled me,' says the sculptor Rietschl, 'with a feeling of tender admiration, that the figures of the Parthenon are as carefully finished behind as before. The artist knew that when these statues had left his hands and studio, no mortal eye could ever see the charming work which his love and diligence and care had created and cherished. And now after 2,000 years we are permitted, rather by a happy accident than by historical necessity, to discover the true love-sacrifices of a genuine artistic soul. Why did the artist do that, in doing which he seemed to lose so much time and labour? He did it from a truly godlike creative impulse to call his work into being in full perfection, and *for its own sake*, as the flower springs up on the lonely uplands to bloom in the wilderness unvisited by man or beast. It serves no animal for food, and yet it is as perfectly developed as the most sumptuous flower in an ornamental garden.'¹

It is singular that by far the greater number of figures on these pediments are female, and consequently draped. It is the more remarkable because Pheidias especially excelled in the nude, and the treatment of drapery had not yet attained its highest perfection. The loss of the only nude figure, Aphrodite, which until the middle of the

¹ Friederichs, *Bausteine*.

eighteenth century was still seen on the western pediment, is the more to be deplored because we have no other means of learning the manner in which Pheidias represented the female form. In his treatment of the nude in the male figure he displays, as we have seen, the most consummate knowledge of the skeleton of the human frame, and the most exquisite skill in representing the innumerable surfaces of the body, as they imperceptibly flow and melt into each other, the texture of the skin, and the position and play of the veins and muscles. As we look on his wonderful works, we are fully persuaded that we have a living organism before us, that beneath that smooth elastic surface, all is there—bones, muscles, veins, and nerves.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON

(CONTINUED).

THE FRIEZE OF THE CELLA.

BEHIND the Triglyphon, or Doric frieze, with its metopes and triglyphs, which ran round the whole building above the external columns, we find another frieze on the Temple itself, under the portico. The inner Epistyle, or Architrave, above the walls of the Cella, is bordered at its upper extremity by a slightly projecting *tænia*, or fillet, under which are narrow *regulæ*, with the Doric *guttæ*, as if a triglyphon were coming above; instead of which we find the continuous Ionic frieze, sometimes called *Ζωφόρος* ('bearing the figures of living creatures'). This frieze is at nearly the same height (39-40 ft.) from the floor of the portico as the triglyphon itself, and is about 3 ft. 3 in. in breadth, and 522-3 ft. long. It is evident from its position that no direct light could fall upon it, but only the reflected light from the pavement. The high relief of the metopes, therefore, would have been out of place, as the light streaming from below would have thrown the upper part of the figures into shade.¹ The reliefs of this frieze consequently are remarkably low, not more than 1½-2 in. above the surface, except in the case of the heads, which are a little higher. Even this slight depth was sometimes divided into several surfaces, to give clearness to the outlines, and the edges are very sharp, and almost perpendicular to the background. Sometimes, too, in furtherance of the same object, the surfaces are placed obliquely, and a deep channel

¹ Cockerell, *Anc. Mar.* vi. 31. Ellis, *Elgin Mar.* i. 161.

is cut round the outlines ; and a part of the body—as the nose—is sometimes hollowed out underneath. In a few cases, on the N. and S. frieze, certain objects—cow's horns and carriage wheels—altogether project from the surface.¹

The Ionic frieze is well suited to the representation of a long train of moving figures ; and it was natural that the artist employed to decorate the frieze of the Parthenon should choose as his subject the most magnificent and beautiful of the many splendid *pomps* of which Athens boasted—the *great Panathenaic Procession*. On the occasion of this festival, all who were distinguished by rank or office, by remarkable genius or personal beauty, by success in war, or in dramatic, musical, or gymnastic contests, were proud to display their loyalty to her who was the queen and ruler, as well as the tutelary deity of their city. It seems probable that a Panathenaic festival was held every year, on the third day before the end of the month Hecatombaion (towards the middle of August) ; but that the 'great Panathenaics' (τὰ μεγάλα Παν.), to which Pisistratus gave their full splendour, were celebrated in the third year of every Olympiad.² It was on the 28th of Hecatombaion, the *great* day of this more splendid celebration,³ that the new crocus-coloured *Peplos* was solemnly carried to the Temple of Athênê Polias, and presented to the goddess Athênê. This magnificent robe, on which *the Battle of the Gods and Giants* was embroidered by Athenian women and maidens, was fixed to *the mast of a ship with wheels*, the absence of which in the Parthenon frieze has given rise to the many doubts and controversies briefly noticed below.⁴

The procession was arranged at daybreak in the Outer Ceramicus (Potters' quarter) ; passed through the Thriasian Gates (Δίπυλον) to the Dromos ; along the main street of the Inner Ceramicus to the market place ; then eastwards to the Eleusinium (temple of Demeter

¹ Michaelis, *Parth.* 204.

² Clinton, *Fast. Hell.* ii. 325 and 332.

³ Proclus, *ad Plat. Tim.* p. 9. Thucyd. vi. 56.

⁴ The only existing copy of this ship may be seen in the frieze of the small metropolitan church in Athens, called *the Panagia Gorgopico*. This frieze, which is probably from the

period of the Diadochi, is decorated with reliefs taken from some ancient building, and contains symbols of the months of the Attic year ; *Hecatombaion* being represented by the ship on wheels, which bore the *peplos*, as the principal feature in the Panathenaic pompa. Vid. Bötticher, *Philologus*, b. xxii. 3.

at Eleusis), NE. of the Acropolis, round the northern slope along the Pelasgicon (Pelasgic wall), and then through the Propylæa to the Temple of Athênê Polias.¹

The task of preserving order on this occasion was committed to heralds of the family of the Enneidæ, and among the honorary members of the procession were the Seers (μάντεις), the Nine Archons, the Ten Treasurers of Athênê, the Ten Hieropœi (Ἱεροποιοί, Overseers of the sacred rites), the Ten Strategi (Generals), the Ten Taxiarchi (brigadiers and generals of divisions), the Athenian Πομπεῖς (marshals?), the Theori (envoys) of the Attic colonies, with their victims, the Canephorî (basket-bearers, noble Athenian maidens), perhaps the Arrephorî,² the Metoikoi (resident aliens) dressed in red instead of white, and bearing sacred utensils, Athenian citizens, and a chosen company of Aged men bearing olive branches (Θαλλοφόροι).³ Then followed the four-horse chariots, a troop of cavalry with two Hipparchs (generals of cavalry) at their head, the ten Phylarchs, followed by young civilians on horseback, distinguished for their skill in riding, and a regiment of Hoplites, with their commanders.⁴

The question may be asked, how far does the Parthenon Frieze agree with this description? Is it a representation of the Panathenaic festival at all? The earlier travellers, Curiaco, Spon, Wheler, &c., contented themselves with giving the reliefs the general name of triumphal processions; and Chandler thought that they represented a sacrifice offered by the Athenian cavalry.⁵ Stuart was the first to see in them the Panathenaic festival, and his opinion has been the prevailing, though not the only one, ever since.⁶ Our limits forbid us to enter

¹ Michael. *Parth.* 213.

² Four girls of noble family, between seven and eleven, selected by the Archon Basileus, to superintend the weaving of the peplos, and to carry the sacred vessels.

³ Aristoph. *Vesp.* 524.

⁴ Michael. *Parth.* 214.

⁵ *Travels*, ii. 10.

⁶ Bötticher (in his learned and interesting work, *Zephyros am Parthenon*) and E. Curtius (*Griech. Gesch.* ii. 267) look on the scene as a mere προδῶν, or preparatory review of Attic processions in general, which, Michaelis thinks, was hardly a sight to

invite the Gods to (*Parthenon*, 206). Bötticher rejects the idea of the Panathenæa altogether, on the ground that certain of the characteristics of that festival are wanting, e.g. the garlands and fillets on the victims, the Canephorî, the Skiadephorî (parasol-bearers), the Diphrophorî (seat-bearers), Thallopforî, Hoplites, the Ship on wheels with the peplos, &c. He also denies that the Gods are represented in the Eastern frieze. Friederichs (*Bausteine*, 167) seems to think that the artist intended to represent a sort of triumphal procession in honour of a victor in the chariot race. Aug. Mommsen (*Heort-*

at large on this interesting controversy. The weight of authority and, we think, of testimony, especially since the publication of Michaelis' exhaustive and admirable work (which has been well called the 'critical text' of the Parthenon sculptures), favours the opinion that the subject of the frieze is *the Panathenaic procession*. We readily admit that it does not agree in all respects with the description which we have given above, and we believe that the peplos itself is wanting. But how should we expect an Attic artist, and such an artist, to treat a subject taken from actual life, and familiar to every citizen of Athens? We should not expect him to give an exact and realistic copy of the actual procession of any particular year, including every component part, whether suitable or unsuitable for plastic representation; but rather to represent it generally, and, as it were, ideally; giving enough to suggest the actual scene, but avoiding a literalism which could only weary the eye.

Having convinced ourselves of an essential unity of design in this frieze, we naturally look for the central point of interest, and we find it, as we should expect, at the E. end, and above the principal entrance of the temple. The starting-point of the two divisions of the procession, which march in opposite directions, is in the S.W. corner of the temple, and the heads of the two columns approach one another, but do not actually meet, in the eastern façade. Here they are separated from one another by a row of enthroned figures, representing the twelve gods, which again is interrupted by five smaller figures, standing, and apparently unaffected by what is going on about them.

The starting-point, as we have said, of the double procession is at the S.W. corner, so that one division marches along the whole of the W. and N. and part of the E., while the other moves along the S. and part of the E. sides. The first figure at the S. end of the W. frieze is a *marshal* (πομπεύς)? (fig. 107, *a*), who is about to wrap himself in his himation. Before him are *seven or eight youths* (fig. 107, *b*), employed in preparing themselves and their horses to join in the cavalry pro-

logie, pp. 116, 117) divides the frieze into four distinct scenes. Petersen sees in it the celebration of the Arrephoria in S. and

S.E., of the Plynteria in N. and N.E., and a Review of Cavalry in W.

FIG. 107, *a*.

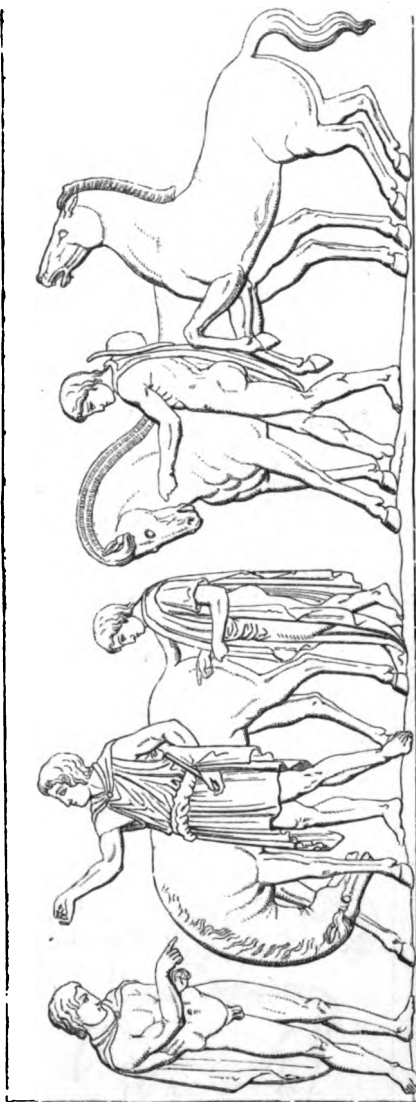


FIG. 107, *b*.



HORSEMEN PREPARING.

FIG. 107, *b*.



HORSEMEN PREPARING.

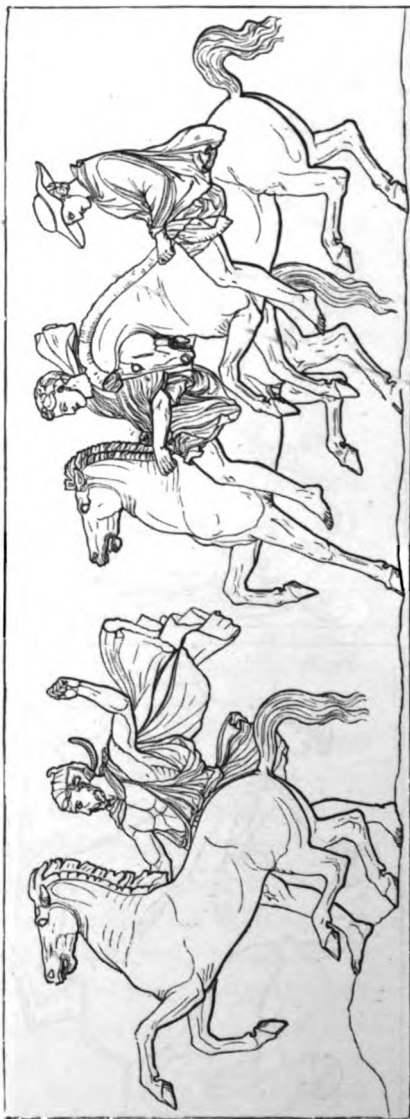
cession, one of whom wears *the broad-brimmed travelling hat* (πέτασος) (fig. 107, c*). These are preceded by *horsemen* already mounted on their eager and prancing steeds (fig. 107, c), and these again

FIG. 107, c.



RIDERS STARTING.

FIG. 107, c.



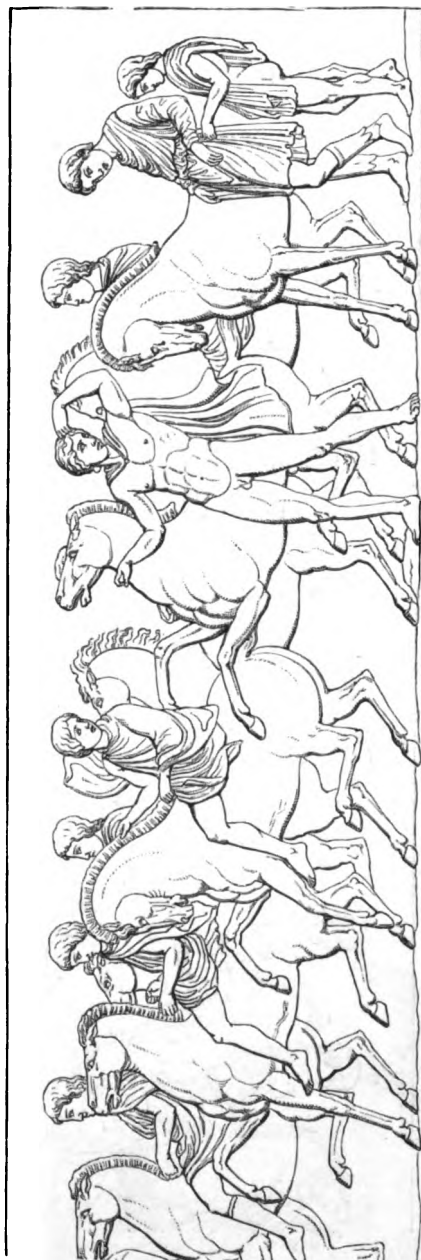
RIDERS STARTING.

FIG. 108.



RIDERS STARTING.

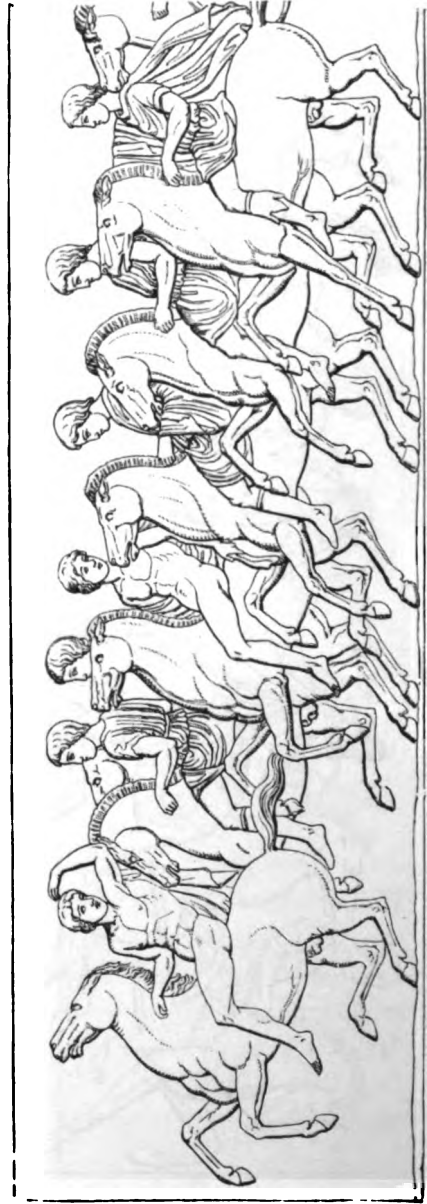
FIG. 109.



PROCESSION OF CAVALRY.



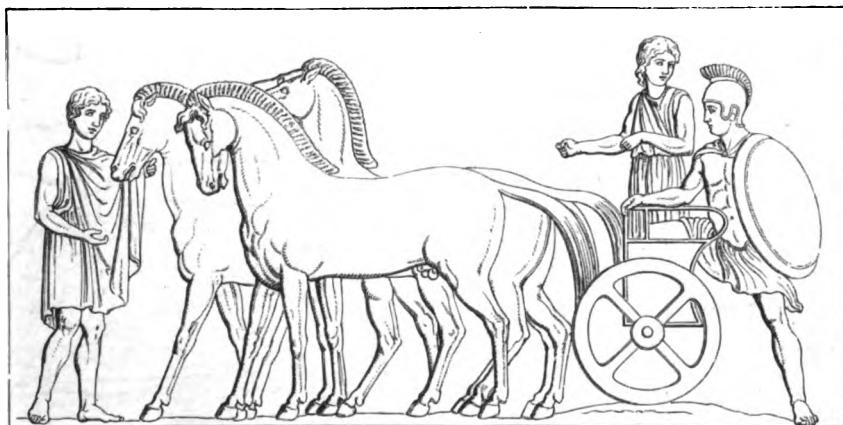
PROCESSION OF CAVALRY.



PROCESSION OF CAVALRY.

by others, engaged in preparation, or just mounted and ready to advance (fig. 108). On turning the corner to the N. side we find *a young slave busied in settling the dress of his master* (fig. 109), who is standing in an easy attitude beside his horse. Before him is a long *array of riders*, whose movements are at first quiet, but as the throng thickens the horses grow more and more excited and restive. They are evidently chafing at the slow pace to which they are constrained, and manifesting their impatience by every variety of vigorous action. We then come to *a line of four-horse chariots, with their*

FIG. 110, a.



PROCESSION OF CHARIOTS.

drivers (fig. 110, a and b) in their typical dress—a long flowing robe with or without sleeves, and cross bands over the chest. The beauty of this splendid array is heightened by the noble forms of *youthful warriors* (*ἀποβάται*¹) (fig. 110, a† and b†), with their shields, rich coats of mail, and high plumed helmets. The first team (fig. 110, a) is standing quietly enough, being held by a groom; but the excitement of the fiery animals goes on increasing until it reaches a climax of wild impetuosity in the foremost chariot of the line (fig. 110, b). Here

¹ ἀποβάτης, desultor, dismounter; one who leaped from the ground on to the chariot and back again. Conf. a votive relief of a

Warrior (Apobates) with his driver from Oropos, in the possession of M. de Sabouroff, Russian Ambassador at Berlin.

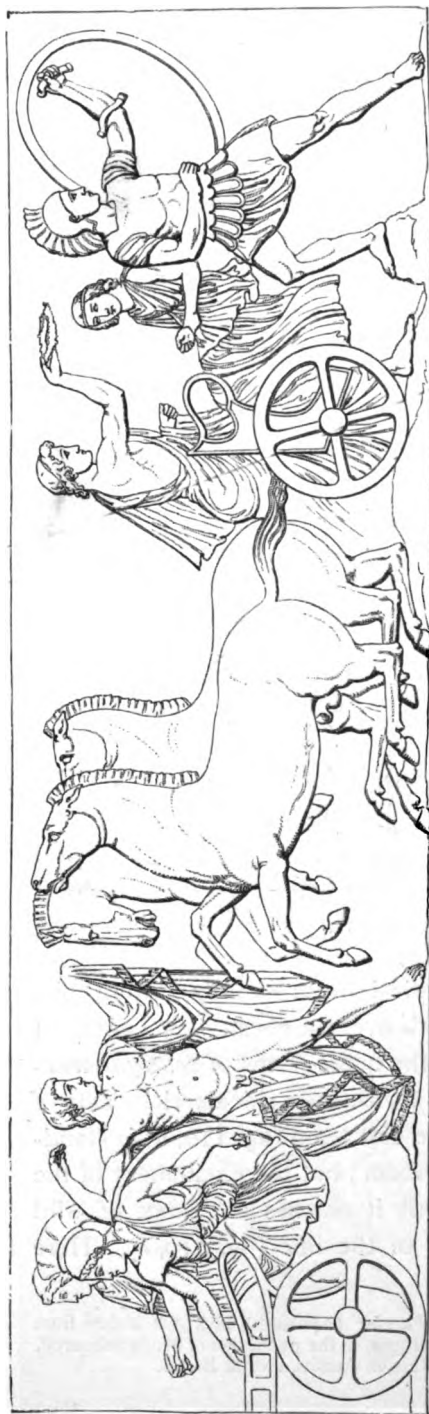


FIG. 110, b. PROCESSION OF CHARIOTS.



FIG. 111. TRAIN OF MUSICIANS AND YOUTHS.

and there we see *a marshal*, engaged in keeping order, and sometimes hardly escaping from being himself overborne by the throng (fig. 110, *b**). Before the chariots is *a company of men on foot*, marching slowly, and apparently conversing. These are preceded by *musicians* (fig. 111)—players on harp and pipe—and these again by three or four *youths bearing three-handled jars*, such as we find painted on the fictile vases with black ground and red figures. Then come three *youths with dishes* (?). Before these are the larger offerings ; first *sheep* (fig. 112), and then *bulls and cows* (fig. 113), which

FIG. 112.



SHEEP FOR SACRIFICE.

reach to the N.E. corner, where *the train of noble maidens* (fig. 114), walking two and two, begins on the E. front. Their uniform appearance, and modest, yet noble and self-possessed, demeanour form a beautiful contrast to the free and manly bearing and the joyous impetuosity of the youths on horseback. With these the moving portion of the procession is ended. The remaining space between them and the seated Deities is occupied by *two men in the dress of marshals*, exercising their functions, and *four others, young and old*, who are leaning on their staves and turning towards the procession which is approaching from the N. side (fig. 114).



FIG. 113. COWS FOR SACRIFICE.

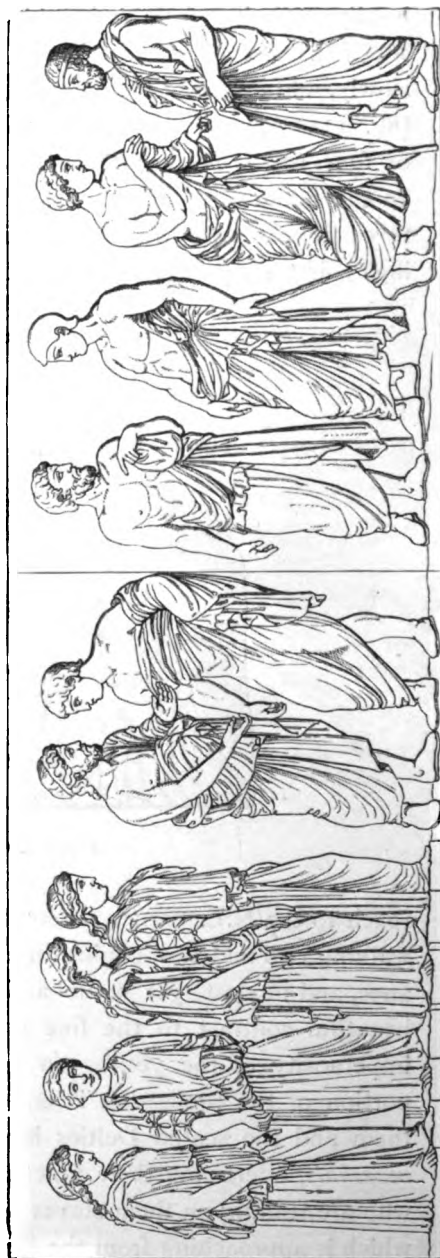


FIG. 114. TRAIN OF NOBLE MAIDENS.

We now return to the S.W. corner, and consider the other part of the procession, which moves along the S. side towards the same central point of meeting on the E. façade. Here, too, we find a marshal, who is preceded by horsemen similar to those in the N. frieze, but not producing so strong an impression of thronging, bustling, yet restrained and disciplined, life and force. The cavalry is preceded by a train of chariots, as on the opposite side, the first and last of which are standing still, while the drivers receive their instructions from the marshals. In front of these are men on foot, then cows, most of which walk along quietly enough, but some make desperate attempts to escape their fate.¹

¹ See the plates in Michaelis' *Der Parthenon* ; but, above all, the frieze itself in the British Museum.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SCULPTURES OF THE PARTHENON

(CONTINUED).

THE EASTERN FRIEZE.

OUR limits will not allow us to notice in detail the composition of the procession on the N., S., and W. façades. But it will be necessary to examine the eastern frieze, of which the interpretation presents at the same time the greatest interest, and by far the greatest difficulty. On turning the S.E. corner to the E. side of the frieze, we come, as usual, upon *a marshal*, who looks towards the S. division of the procession, and, as it were, beckons it to follow him. Before him march in uniform order and with quiet step a train of *female Metoikoi* (resident aliens)? (fig. 118)—some of whom wear a mantle over the chiton, and others a shorter garment, covering the back as low as the knees, like the Caryatids (κόραι) of the Temple of Athene Polias.¹ Some of them carry in their hands bowls or rather *pateræ* (φιάλαι ἀργυρίδες, χρυσίδες), which had a hole in the middle for the insertion of the finger (φιάλη μεσόμφαλος). Others carry cans or ewers (οἶνοχόαι) of precious metal. The curious object which figs. *a* and *b*, 118, are bearing between them has been variously interpreted as candelabra,² parasol³ (σκιάδεια), fan,⁴ and torch.⁵ Whatever it may be, the fact that it is borne by two persons in common seems to imply that it was heavy,

¹ Visconti seeks to distinguish maidens from matrons by the mantle, but nos. 50 and 51, with mantles, are certainly maidens.

² Visconti.

³ O. K. Müller apud Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 253

⁴ A. Mommsen.

⁵ Friederichs.

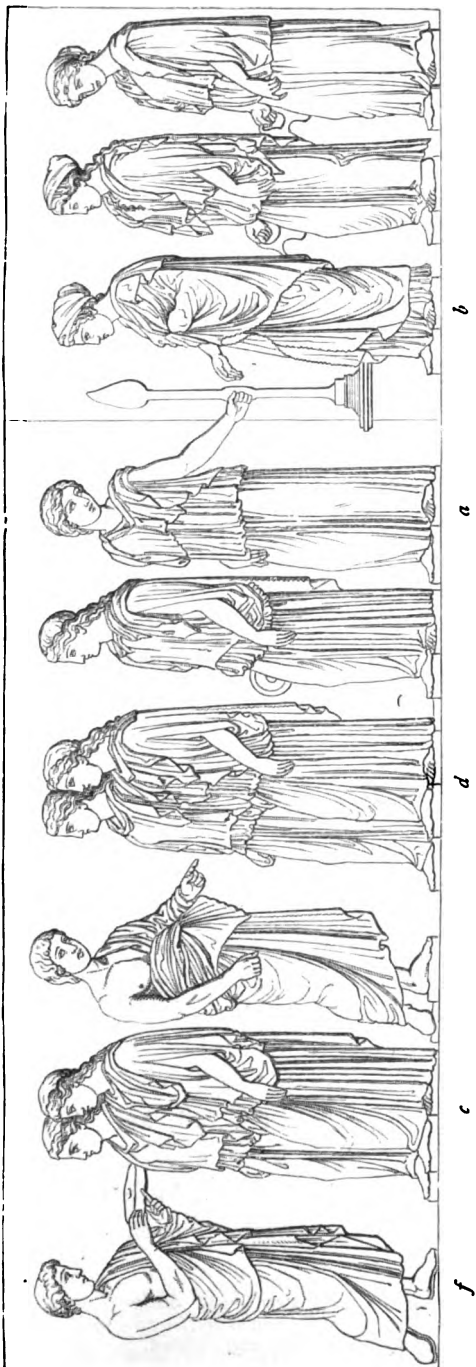


FIG. 115. PROCESSION OF FEMALE METOIKOI.



FIG. 116. ARCHONS? AND MARSHALLS.

and it is not improbable that it represents a *censer* (θυμιατήριον) or a candlestick (λύχνος). The foremost pairs (fig. 115, *c* and *d*) on this side as well as on the other (fig. 114) bear nothing in their hands, and their position at the head of the column, and their exemption from burdens, seem to mark them out as *distinguished female citizens* of Athens. Before the line of women is a *marshal or a seer* (fig. 116, *f*), who seems to be introducing them to the group of five men, who are, with much probability, supposed to be *Archons*.¹ These consist of both old and young men, who are clothed in the himation, and wear sandals. With the marshal, or seer, they form three couples, who are conversing together, leaning on their staves. The fact that they turn their back on the Gods who sit close to them in the frieze shows that the latter are invisible.

Passing over the whole central group of divinities, &c., which is only ideally present, we should carry our eyes straight to the remaining *four Archons* (fig. 116, *a, b, c, d*), before whom are *three office-bearers*. The first of these (fig. 115, *e*) faces the Archons with uplifted hand, and the two others turn towards the approaching file of women, from the foremost of whom 115 *f* receives a vessel.

THE CENTRAL GROUP OF DEITIES

(Fig. 117)

was above the main entrance of the temple in the eastern façade, and is the most important part of the whole frieze. Although the attributes which they once bore are too much defaced to afford us much assistance, we are, on the whole, able to recognise *the twelve enthroned persons with two attendants*, in the centre of the frieze, as Divinities; and in most cases, though not in all, we are able to name them with tolerable certainty.² The seated figures, which are on a larger scale than the rest, are divided, as we have seen, into two rows by the intervention of *five smaller human*

¹ Michaelis, *Parth.* 253. For these figures which are not given I must refer the reader to the frieze itself.

² Bötticher (*op. cit.*) strenuously denies their divinity, and regards them as *magistrate or eupatrids, with their wives and children*.

figures, who appear perfectly unconscious of the august presence on either side of them; as, indeed, do the groups of men (43-46,¹ and 20-23), of whom those nearest to the Gods (23 and 43) are actually turning their backs on the Olympian assembly. This and other considerations have given rise to the conjecture² that the twelve Gods and their attendants (24-30 and 36-42) should be considered as placed in a semicircular row behind the five central figures, and as invisible. The heads of the procession from S. and N. (23 and 43) would then be in immediate contact with the enigmatical group (31-35), who are evidently preparing for some religious function, and may be regarded as being in the interior of the temple, and also invisible.

The Gods of each division are turned towards the leading figures of the procession advancing from N. and S., but they are evidently invisible to their worshippers. What does their presence in this place signify? They must be there, on the invitation of Athênê, to witness the honours prepared for her by her beloved and faithful people, and to share in the sacrifice which they bring. Beginning on the left hand of the left division with no. 24 (fig. 117, *a*), we see a youthful figure, nude to the waist, wearing a small chlamys round his loins, and holding a *petasos* on his lap. In his hand is a hole, in which his *κηρύκειον* (caduceus) was probably fixed. These attributes, and the mingled ease and elasticity of his attitude and form, identify him as the unwearied messenger of the Gods, *Hermes*. Next to him sits another youthful god, clothed in the same way. He is sitting in an opposite direction to *Hermes*, but has just turned his head round to view the procession, so as to present his full front to the spectator; his right elbow rests familiarly on his companion's shoulder. Taking this figure in connexion with the following, I incline to the opinion of Dr. Flasch,³ that it can represent no other than *Apollo* ⁴

¹ These numbers refer to the work of Michaelis.

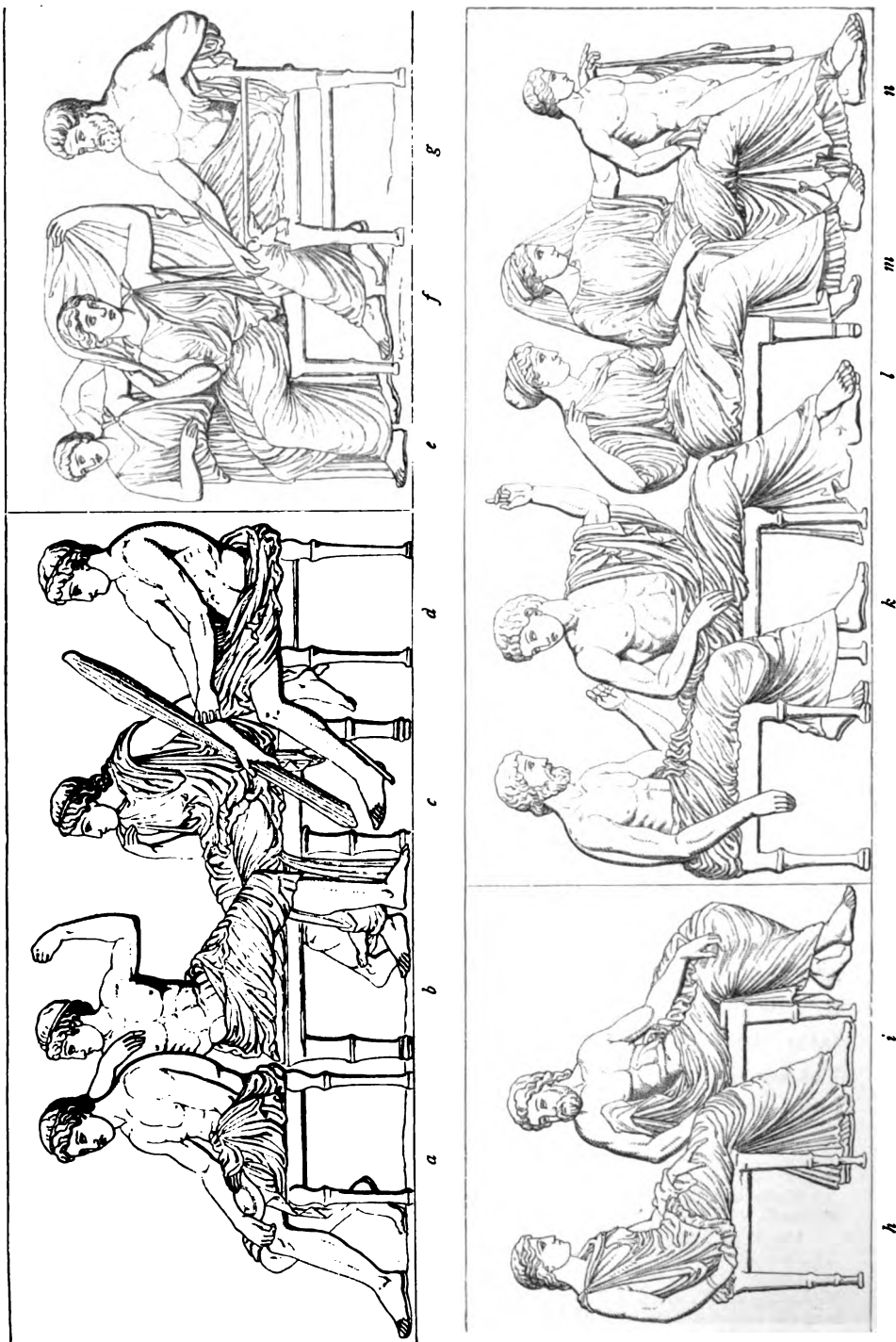
² Mr. A. S. Murray, *Architect*, Nov. 1878.

³ *Zum Parthenon-Fries*, Würzburg, 1877.

⁴ Leake (who gives him a beard!), Michaelis, and Petersen call him *Dionysos*, from the supposed care with which his dress

is folded, and the effeminacy implied by his sitting on a cushion. This supposed effeminacy, however, does not prevent Brunn from calling him *Ares* (*Bilder d. Parthenon*). Nos. 24 and 25 have also been named the *Dioscuri* by O. Müller, Welcker, &c.

FIG. 117.



(fig. 117, *b*) sitting opposite to his twin sister *Artemis*. One strong ground for this opinion is the fact that the feet of the Goddess are between the knees of the God, a position which, combined with the averted head of the latter, is hardly suited to a married couple, or a pair of lovers, and least of all to the austere character of the afflicted *Demeter*. The attitude is in any case a singular one, but its mingled familiarity and carelessness are least inconsistent with the relation between brother and sister.

Artemis (fig. 117, *c*), to whom Stuart assigns a long beard, is generally called *Demeter*, as the most suitable companion of 'Dionysus,' whom we prefer to name *Apollo*. The torch which she bears is an attribute of *Artemis* as well as *Demeter*. She is clad in a sleeveless chiton and a short mantle, which hangs down her back; and there are indications of long back hair, which is also in favour of her being a maiden goddess.¹

Ares (fig. 117, *d*), often called *Dionysos*, draped like the preceding male deities, is remarkable for his very *nonchalant* and extremely un-Olympian attitude. With his left leg thrown over his staff, he clasps his right knee tightly with both hands, and brings his foot into contact with the seat. Who is this unmannerly God, who shows so little respect for the place and the presence in which he sits? *Visconti* was the first to give him the name of *Triptolemos*, on the ground of his connexion with the supposed 'Demeter;' and this designation has been adopted by the majority of writers. *Leake*, *A. Mommsen*, and *Flasch*, more correctly, as I believe, think that the impetuous (*θοῦπος*)² *Ares* is here represented, endeavouring, as it were, to put a curb on his own fiery impatience. It is hardly conceivable that *Pheidias* would represent *Dionysos* throwing his leg in so careless a manner over his *thyrsos*; for, God of wine and revelry as he was, he never lost a certain dignity of demeanour, and even in his cups was 'always the gentleman.' Still less could *Apollo* put his sacred laurel to so trivial a use; and if we confine ourselves to the Twelve Gods, we are brought, by the method of exhaustion, to *Ares*.

The four divinities above described form a more closely associated

¹ *Flasch* (p. 54) follows here the opinions of *H. A. Müller*, *Panathenaica*, p. 123.

² *Iliad*, v. 355. *Flasch*, *zum Parth.* p. 12.

group. Passing over the next figure to the right, which represents a subordinate personage (fig. 117, *e*) *standing* in the back-ground, we come to

Hêrê (fig. 117, *f*), dressed in the sleeveless chiton, which displays the beautiful arms for which she is celebrated (λευκώλενος). Turning to Zeus, her almighty lord, by whose side she sits, she lifts the veil from her immortal charms by a graceful sweep of the left arm.

Iris (fig. 117, *e*) is a maiden-goddess, standing in reverential attendance on *Hêrê*, with one arm raised on high, and the other crossed over her bosom. At first sight of her the name of *Hêbê* rises to our lips; but if, as is generally assumed, she is winged,¹ we must call her either *Iris* or *Nike*, of which names, with *Stuart*,² we prefer the former.

Zeus (fig. 117, *g*). Even without the presence of his consort there would be no difficulty in recognising the great king of Gods and men in this figure. He is distinguished above all his assessors, not only by the easy majesty and dignified repose of his bearing, but also externally by the throne on which he sits, which alone has arms, and cross pieces between the legs. The two most illustrious denizens of Olympus, with their attendants, also form a separate group, with which the left half of the divine *consessus* ends.

Passing over the five central figures,³ which we may regard as out of sight, we come to *Athênê* (fig. 117, *h*), in whom the majority of commentators see a priestess of *Athênê*, but whom we believe to be the Virgin Goddess herself.⁴ This figure is more in profile than the rest, and slighter in form, and has about it a certain air of virginity, which we feel but cannot analyse or describe. She wears the sleeveless chiton. Her left arm lies close to her side, and the hand rests on her lap, in which there are indications of small serpents, forming perhaps the border of her ægis. The right arm, which held a metal lance, rests on her seat.

Hephæstus (fig. 117, *i*). Next to *Athênê* sits a bearded god, with his loins and legs wrapped in the himation. His left arm rests on his

¹ Lloyd, Bötticher, and Overbeck deny this.

² *Antiq. of Athens*, ii. cap. i.

³ Vid. p. 296.

⁴ *Flasch, zum Parthenon*.

lap, and he supports himself by a staff (*σκήπτρον παχύ*)¹ under his right shoulder. The upper part of his person, which is nude, is disproportionately massive and heavy, like that of a smith, and we have no difficulty in recognising Hephæstus. In his character of artificer he has a claim to sit near Athênê, whose counsel and assistance he needed in the fabrication of his wonderful works of art. Here a slight break occurs in the line of deities, and we then come to four more intimately associated figures :—

Poseidon (fig. 117, *k*) is a dignified form, bearded, and with soft flowing hair ; his lower limbs are wrapped in the himation. The artist has given the mighty ruler of the seas a proud and aristocratic bearing, suitable to his lofty rank ; but not the ineffable air of unquestioned supremacy which breathes in the form of his almighty brother Zeus.

Dionysus (fig. 117, *l*). Almost all the archæologists of the earlier part of the present century called this figure *Theseus*, and it has since then borne successively the names of Apollo, Hephæstus, etc. It probably represents Dionysus. Both the attitude and the dress, which differs from that of the other figures, are favourable to this interpretation. The right arm lies carelessly on the drapery by the right thigh, and the left is elevated, resting on the *thyrsos*. The himation, which is drawn closely round the loins, reaches to the feet, and passing up the back, falls in a broad fold over the left shoulder and upper arm on to the lap. The soft and dreamy expression of the face, and the listless effeminate air of the whole figure, correspond with the richer dress ; and the garland indicated by the ten small holes in the head is characteristic of the voluptuous God of wine and revel.²

The interpretation of the next group, consisting of two females and a boy (fig. 117, *m, n, o*), is attended with peculiar difficulties.

The earlier archæologists called the first of these (*m*) Aglauros, and this name was afterwards changed to that of Cora (Proserpine). Some of the most eminent writers of the present day³ agree

¹ *Iliad*, xviii. 416. Flasch, *zum Parth.* 18.

² Flasch, *l. c.*

³ Michaelis, Conze, Friederichs. The

name *Peitho* was first suggested by K. O. Müller in 1829.

in calling her Peitho (Suadela), the Goddess of Persuasion. The great, and to my mind insuperable, objection to this appellation is the extreme unlikelihood that the artist would give to a mere personification, an adjunct and living attribute of Aphrodite, so very distinguished a place among the great Gods of Olympus. Nor is it easily conceivable that he should allot three places, in the very limited space at his disposal, to one Goddess and her train.¹ This last objection has been strongly urged by Dr. Flasch, but his own suggestion that Demeter is here represented appears hardly more satisfactory.² The name of the grave, solemn (*σμενή*), afflicted mother of Persephone is almost the last which would rise to our lips on looking at this beautiful and voluptuous form, with the waving hair and partially uncovered breast. We should certainly take her for Aphrodite were it not that the boy in the group, generally named Eros, leans not against her but her neighbour. Notwithstanding this great difficulty, we are inclined to call fig. 117, *m*, *Aphrodite*, fig. 117, *n*, *Demeter*, and the boy (fig. 117, *o*) Triptolemos.³ Or we may suppose that for artistic reasons Eros was not placed close to his beautiful mother.

Aphrodite (?) (generally called Demeter) (fig. 117, *l*) is dressed in chiton and himation. The former has fallen a little from the shoulder of the left arm, which hangs by her side and reveals the upper part of the bosom. Her raised right hand rests lightly on the top of her chiton.⁴ Her hair is wavy, and the back of the head is bound with a cloth in the shape of a very becoming cap.

Demeter (?), *Aphrodite*? (fig. 117, *n*). Michaelis, Conze, and Friederichs agree in calling this figure Aphrodite, and Dr. Flasch concurs. It is difficult to resist such a weight of authority, but she appears both in dress and demeanour to be very unlike the wanton, laughter-loving Goddess. She is more completely covered

¹ Praxiteles, the favourite of Aphrodite, might do this, but not Pheidias.

² Flasch, *zum Parth.* p. 33. Dr. Flasch speaks of her 'ländliche Einfachheit und Anspruchslosigkeit,' *rustic simplicity and modesty*! It is with no small apprehension that we differ from Dr. F., who attributes 'the ears of Midas' to all who

dispute his theory. 'It is ill arguing with one who wears such *very* thick boots.'

³ Bötticher (*Zophoros am Parthenon*, p. 206) denies the wings, on which the name of Eros rests.

⁴ Dr. Flasch sees in her negligent attire *the comfortable carelessness of the matron as compared with the anxious modesty of the virgin!*

than any of her female assessors, and her head is thickly veiled. Even Dr. Flasch allows that her appearance is unusually quiet and respectable, and ascribes this to her position among the Twelve Gods, and *her distance from Ares!* She leans her right elbow familiarly on the knee of her companion, and points with her outstretched left hand, which rests on the shoulder of a boy, at some object in the distance.

Triptolemos (?), Eros (?), (fig. 117, *o*), is almost entirely nude, but a small chlamys is discernible on the arms; his curly hair is bound with a fillet, and in his left hand he holds a parasol with a long handle, either for his own or his mother's(?) use. If he is really winged, as is generally believed, though the traces of wings are not easy to discern, and we recognise Aphrodite in fig. 120, *n*, we are constrained to see her constant attendant Eros in the beautiful boy who leans so confidently against her.¹

THE FIVE CENTRAL FIGURES.¹

(Fig. 118.)

This remarkable and enigmatical group, flanked on either side by the two rows of Olympian deities described above, consists of two principal figures, male and female, and three smaller subordinate figures; viz. two girls bearing seats, and a boy holding a garment.

The principal male personage, *a priest?* (fig. 118, *a*), who is bearded and wears only the short-sleeved chiton, without a girdle, holds in his hands a garment, or a piece of cloth, which he appears to have just folded up. Opposite to him stands *a boy* (118, *b*), over whose shoulder hangs a long mantle, and who places his hands on either side of the garment, which he appears to be *receiving*.

The principal female figure, *a priestess?* (fig. 118, *c*), stands with her back to the priest, and opposite to *two girls* (fig. 118, *d, e*), who carry seats on their heads, which are protected by the usual pad or

¹ Brunn calls this group Cora, Demeter and Iacchos, not believing in the wings of the last.

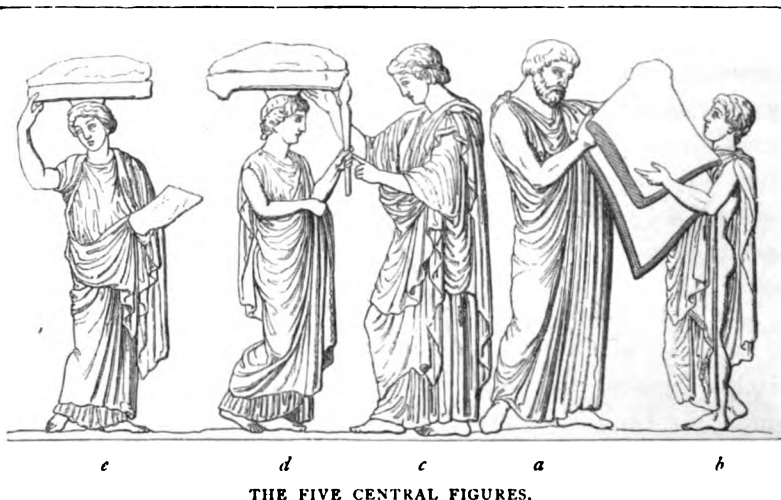
² For the *lively* controversy on the mean-

ing of these figures, vid. Michaelis, *Parth.* p. 255; Flasch, *zum Parth.* p. 98; and Bötticher, *Zephoros am Parthenon*.

knot (τύλη,¹ σπείρα²). Both are dressed in the sleeveless chiton and mantle, and the foremost seems to be delivering up the object (a chair?) on her head, while the other awaits her turn to do the same.

A warm controversy has arisen : I. respecting the character and functions of these five figures ; II. on the question whether the girls and boy are *delivering* up or *receiving* the seats and garment ; and III. on the nature of the cloth in the hands of the priest. According to the majority of writers the two maidens are Arrephori ('Ἀρρηφόροι);³ the central figure (c) a Priestess of Athênê; fig. a the

FIG. 118.



Archon Basileus ; and fig. b a consecrated servant boy, delivering up the *peplos*.⁴ Michaelis calls the maidens Diphrophori (διφροφόροι, chair-bearers); the chief male figure he names, with some doubt, however, the Treasurer ; the female figure, the Priestess of Athênê Polias ; and the boy a servant with the sacred peplos.⁵

¹ Aristoph. *Ach.* 860, 954.

² Apollodor. ii. 5. 11.

³ Also called 'Ἐρρηφόροι, 'Ἐρρηφόροι (Aristoph. *Lysist.* 642), maidens chosen by the Archon to superintend the weaving of the peplos.

⁴ In Eurip. *Hecuba*, v. 465, the chorus of captive women ask whether they shall be

taken to Athens to be employed in embroidering the peplos :—

ἡ Παλλάδος ἐν πόλει
τὰς καλλιδίφρου τ' Ἀθαναίας ἐν κροτέφ πέπλῳ
ζεύξομαι ἄρματι πάλῳ,
ἐν δαιδαλέοισι ποικίλλουσ' ἀνθοκρόκοισι πῆναις.

⁵ Michael. *Parthen.* 255. Conf. Petersen, *Kunst. d. Pheidias*, 303.

It is easier to find difficulties in these views than to suggest a better. But the presentation of the sacred robe was the most important part of the whole solemnity, and it is hardly conceivable that the artist would represent such a function as being performed by a boy and a half-dressed man in an ungirt chiton. The explanation of Dr. Flasch, though, of course, entirely conjectural, is not without plausibility.¹ A sacrificial festival, he says, in honour of Athênê, is in preparation, and the whole people of Athens are proceeding in festal array to the Temple,² where the sacrifice is to be performed. In near vicinity to the Olympian Deities and the central group are maidens, as we have seen, bearing holy vessels. At the head of the two divisions of the procession, and still nearer to the centre of the E. group than the maidens, are several male figures standing still and conversing, for there is yet time before all is arranged for the final act. When all is ready the sacrifice will begin. The male and female figures are the officiating priest and priestess, for whom the maidens (*διφροφόροι*) are bearing seats. The priest has just taken off his upper garment, and delivers it to the boy. He is preparing himself for the performance of his holy functions. The necessary implements are being brought to him by the foremost of the train of maidens, who has just handed over the basket containing the sacred knife.³ In the space between the people and the priest the invisible Gods take their places, and rejoice in the coming sacrifice of their pious worshippers.

Although we find in this most beautiful work the clearest evidence of unity of design, a minute examination of its details brings to light a very marked difference of merit in the execution of its different parts. And this is exactly what we might expect. The conception could only take place in one mind—that of Pheidias himself—but the actual execution of a frieze extending over more than five hundred feet must have been the work of many different hands, of very different degrees of cunning. Of the difficulty of the task undertaken by Pheidias himself, and of the manner in which he has overcome that

¹ Flasch, *zum Parthenon*, p. 98.

² According to this view the temple intended is not the Parthenon itself, but the Temple of Athênê Polias.

³ Aristoph. *Pax*, 948.

difficulty, only an *artist*—an artist with a touch of the great master's spirit—can form an adequate idea. He had to mediate between the rival claims of Architecture and Sculpture; he had to reconcile the laws of Relief and the laws of Nature. According to the essential principle of *Isocephalism*, which we have explained above,¹ and which Pheidias has unflinchingly observed, he has made his men, on foot, on horseback, and in chariots, of the same height as his company of marching women and his enthroned divinities. Such incongruities, however unavoidable, are the reverse of beautiful in themselves, but the artist has so far mitigated their evil effects that our sense of harmony and proportion is nowhere offended. It is not without effort that we can bring ourselves to see how far the truth of Art has deviated from the truth of Nature.

Again, the artist has to represent a procession, and yet to avoid the sameness, the wearisome monotony, which seem inseparable from such a subject, but which would have been intolerable to a Grecian eye. Of the taste and skill with which Pheidias has solved this problem, and introduced infinite variety without destroying general uniformity, we may judge most correctly by comparing this frieze with Assyrian, Egyptian, and even Roman works in which similar subjects are treated.

The technical skill displayed in different parts of the frieze is, as we have said, very unequal. The horses on the S. side, for example, are executed with far less care than those on the N. side, which were more seen by visitors, and therefore, perhaps, committed to better hands. There is also a very marked difference of merit in the treatment of the drapery in different figures, which in some cases, as in *Diana* (?) (Demeter?), no. 26 (fig. 117, c), and in nos. 29, 33, 36 (fig. 117, f, k, n) of the E. frieze, is almost faultless, while nos. 38, 39, and 40, and others, leave much to be desired.²

Yet though there are unmistakable traces of different hands in different figures, and though some of these are as worthy of a separate analysis and study as the finest statue, yet they are all so admirably subordinated to the general effect that the eye is never checked as it

¹ P. 60.

² Conf. Michael. *Parth.* p. 223.

wanders with delight along the 'exulting and abounding' stream of warm and vigorous life.

No less marvellous than this combination of rich elaboration of detail with unity of effect is the preservation of order amidst freedom and of freedom amidst order. The frieze, as a whole, gives the impression of a regular solemn pilgrimage, invested with all the sanctity and formal dignity of a high religious function; and yet there is in each separate figure a certain individuality, we might almost say a certain *laissez aller*, which seems almost incompatible with uniformity and order. Scarcely two figures can be found which do not differ from one another in attitude, or dress, or general expression. There is not one that is not employed, and employed in a manner pleasing to the eye of the spectator. Every man and woman, every horse, cow, and sheep, has its own character, its own *raison d'être*, and yet they all fit in exactly to their places as essential parts of the beautiful and harmonious whole.

Nor is it only as an inexpressibly sublime and noble work of art that these reliefs are precious to us. They set before us in a way which no mere words can do the very form and spirit of Periclean Athens—of the Athenian State at the height of its strength and glory, when the yet unbroken force of freedom was directed, not by vulgar, greedy demagogues, but by a heaven-born king of men. It is the very epitome of Attic history, and teaches us more than a thousand treatises. From the Gods of Olympus with their priests to the poor dumb victims which bled upon their altars; from the Archon and Eupatrid to the charioteer and the slave groom, all are there. In long array we behold the stately magistrates and the venerable seers of Athens, the sacred envoys of dependent states, the victors in their chariots drawn by the steeds which had won for them the cheap but priceless garland, the full-armed warriors, the splendid cavalry, and the noble youths of 'horse-loving' Athens on their favourite steeds, in the flush and pride of their young life; and last, not least, the train of high-born Athenian maidens, marching with bowed heads and quiet gait, for they are engaged in holy work, with modest mien, and gentle dignity and grace. All that was sacred, powerful, and grand, all that was beautiful, graceful, and joyous in Athenian life, is represented there,

in ideal form, of course, but in strict conformity with the realities of life. Herein lie the strength and the glory of Greek art, that in its highest aspirations after that ideal beauty which exists nowhere but in the soul, it always remains in the closest relation and affinity to Nature; and herein lies the infinite advantage of the Greek artist over every other, that Greek life was in itself so eminently plastic, that at every turn he beheld forms and groups which invited plastic representation.

It is by the study of such works as these that we get the clearest insight into the essence and spirit of classical antiquity. In these monuments of art, as well as in those of literature, we discern the ineffable nobleness, dignity, and grace of the ancient Greek mind, the full sense of which filled and entranced the soul of Milton, and bent the stubborn knee of Göthe, and has been through countless ages a source of lofty inspiration and rapturous delight to the noblest minds of every civilised nation of the world.

CHAPTER XXVI.

OTHER WORKS FROM THE AGE OF PHEIDIAS.

RELIEF OF THE ELEUSINIAN DEITIES

(ATHENS).

(Fig. 119.)

THIS large relief,¹ the principal figures of which are more than six feet high, was found at Eleusis in 1859. It represents the Eleusinian deities, *Demeter* and *Cora*, with a boy between them, probably *Triptolemos*.² The Goddess on the left, who holds a long sceptre, is placing something in the hand of the youth, who looks up at her with reverential attention. The other Goddess, who bears a torch, is crowning him with a garland. What holy function is here being performed it is impossible to say. If it is a votive offering, it is probably dedicated in honour of some youth, who had devoted himself to the service of the Eleusinian deities, or had received some mark of their especial favour; for we know that it was customary to clothe personal and individual occurrences in a mythical dress.

There is a very remarkable difference in the style in which the two female figures are executed. The one on the right is moulded with all the freedom of fully developed art, and both form and drapery are in the highest degree flowing, easy and graceful; while the archaic stiffness and perpendicular lines of the other remind us strongly of the Vesta Giustiniani.³ We can only suppose that they are copied from well-known objects of worship in Athens, which the artist wished to recall to the mind of the spectator. This intentional archaism, and

¹ Vid. *Mon. d. Inst. Arch.* plate 45.an Athenian herd-boy (*Kön. Mus.* p. 70).² *Iacchos?* *Ploutos?* Bötticher calls him³ Vid. *supra*, p. 167.

the awe so visibly expressed in the face of the youth, give a greater air of solemnity and sanctity to this relief than is to be found in any of the Parthenon sculptures.

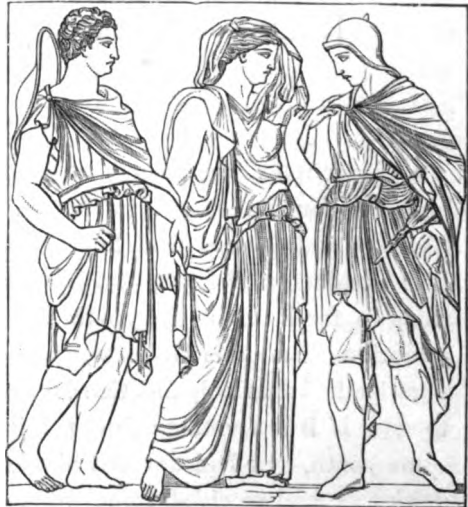
The difference between the two goddesses was enhanced by the bracelet, necklace, and earrings worn by the figure to the right, which are all indicated by the rivet holes in which they were fastened ; and

FIG. 119.



DEMETER, CORA, AND IACCHOS.

FIG. 120.



ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE.

the charming variety afforded by the two styles of drapery, contrasted with the nude figure of Triptolemos, renders this one of the most pleasing specimens of the Attic relief.

RELIEF OF ORPHEUS, EURYDICE, AND HERMES (ROME, VILLA ALBANI ; NAPLES, PARIS).

(Fig. 120)

This relief, which exists in three different copies, is one of the best known and most popular works of ancient art. The one at Naples

is inscribed with the names of *Orpheus, Eurydice, and Hermes*,¹ and although we may fairly doubt the genuineness of this inscription, the scene carries with it its own interpretation. The artist represents with exquisite feeling and taste the final parting between the faithful pair, the sad result of the fatal, yet so pardonable, indiscretion of Orpheus.

The myth is almost too well known to need relation here. When the beautiful Eurydice died, Orpheus followed her to the infernal regions, and by the irresistible power of his lyre moved the stern hearts of Persephone and of Hades himself:—

Nec regia conjux
Sustinet oranti, nec qui regit ima, negare.²

Eurydice was summoned and allowed to follow her husband to the realms of light and life, on condition that Orpheus did not look back at his rescued wife until they had emerged from the Avernian valleys. Just as they had reached 'the margin of the upper earth,' the Rhodopeian hero, overpowered by anxiety and love, 'turned his loving eyes,' and forthwith Eurydice glides back into the murky gloom of Hades, and is lost to him for ever.³ According to the poet, his stretched-out arms caught nothing but the yielding air;⁴ the more merciful sculptor grants the unhappy pair a moment's parting, and that is represented here.

The theme is treated with the utmost simplicity and tenderness of feeling; and we know no better example of the tendency of the best Greek art to moderate the external manifestation of emotion. Here are no loud wailing, no distorted features, no frantic gestures, no wild *abandon*, and yet its very moderation and self-restraint only render the scene more pathetic and affecting. Eurydice leans affectionately towards the faithful one who had faced the king of terrors to save her—to whom life was worthless without her,⁵—and gently lays her hand upon his shoulder. Orpheus raises his hand to hers, while he

¹ The copy in Paris bears the modern and erroneous inscription of Amphion, Antiope, and Zethos.

² Ovid, *Metam.* x. 46.

³ Virg. *Georg.* iv. 499:—

Ceu fumus in auras
Commixtus tenues, fugit diversa.

⁴ Ovid, *Metam.* x. 58:—

Brachiaque intendens, prendique et prendere captans
Nil nisi cedentes infelix arripit auras.

Conf. xi. 63.

⁵ Ovid, *Metam.* x. 38:—

Quod si fata negant veniam pro conjuge, certum
Nolle redire mihi. Leto gaudete duorum.

looks for the last time on his twice-lost love. It is but for a moment ; for there is another hand on hers, that of Hermes, with his dread wand :—

Non lenis precibus fata recludere.

Yet even he seems for once to perform his task unwillingly!

No subject could have been more happily chosen by a loving husband to express his mingled grief and love for a departed wife

FIG. 121.



FIG. 122.



SEPULCHRAL STELÆ.

than this touching incident in the life of the pair who were to the Greeks the very types of conjugal fidelity.¹

This beautiful work is one of a large class of sepulchral reliefs in Attic style,² many of which have been discovered lately in the

¹ Both figures (Orpheus and Eurydice) are copied on sepulchral urns now in the Museum on the Acropolis at Athens.

² Vid. Stackelberg's *Gräber d. Hellenen* and Pervanoglu's *Grabsteine d. alten Griechen*. The principal forms of Greek sepulchres were—

I. The *stèle* with the anthemion; vid. *Stele of Aristion*, p. 106.

II. The Heroon, or small temple, with an *æros* (pediment), supported by two square antes or by round pillars. (Fig. 121.)

III. Massive marble vases (hydriæ), generally of later date than the stelæ, although

Ceramicus in Athens, and are either *in situ* or in one of the museums of that city. We subjoin two of the most interesting, one of them that of a *beautifully draped figure* of a deceased woman, to whom her attendant is offering the jewel casket, which so often plays a part on Greek gravestones; and another (from Lamia? in Thessaly) of a *deceased youth* (fig. 122), who is stretching out his hand to a bird cage, while his favourite animal, a cat, sits near him on a pillar. In the corner is the typical *boy*, who appears to be mourning.

A very common ornament of Attic graves is *the Siren* (fig. 123), generally holding a lyre fashioned from a tortoise-shell; and sometimes blowing the double flute. The Sirens often appear in the character of mourners or 'wailers,' tearing their hair and beating their breasts to denote the extremity of grief. Euripides refers to them in this sense, and calls them *παρθένοι χθονὸς κόραι*.¹ But they also typify the delusive nature of human delights and pleasures which lure men on, like the followers of Odysseus, to inevitable death and decay.² They may be looked on as *the Muses of the calm and bright but treacherous sea*.

Other reliefs of the Attic school, whether of the older or younger may fairly be doubted, are the sepulchral *Stèle of Phrasicleia*; of *Ameinocleia*; of *Hegeso*; of *Demetria and Pamphile*; of *the Athenian Dexileos on horseback*, who fell in the Corinthian war (394 B.C.) at the age of twenty; and many others of great beauty, all in Athens; *Medea Asteropeia and Antinoe* (in the Lateran), in which Medea is persuad-

FIG. 123.



SIREN.

some are from the best period.

IV. Stelæ with painted figures instead of carved reliefs, or with only a simple inscription. The *locus classicus* on this subject is in Pausanias, ii. 7. 3: Τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι λίθον δὲ οἰκοδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφίστασι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς ἀετοὺς μέλισσα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς. This ἐπίθημα represented the house of the deceased, the parting scene, or the adoration of the women. ¹ Eurip. *Hel.* 167.

² The phases of character attributed to the Sirens are very numerous. Pausan. (i. 21. 2) says that when Sophocles died, Dionysus ordered the Athenians to honour him as '*a new Siren*.' Christodorus (*Ecphr.* 350) says, referring to Homer, Πιερικῆς Σειρήνος ἄφρων ἔργον ὑφαίνων. E. Curtius connects the Sirens with Aphrodite, 'Die Sirene ist nur eine Form der Aphrodite. Sie waltet auf Gräbern und Friedhöfen wie die Aphrodite Epitymbia.'—*Arch. Zeit.* N. F. iii. p. 10.

ing the unhappy daughters of Pelias to cut up and boil their father, trusting to her promise to restore him to life and youth; *Zeus and Hephestos* (in Schloss Tegel); *Odysseus conjuring the shade of Teiresias from Hades* (in the Louvre); *Zeus, Thetis and Hêrê* (in the Louvre), where Hêrê is looking suspiciously at the supplicating Sea Goddess; the so-called *Alcibiades among the Hetæræ* in Naples; the well-known and beautiful relief called *l'élévation de la fleur* in the Louvre, representing a young lady and her attendant in the long-sleeved dress of the female slave, each holding up a flower; a relief with a similar *motif* in the Acropolis at Athens; a relief of *women dancing rapidly along* (in Athens), apparently part of a larger group; and the well-known and magnificent *alto relievo* in the Villa Albani at Rome, representing *a combat between a horseman and a foot soldier*. All these are of a good period of Greek art, and of high excellence, although, as we must suppose, the work of mere artisans.¹

FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO IN PHIGALEIA (BRIT. MUS.).

We now come to speak of a monument of what is in the main Attic art discovered in a region to which we should hardly expect its influence to extend, viz. in Phigaleia, in the S.W. corner of Arcadia, about twenty-five miles from Olympia. This rugged district appears to have had a peculiar religious sanctity of its own, and was spared by Apollo when he visited the rest of Greece with pestilence, at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war. To this distant and secluded part of Greece the immortal Attic architect Ictinus was summoned to build a temple to Apollo *Ἐπικούριος*, on the slopes of Mount Cotylion, more than 3,000 feet above the sea and about a mile from the town of Bassæ. The building of this temple was begun in 430 B.C., the second year of the Peloponnesian war, and, according to Pausanias, it surpassed all the temples of the Peloponnesus except that of Tegea. It is of moderate size but beautiful proportions, and combines the Doric order on the exterior with the Ionic in the interior. It is of bluish white

¹ Other beautiful reliefs of this class may be seen in the Ceramicus, and in the Museum on the Acropolis at Athens. Conf. Schöne, *Griech. Reliefs*.

limestone, but the finer ornamental parts of the structure are of Parian marble. The roof was tiled with slabs of white marble, which Byzes of Naxos is said to have been the first to fabricate in Ol. 50 (B.C. 580). It is remarkable also for its position, standing as it does north and south, instead of east and west ; the principal entrance being to the north. Nearly all the pillars are still standing in their original places.

The beautiful frieze, which was placed inside the cella above the pillars which surrounded the unroofed part of the interior, called the *Hypæthrum*, was discovered in 1812 by Cockerell, Foster, Linkh and Haller, who also found the *Æginetan* marbles, now at Munich. The precious remains were conveyed to the coast, over the rugged ground which separates Bassæ from the sea, on the hands of 150 Arcadian shepherds. They were then shipped to Zante and thence to England. The difficulties which the enterprising discoverers encountered on their way, by land from greedy and treacherous Archons, mutinous workmen, and the terrible Arcadian flies ; and by sea from storms and the presence of French

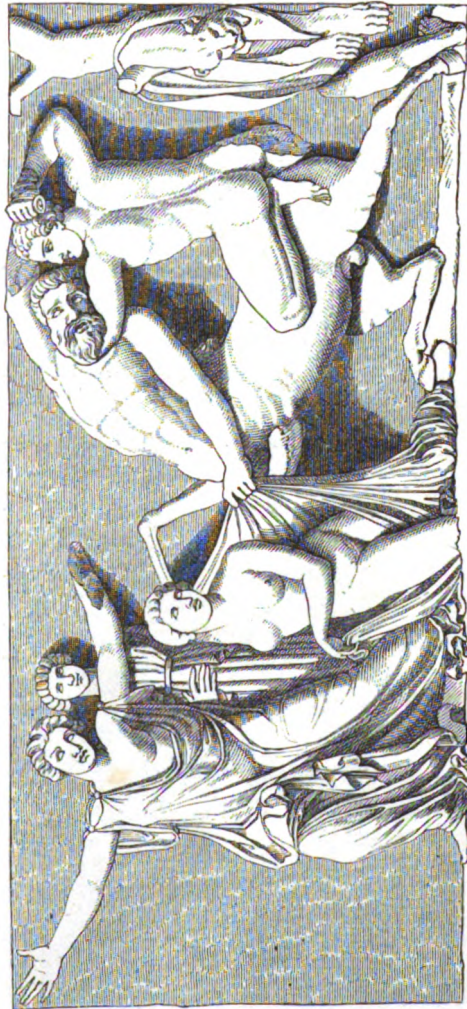


FIG. 124. SCENE FROM THE CENTAUROMACHIA.

cruisers, were enough to daunt the most resolute, and ought to be remembered by us with gratitude.



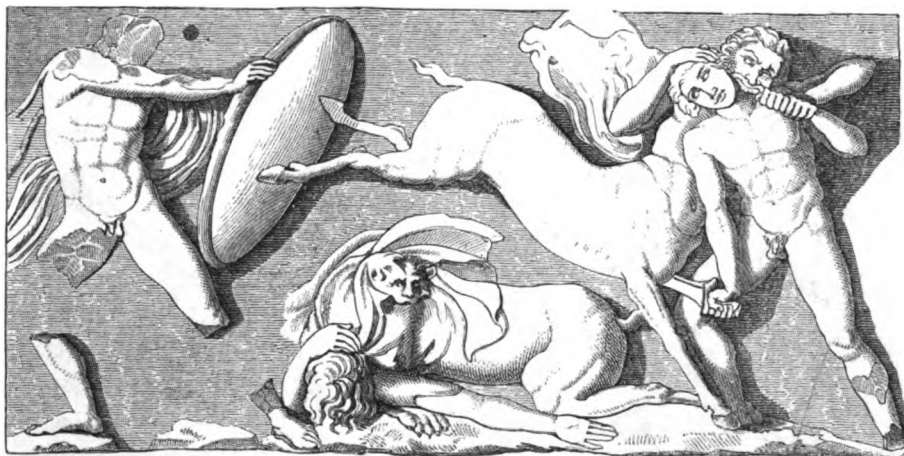
FIG. 125. CENTAURS ATTACKING CÆNEUS.

Fragments of a colossal temple-image, and some fragments of metopes, were also discovered, but no traces of any pedimental group. The subject of the frieze, like that of the building which it adorns, is essentially Attic; its main object is the glorification of *Apollo*—to whom the temple was dedicated in his character of *Ἐπικούριος*¹ (the Succourer)—and of *Theseus*, the great national Attic hero, who is represented as leading his countrymen to victory over their earliest and most terrible foes (124, *a* and 130, *a*). The frieze consists of twenty-three slabs 2 ft. 1½ in. high, and is about 101 feet in length. It is divided into two unequal parts, the shorter of which represents the *Contest between the Lapiths and Centaurs* at the wedding of *Peirithous* (figs. 124,

¹ Pausan. viii. 41. 7.

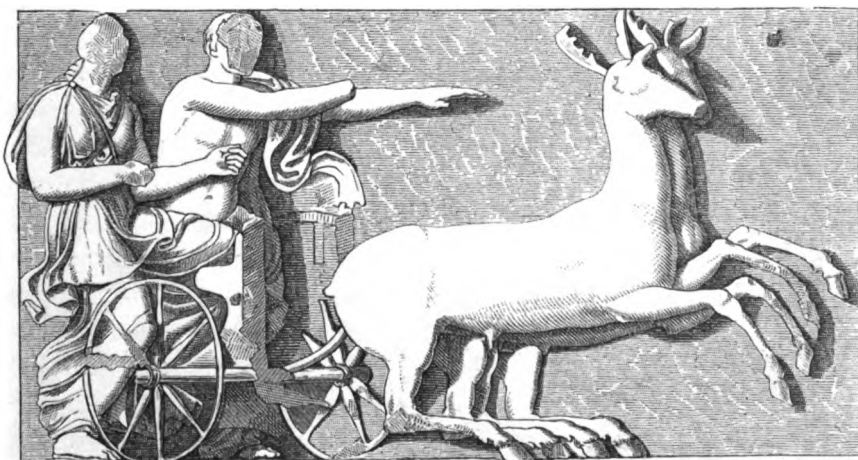
125, 126), and the longer *the Battle of the Amazons* (figs. 128, 129, 130). Between these two scenes came the chariot of the divine allies of the

FIG. 126.



CENTAUROMACHIA.

FIG. 127.



APOLLO AND ARTEMIS IN THE PHIGALEIAN FRIEZE.

Greeks (Θεοὶ Ἐπικούριοι), *Apollo and Artemis* (fig. 127), drawn by a pair of stags, and driven by the goddess in person. They are hastening

in the direction of the Centaurs, the more formidable of the two foes, against whom Apollo is discharging his fatal arrows. In the treatment

FIG. 128.



SCENE FROM THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS.

FIG. 129.



SCENE FROM THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS.

of both these subjects, and especially of the last mentioned, the deviation from the calm and disciplined tone of the Pheidian school, which

we notice in the plastic ornament of the Erechtheum and the Temple of Nike Apteros, is still more decided and pronounced. Short as is the distance of time which separates the frieze of the Parthenon from the one before us, we seem to have passed into a different moral and artistic world. Instead of the disciplined freedom, the *σωφροσύνη* and *εὐταξία*, which prevail even in the liveliest representations of the former, we are introduced in the latter to a scene of uncontrolled savagery, in which the wildest passions rage unchecked. There is scarcely a composition in the whole range of ancient art in which the wild excesses of wine and lust are more vividly depicted than in the Phigaleian *Centauromachia*. The design itself is the offspring of the most daring, extravagant and excited imagination, and the glowing life which burns in the hearts of the actors is expressed in an endless variety of the strangest attitudes. Nothing can exceed the ferocity of the Centaurs, whose naturally savage nature is here excited to madness by the effects of wine. In one group we see one of these hybrid monsters biting the neck of a Lapith with his human face, while he kicks out at another foe with his horse's heels¹ (fig. 126). Not only the laws of humanity, but the sanctity of religion is set at nought; Centaurs and even suppliant women are attacked at the altar, and forcibly dragged away from the very images of the Gods. In fig. 124, the bride of Peirithous, who is clinging to an archaic idol of Athênê, is being thus outraged, and is defended by a warrior, whom we recognise as Theseus from the lion's skin which hangs above him on the tree. The horror and pathos of the scene are still further enhanced in other groups by the introduction of children, whom the terrified women vainly endeavour to protect.

In the battle with the Amazons the scenes of blood and fury are mingled with others in which softer emotions prevail. In one case a Greek is leading his wounded comrade from the field; in another our pity is excited by the beautiful figure of a dying Amazon in the collapse of approaching death. Even mercy towards a fallen foe, so unusual in the ancient world,² is depicted here, and a Greek is

¹ The same scene is depicted on a vase in the museum at Naples (*Mon. dell' Inst.* vi. 38).

² The Athenians alone of all the Greeks, says Pausanias (i. 17), raised altars to Pity.



FIG. 130. SCENE FROM THE BATTLE OF THE AMAZONS.

seen tenderly lifting a wounded Amazon from her horse (fig. 130). In another scene an Amazon seems to be begging the life of a young Lapith from her sister warrior (fig. 129).

The whole work indeed is full of surprises and inconsistencies. The subject, as we have said, is purely Attic, but the treatment is exaggerated, sensational, and almost barbaric in its tone. Many of the figures are masterpieces of drawing, ideally conceived, and executed with great natural truth. Among the male figures are extremely fine models of athletic *ephebi*; and the women are, like Spartan maidens, strong and active but not unwomanly or coarse. Others are ugly in design—e.g. the figure of the Queen of the Amazons being torn from her horse—and rude and inharmonious in their execution. The drapery is often exaggerated, unnatural and

tasteless, and without any close relation to the form or action of the wearer.

From the fact that the slabs of this frieze are of Pentelican marble it has been conjectured that it was executed in Athens and transported to Phigaleia.¹ If this be the case, the artist must have been influenced rather by a desire to please the taste of Phigaleians than that of Athenians. It seems likely, on the whole, that it was designed by an Attic artist with a view to its provincial destination, and executed by local artists in Phigaleia itself.

The composition, however, is not original, for many of the incidents are found in the sculptures of the Theseion and Parthenon, and on vases, and *the Group of Centaurs who are burying the invulnerable Cæneus*² (fig. 125) under stones occurs elsewhere. The more striking scenes of this remarkable relief were often copied separately. Three copies, evidently made for decorative purpose, on slabs of marble raised at the edge by way of frame, have been found at Patras. One of these represents the scene in which the Queen of the Amazons is being dragged from her horse. In another a Greek has planted his foot on the thigh of an Amazon, and is dragging her backwards by the hair. In the third we see two single combats between Greek and Amazon, in one of which the Greek, and in the other the Amazon, is succumbing.

¹ Curtius, *Pelop.* i. 330.

² For the myth of Cæneus, vid. Ovid, *Met.* xii. 189. According to another version, he was buried under trees (*Orph. Argon.* v. 170, apud Apollon. *Rhod.* i. 59). Conf. Pindar,

Fragm. 14, sec. 16, and Stackelberg, *Der Apollon-tempel zu Bassae*, p. 73; Millingen, *Vases Grecques*, p. viii.; and Tischbein, *Vasen*, ii. 8.

CHAPTER XXVII.

SCULPTURES OF ERECHTHEIUM AND THE
TEMPLE OF NIKE APTEROS (OL. 92. 4).THE HALL OF THE CARYATIDES, AND FRAGMENTS
OF THE FRIEZE.

UNLIKE the Parthenon, the Erechtheium, which also stands on the Acropolis, and is of the Ionic order, was one of the principal temples for *sacrifice* and *worship* in Athens. The original building was destroyed by fire when the city was taken by the Persians; a new building, on a more magnificent scale, was almost immediately commenced, but not completed before Ol. 92. 4 (B.C. 409). It appears to have been really a complex of three separate temples (fig. 131), the eastern half being dedicated to Erechtheus, and the western to Athênê Polias, with which a sanctuary of Pandrosos (Pandrosceion¹) was connected.

The Erechtheium was entered by a prostyle portico on the east; and the Temples of Athênê Polias, and Pandrosos, by two halls (*προστώες*) on the north-west and south-west corner respectively.²

The ground on which the Erechtheium stood, which was of two different levels, possessed a peculiar sanctity, as the scene of the contest between Athênê and Poseidon for the Attic territory; and this will account for the singular form of the structure. The gift of Poseidon—the Salt-spring—was in the Erechtheium, in which he had an altar also; and the Olive of Athênê Polias was in her

¹ Pausan. i. 27. 3: τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχὴς ἐστὶ καὶ ἐστὶ Πάνδροςος ἐς τὴν παρακαταθήκην ἀναλτίος τῶν ἀδελφῶν μόνῃ. Conf. *The Erechtheium and Temple of Minerva Polias restored*, by J. Fer-

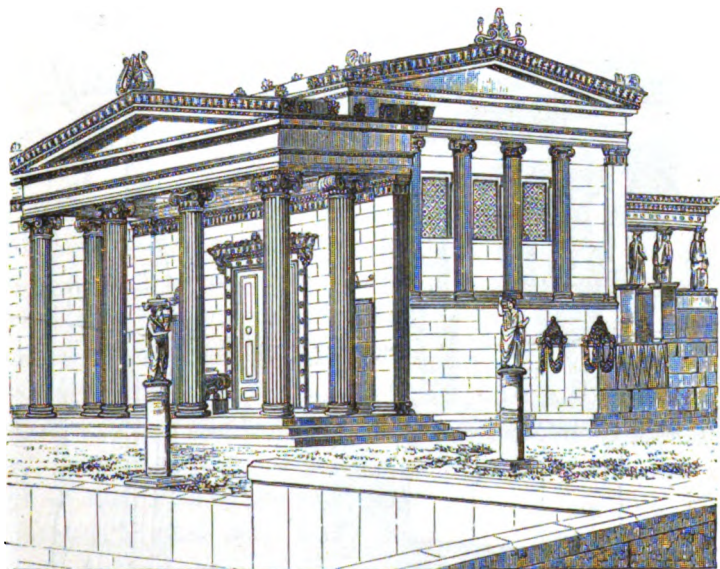
gusson, 1876.

² On some particulars of the construction of the Erechtheium, vid. A. S. Murray in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. i. p. 224.

own temple.¹ Pausanias was told that 'this olive, being burnt when the Persians took the city, grew again on the same day to the height of two cubits.'² In her sanctuary too was the sacred Erichthonian serpent, which, as Herodotus tells us, ceased to eat the honey cake before the battle of Salamis.

The porticoes of the two larger temples had Ionic pillars of the usual kind, but that of the sanctuary of Pandrosos, having no pedi-

FIG. 131.



THE ERECHTHEIUM ON THE ACROPOLIS RESTORED.

ment or roof above it, and being therefore light, was supported by *six female figures* (fig. 132). These are simply called *κόραι* in the very interesting fragment of a bill discovered in Athens,³ containing the names of artists employed on the frieze of the Erechtheium, and the prices charged for their work. They are, however, generally, though less correctly, known by the name of *Caryatids*.⁴ It is just this smaller

¹ Vid. Soph. (*Ed. Col.* 700, and Æschyl. *Suppl.* 214.

² Pausan. i. 27.

³ Stephani, *Annal. d. Inst.* 1843. *Tav. d'Agg.* i. No. 2, p. 294.

⁴ For controversy on this building conf. Thiersch, *Epikrisis der neuesten Untersuch. des Erechtheums*, München, 1857; Bötticher, *Berichte über die Untersuch. auf der Acropolis*, Berlin, 1862.

and least important entrance to the Erechtheium which has suffered least from the ravages of time. Five of the 'maidens' were still performing their arduous duty when Stuart and Revett visited Athens in 1837. The sixth and best, which was taken away by Lord Elgin, and is now in the British Museum, has been replaced by a copy in terra-cotta (fig. 133).

The idea of substituting the human form for pillars was familiar to decorative art of a much earlier age, but it was not introduced

FIG. 132.

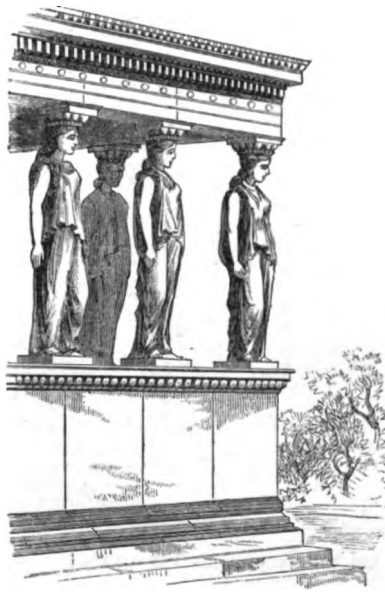


FIG. 133.



CARYATIDES OF THE PANDROSEION.

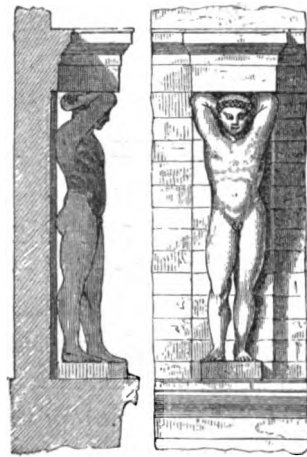
into architecture before the Persian wars. The origin of the Caryatid is very uncertain. Some writers suppose that it is derived from the town of Caryæ in Laconia, which was destroyed by the Athenians as a punishment for the treachery of its inhabitants to the Greek cause after the battle of Thermopylæ. The women of Caryæ are represented as bearing eternal burdens in memory of the slavery to which they were reduced.

These figures, however, are connected with another legend. We read in Pausanias of two virgins, who dwelt not far from the

Temple of Athênê Polias, called *Canephoraë* (basket-bearers). 'These maidens dwell for a certain period with the goddess, and when the festive day arrives they carry on their heads in the night certain things which the priestess orders them to take; the priestess, however, neither knowing what she gives them, nor the virgins what they carry.'¹ It is thought that the basket-like capital above the head of the maidens may be a reminiscence of these *Canephoraë*.

In the first instance probably the idea of compulsory and servile labour is connected with this architectural novelty. This was certainly the case with the *Atlantes*, the giants (fig. 134) who support the roof of the Temple of Zeus at Agriguntum with bowed heads and up-lifted arms, and are evidently bearing a weight which it needs all their strength to uphold. In the case before us '*the maidens*' seem to be performing a voluntary and comparatively easy task in honour of the deity they serve. Their rich dress, stately bearing, and erect heads banish all ideas of meanness and servility. The massive strength of their frames compared with the light weight they bear, establishes that harmony between the bearer and the borne which accords with the fundamental principle of Greek architecture—that every member of a building must not only rest securely on its support, but *appear* to do so. They bear their burden easily, as we see from the fact that the hands are unemployed, except in slightly lifting the robe. The knee of one leg is a little bent, so as to give some life and grace to the human pillar, without interfering too much with its architectural

FIG. 134.



ATLANTES.

¹ Forchhammer ('*Erechtheion u. T. of A. Polias*' in *Arch. Zeit.* 1876, p. 76) tries to bring them into connexion with Erechtheus, and derives their name from the channel above their heads by which the water ran off the roof. 'They are,' he says, 'the six

daughters of Erechtheus, raised to heaven as the Hyades, who had sacrificed themselves for their country. The name of the analogous Hyakinthides (and *Kap-várides*?) also points to their relation to rain.'

character. On their heads is the soft pad (τύλη), on which the basket-like architectural decoration takes the place of the customary Ionic capital, and is adorned with the *echinus* and *astragal*. The long tresses at the back of the head fill up the curve, and give the necessary appearance of strength to the neck. Although the laws of architecture require that all these figures should be alike in design—the only difference being that the three on the right hand of the spectator rest on the left leg, and the three on the left hand on the right leg—yet there is a considerable difference of merit in the execution. The well-known figure in the British Museum is greatly superior to the others, especially in the treatment of the drapery, and is evidently by a different hand.¹

THE FRIEZE OF THE ERECHTHEIUM IN ATHENS.

The reliefs of the Erechtheium were not, as was usual, carved on the surface of the frieze, but each figure was made separately of Pentelican marble, and fixed on a background of black Eleusinian stone, which was probably coloured. The remains of this work are so insignificant that we are obliged to have recourse to the bill mentioned above to get an idea of the scene represented. In this interesting inscription we only find mention of human beings—men, women and children—and among the figures preserved are two similar groups of *a woman with a boy on her lap*.² But there are fragments of *a Biga with a driver* in it, and of a *Quadriga*. Some writers think that indications of mythological subjects are to be found, and that both gods and men were represented, as on the Parthenon.³ The style of these remains resembles that of the sculptures of the Temple of Nike Apteros; in both we find the soft and graceful characteristics of Attic art with a tendency, as compared with the grand epic simplicity of the Parthenon, to the more agitated, individual, *lyric* manner of a later school.

¹ We see in them what Caryatids ought to be. We need only look at a house in Park Lane to see exactly what they ought not to be.

² Demeter and Iacchus? Welcker, *Göt-*

terlehre, ii. 252.

³ Friederichs, *Baust.* p. 186. Brunn, *Künstler-Gesch.* i. 248. Bergk has attempted to reconstruct the frieze from the materials furnished by this inscription.

We gather from the bill of works that the persons employed were for the most part mere artisans, who received about sixty drachmas (£2 8s.) for each figure ; and here again we see how deeply the Attic handicraft of the period we are speaking of was penetrated by the spirit of the noblest art.

SCULPTURES FROM THE TEMPLE OF NIKE APTEROS (LONDON AND ATHENS).

This 'pearl of Ionic architecture' is of surprisingly small dimension, measuring not more than twenty-seven by eighteen feet. It is *amphi-prostylos tetrastylus*, i.e. having four columns at the eastern and western façades respectively (fig. 135). It stood, and once more (since 1835) stands, on a buttress of the S. wall of the Acropolis, the very eminence from which the unhappy Ægeus is said to have thrown himself in despair at seeing the black sails still hoisted on the ship of Theseus when he returned from the slaughter of the Minotaur. Pausanias clearly indicates its position by saying that it stood on the right hand of the grand flight of steps leading up to the Propylæa, and that the statue of the triple Hecatê *Epipyrgidia*¹ (on the tower) was near the temple of Nike Apteros. It was seen in its original state by Spon and Wheler in 1675, but was soon afterwards destroyed by the Turks, with the fortunate exception of the *κρηπίδωμα* (basement). They used the precious materials of this beautiful little sanctuary to construct a battery when they were besieged by the Venetian army in 1687. Happily, however, nearly all the fragments were discovered and collected by Ross, Schaubert and Hansen in the year 1835, by whom the building was restored to nearly its original condition.

The temple was generally called by the name of Nike Apteros (wingless victory), but it was really dedicated to Athena Nike. The Goddess of Victory is here regarded not as an independent deity, but as an emanation from, as a *numen* or phase of, that Goddess of hoar antiquity, the awful Athênê Polias,² whom the Athenians regarded not

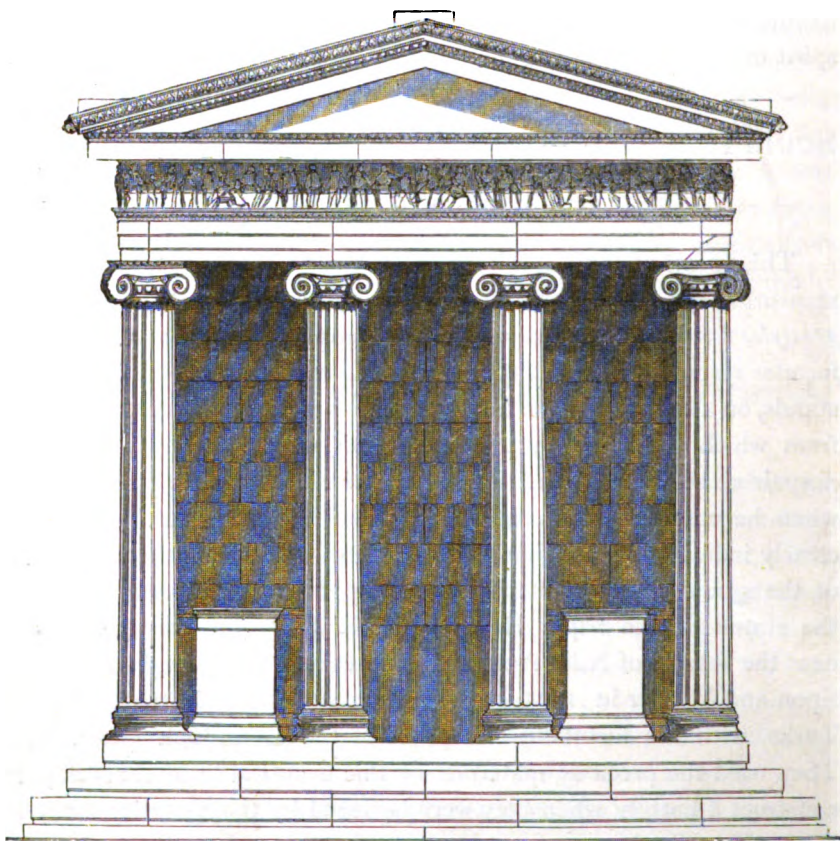
¹ Pausan. ii. 3. 2.

² Sophocles, *Philoct.* 135: Νίκη τ' Ἀθῶνα

Πολιάς, ἡ σῶζει μ' ἀεί. On which the Scholiast remarks, οὕτως ἡ πολιοῦχος Ἀθηνᾶ Νίκη

only as the possessor and guardian, but as the very divine personification of their city.¹

FIG. 135.



THE TEMPLE OF NIKE APTEROS AT ATHENS.

καλεῖται ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ. Conf. Eurip. *Ion*, 451, and Aristides, *Ἀθηνᾶ*, i. p. 26, ed. Dindorf: (*Ἀθηνᾶ*) ἡ μόνη μὲν ἀπάντων θεῶν ὁμοίως δὲ πασῶν οὐκ ἐπώνυμος τῆς νίκης ἐστὶν ἀλλ' ὁμώνυμος. A good idea of Athena Nike may be gained from a well-known relief in the Louvre, in which a warrior is returning thanks to a small image of Athena Polias on a pillar for his victory, represented by a winged Nike who comes to meet him with a branch in her hand.

¹ Although we see that Nike, at a very

early period, had a sanctuary and cult of her own, her intimate connexion with Athênê appears never to have been lost sight of, nor does she appear to have assumed any fixed or permanent type in Greek art. Her image is found in various sizes—now as a full-grown powerful maiden, and now as a little child. She appears with different attributes according to the occasion—the garland, the *tania* (head-band), and the *κηρύκειον* (herald's staff); and she is sometimes fully robed, and sometimes nude (vid. Gem. *infra*, fig. 150, p. 331).

Wings were given her at an early date,¹ and they are large and strong, in accordance with the nature of victory, which comes suddenly and with overpowering force. But as constant attendant and *inseparable* companion of the invincible Pallas, she was represented without wings (*ἄπτερος*). The idea of a wingless victory is likely to occur to every high-spirited nation.² The Lacedæmonians, we are told,³ set up a statue of Enyalios (Ares, Mars) *in chains*, 'with the same design as the wingless victory at Athens, that he might never leave them.'

The controversy respecting the origin and date of this peculiar representation of Athênê has turned in some degree on a passage of Heliodorus quoted by Harpocration, in which it is said that the xoanon of Athena Nike at Athens had *a helmet in her left hand, and a pomegranate in her right*.⁴ As the pomegranate is almost unknown in art as an attribute of Athênê, it has been argued by some writers that the cult of Athena Nike was of a comparatively late origin.⁵

Two of the latest and most important writers on the subject, Kekulé and Benndorf, maintain that the Temple itself was built under the auspices of Cimon, and therefore before the building of the Propylæa (437-432 B.C.).⁶ It is generally acknowledged that the plastic ornaments both of the Temple and the Balustrade represent some great warlike achievements of the Athenians; and Benndorf conjectures that the subject of the frieze of the Temple was a victory by land, and that of the reliefs of the Balustrade, a victory by sea. This double triumph he thinks could be no other than the one gained by Cimon on the Eurymedon, Ol. 78 (B.C. 465). It was, as we read, from

¹ Either by the Chian school or the Thasian painter Aglaophon (Schol. Aristoph. *Aves*, 574. Kekulé, *die Balustrade d. Athena Nike Tempels*, p. 9).

² It is only lately that Britannia Nike has developed wings on the Darwinian principle of '*appetency*.'

³ Pausan. iii. 15. 5.

⁴ Harpocration (and Suidas), s. v. *Νίκη* 'Αθηνᾶ. *Λυκούργος ἐν τῇ περὶ τῆς Ἱερίας*· ὅτι δὲ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ροιδν, ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐωνύμῃ κράνος, ἐτιμάτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν α' περὶ ἀκροπόλεως.

The pomegranate or the apple was attributed to Aphrodite, Hêrê, Cora, Nemesis, and other deities. The red colour is derived from the blood of the patriot Menoikeus, who voluntarily offered himself to death for the glory of his country (Apollodor. iii. 6. 7. Eur. *Phæn.* 776).

⁵ Loeschke (ap. Kekulé, *op. cit.*) points out that when the temple revenues at Athens were divided between Athênê Polias and the other deities collectively, no mention was made of a temple of Athena Nike.

⁶ Benndorf, *Ueber das Cultbild der Athena Nike*, Festschrift, 1879.

the spoils taken in these battles that he built the S. wall of the Acropolis,¹ on the buttress of which stands the Temple of Athena Nikê. Now, it is a curious coincidence, at least, that the rare attribute of Athênê, the pomegranate, should be found, in connexion with this Goddess, on the coins of Sidê² in Pamphylia, which lies only twelve or fifteen miles to the E. of the mouth of the Eurymedon. In this Cumæan colony there was a temple of Athênê, who appears to have been its tutelary deity.³ On these and other grounds Benndorf conjectures that Cimon established the Athênê Polias of Sidê, with the local and significant attribute of the pomegranate, in a temple on the Acropolis at Athens, as Athena Nikê, in commemoration of his double triumph on the Eurymedon.

As an additional testimony to the antiquity of the image of Athena Nikê Benndorf adduces the painting on an Attic vase (a lecythus) in the British Museum. This interesting work was discovered by him during a recent visit to London (1880), and has been published by Prof. Kekulé in his learned treatise on the Balustrade (fig. 136). He thinks that the Goddess here represented with what he takes for a pomegranate in her hand is a copy, though not an exact one, of the temple-image of Athena Nikê.

Although this peculiar cult has left but meagre traces in ancient literature, it may be worth while to refer to an epigram of Nicarchus of the first century of our era, in which Benndorf finds a direct reference to the pomegranate-bearing Athênê. In this stanza Aphroditê is represented as upbraiding Athênê with bearing in her hand the apple (μῆλον⁴) which Paris had awarded to her:—

¹ Plut. *Cimon*, 13: *πραθέντων δὲ τῶν αἰχμαλώτων λαφύρων* (of the battle on the Eurymedon) *εἰς τε τὰ ἄλλα χρήμασιν ὁ δῆμος ἐρρώσθη καὶ τῇ ἀκροπόλει τὸ νότιον τεῖχος κατεσείσασεν ἅπ' ἐκείνης εὐπορήσας τῆς στρατείας*. Conf. Ross, *The Temple of Athena Nikê*.

² Mionnet, *Descr. de Médailles*, iii. pp. 471, 478, 479; Suppl. vii. pp. 63, 65, 68, 69, 71. Eckhel (*Doctrina Numorum*, iii. p. 15) was the first to point out that the pomegranate was the device of the town of

Sidê (Σίδη, a pomegranate). Conf. Benndorf, *op. cit.* p. 27.

³ Strabo, 14, 667: *εἴτα Σίδη Κυμναίων ἄποικος ἔχει δ' Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν*.

⁴ Among the Greeks the apple was the symbol of love. Vid. Catull. 65, 19, and Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 12. 1. In proof that this word may be applied to the pomegranate, Benndorf (*op. cit.* p. 26) quotes Hesychius, 'μῆλον' *pās karpos*, and refers to the fact that the coins of the island of *Melos* bore a pomegranate on them as symbol.

Παρθένε Τριτογένεια τί τήν Κύπριν ἄρτι με λυπεῖς
τοῦμόν δ' ἀρπαλέῃ δῶρον ἔχεις παλάμῃ
Μέμνησαι τὸ πάροιθεν ἐν Ἰδαίοις σκοπέλοισιν
ὥς Πάρις οὐ σέ καλήν, ἀλλ' ἔμ' ἐδογμάτισεν.
Σὸν δόρυ καὶ σάκος ἐστίν· ἐμόν δὲ τὸ μῆλον ὑπάρχει·
ἄρκει τῷ μῆλῳ κείνος ὁ πρὶν πόλεμος.¹

Why wrong the Cyprian goddess, thou lake-born maid divine ?
Why hold within thy greedy hand a guerdon that is mine ?
Bethink thee how in ancient days, on Ida's rocky height,
Not thee the swain decreed supreme—but me by beauty's right.
Thine is the pride of spear and shield, but mine the fruit of gold :
Enough that from an apple sprang the famous war of old.—H. A. P.

FIG. 136.



IMAGE OF ATHENA NIKĒ FROM A VASE IN THE BRIT. MUSEUM.²

It is unnecessary to remind the reader that the foregoing theory of Benndorf rests mainly on conjecture, and is open to many objections. But, like all which comes from this distinguished writer, it is worthy of serious consideration.

¹ Palat. *Anthol.* ix. 576. ² Taken from Kekulé's *Die Balustrade d. Ath. Nike Tempel*

The same may be said of his conjecture respecting the artist who executed the temple-image described by Harpocration.¹ In a well-known passage of Pausanias we read, 'Near the statue of Athênê (in the Altis at Olympia) there is a statue of Nike, which was dedicated by the Mantineans for some war not indicated in the inscription. Calamis is said to have made it *without wings*, in imitation of the statue called Nike Apteros at Athens.'² Now if, as Benndorf assumes, Calamis stood in somewhat of the same relation to Cimon as Pheidias to Pericles, it is not improbable that this distinguished artist would be employed to execute the image for the new Temple of Athena Nikê, and that he subsequently made a copy of the Athenian work for the victorious Mantineans.³

THE FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF NIKÊ APTEROS.

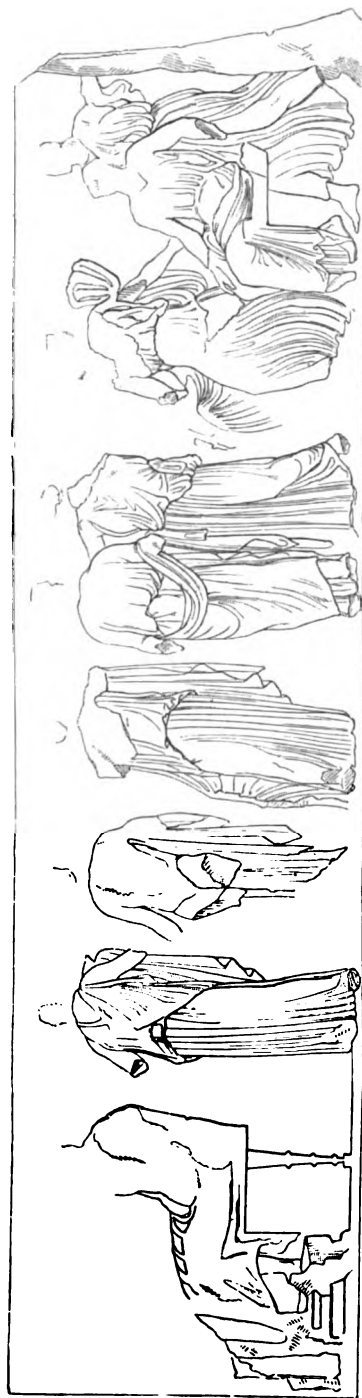
The Temple of Athena Nikê was ornamented by a sculptured frieze which ran round the whole building above the epistyle. The reliefs on the N. and W. were taken away by Lord Elgin, and are now in the British Museum. Each of the four sides has a distinct composition, the most intelligible, or rather the least unintelligible, in character being that on the principal or E. façade (fig. 137). The figures are too much mutilated to allow of our forming any clear idea of the subject of even this relief, but the presence of a *Winged boy* between *two female figures* at the left extremity, and of *Pallas with shield and ægis* between *two male figures* in the centre, warrant the conjecture that we have before us an assembly of the gods. Sixteen of the personages in this composition seem to be females in long robes, all of them without heads, and, with the exception of Pallas, without attributes.

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 321, note 4.

² Pausan. v. 26. 6: παρὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν πεποιήται Νίκη· ταύτην Μαντινεῖς ἀνέθεσαν, τὸν πόλεμον δὲ οὐ δηλοῦσιν ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραμμάτι. Κάλαμιν δὲ οὐκ ἔχουσιν πτερὰ ποιῆσαι λέγεται ἀπομιμούμενος τὸ Ἀθήνησι τῆς Ἀπτέρον καλουμένης ξόανον.

³ Vide Benndorf (*op. cit.* p. 44), who refers to a similar case in which Canachus made an Apollo in bronze for the temple at Branchidae, and a replica, of exactly the same dimensions, in cedar wood, for the Temple of the Ismenian Apollo at Delphi.

FIG. 137.



EASTERN FRIEZE OF THE TEMPLE OF NIKE APTEROS.

FIG. 137, a.



NORTHERN (?) FRIEZE OF THE SAME TEMPLE.

Bötticher¹ thinks that the third figure to the left of Athênê is Pan, who through Pheidippides² promised assistance to the Athenians at Marathon. The head of this figure is wanting, but there are indications of goat's thighs.

There is little doubt that the central figure of this (E.) frieze is Pallas herself, and that she is making her first appearance among her Olympian peers—not, as in the pediment of the Parthenon, on the occasion of her strange birth, but, according to Benndorf's view, on her first arrival from the banks of the Eurymedon, and at her inauguration in the new temple prepared by the grateful victors.³ The other figures are for the most part doubtful. It is supposed, however, that on either side of *Athênê* are *Zeus* and *Poseidon*; and though many writers will undertake to recognise almost all the great gods of Greece in this mutilated frieze, these three, and *Aphrodite* with her attendant satellites *Eros* and *Peitho*, are all that a sober eye can see.⁴

The friezes on the N. and S. sides, which closely resemble one another, represent *a battle between Greeks and Persians*,⁵ recognisable by their trousers and their mounted leaders (fig. 137, *a*); that on the W. side, on which a trophy is discernible,⁶ *a battle between Greeks and Greeks* (i.e. between Athenians and the Greek allies of Persia), and both these scenes coincide with the theory that the victories on the Eurymedon are here immortalised.

THE BALUSTRADE OF THE NIKÊ TEMPLE.

The N.W. corner of the little temple described above abuts (fig. 138) on the scarped Cimonian wall (on the S. side of the Acropolis), which ran parallel to the grand flight of steps leading up to the Propylæa.⁷ From this ascent, and at right angles to it, rose a smaller flight of stone steps (fig. 138, *a—b*) in the direction of the N.E. angle

¹ *Kön. Museum*. p. 91.

² Herod. vi. 10. Pausanias (i. 28) calls him *Philippides*. Conf. viii. 54.

³ Benndorf, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁴ Vid. Kekulé, *op. cit.*

⁵ Bötticher (*Kön. Mus.* p. 88) calls them Amazons, and thinks that he discovers in

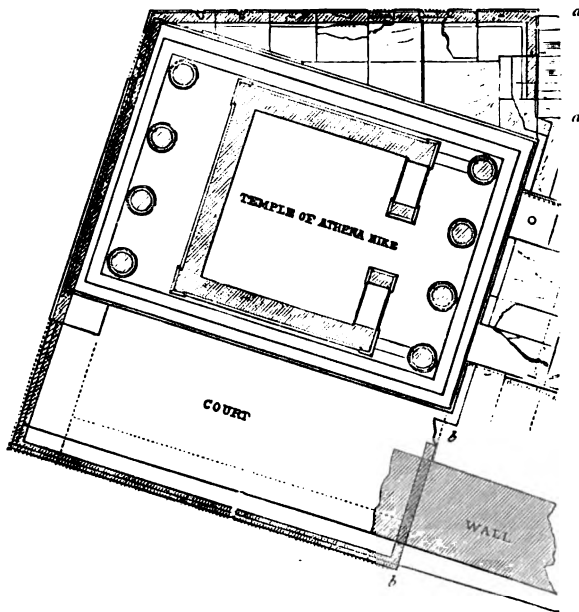
them the female bosom, and the peculiar shield and quiver which they bore.

⁶ Ross, *Die Acropolis* Pl. xi. 1.

⁷ Vid. Leopold Julius, 'Ueber den Südflügel der Propylæen und des Tempels d. Athena Nike,' in den *Mittheilung. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst.* in Athens. i. p. 216.

of the temple.¹ A triangular ^{by} ~~inter~~ space was thus formed between the edge of the buttress, the N. side of the temple, and the line bordering the short flight of steps. For the sake, probably, of ensuring the safety of the worshippers, a parapet composed of stone slabs about three feet high was erected on the longest and shortest sides of this triangle. Several of these were discovered by Ross² and his friends in 1835, and were found to contain reliefs of the most exquisite beauty, the effect of

FIG. 138.

GROUND PLAN OF NIKÉ TEMPLE.³

which was heightened by metal ornaments, and probably by painting. These first discoverers appear to have limited the Balustrade to the two sides of the triangle on the N. and E., and other writers, among them our own Penrose, adopted their views in this respect. The searching and fruitful investigations of Carl Bötticher, Kekulé, Benn-

¹ Bötticher (*op. cit.*) thinks that these steps are of Frankish origin.

² *Tempel d. Nike Apteros*, Berlin, 1839.

³ From Kekulé's *Bal. d. A. N. Tempels*.

dorf, Schöne, Bohn, Petersen, Loeschke, Julius and others, have led

FIG. 139.



VICTORY ERECTING A TROPHY.



THE FIGURE ABOVE RESTORED.

to different, though not always to final or concordant, conclusions. In his most recent work on the subject Prof. Kekulé endeavours to prove that the parapet was carried not only along the N. side, and the line of the small flight of steps to the E. (*a—a*), but along the W. and S. sides, and again at right angles from the S. towards the S.E. corner¹ of the Temple. For this last continuation from the S. line (fig. 138, *b—b*) his reasons seem hardly adequate.² Bötticher³ carries the S. line of the Balustrade still farther to the E.

The entire length of the parapet, according to this theory, was, *roughly speaking*, about 110 feet—30 on the N. side, 36 on the W., 27 on the S., 7 bordering the steps on the N., and 10 running from the S. side of the court towards the S.E. angle. As the only entire slab is about 4 feet in width, there would thus be space for twenty-eight slabs. It is further calculated that these slabs would contain fifty-six human figures.⁴ Fragments of forty-two of these have been discovered at different times, and as the search has

been a very complete one, we must suppose that fourteen are irrevocably lost. Although so much of this beautiful work has been

¹ *Die Reliefs an d. Balustrade d. Nike Tempels*, 1880. Conf. Bohn, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, pp. 85-91.

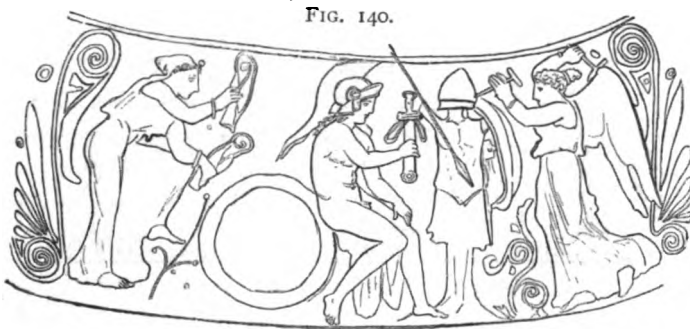
² See a very valuable contribution by E. Petersen in the *Oesterr. Zeitschrift für Gym-*

nasiahwesen, Juni 1881.

³ 'Der Thymele der Athena Nike,' Berlin, 1880.

⁴ Vid. Kekulé, *op. cit.*

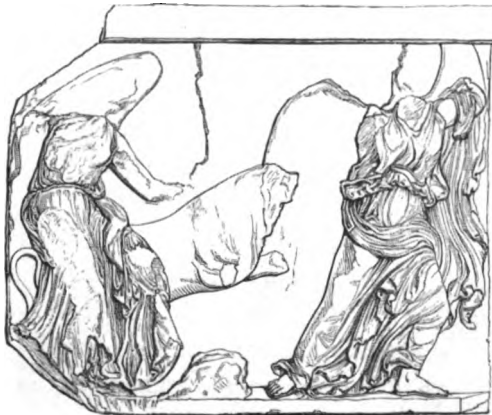
altogether destroyed, or effaced by time and neglect past recognition, there still remains enough not only to maintain its high reputation



GROUP ERECTING A TROPHY, FROM A VASE IN THE BRIT. MUS.

as a work of art, but to give us a clear idea of its general design and character. With the exception of *Athênê* herself, whose figure occurs on two slabs—in one of which she is seated on a ship,

FIG. 141.



BAS-RELIEF OF TWO NIKAI AND COW.

and in another on a throne—all the actors in the scene are *winged Victories*. *Athena Nike* appears, of course, as *Apteros* (wingless), but she has about her a legion of attendant *Nikai* whose large

strong wings denote the swiftness with which they carry out her sovereign behests. The operation in which the Nikai are engaged

FIG. 142.

GROUP OF VICTORIES AND COWS RESTORED.¹

is principally of two kinds—the performance of a sacrifice and the erection of a trophy; and in the active performance of this duty, their

FIG. 143.



FROM THE BALUSTRADE OF THE TEMPLE OF ATHENA NIKÈ.

light and slender forms are thrown into every variety of graceful attitude. The best preserved of the reliefs show us (1) a Nike preparing to fix a helmet on a trophy (fig. 139), of which scene we have a beautiful copy on a small Attic vase in the British Museum, of the first half of the fifth century B.C.² (fig. 140); (2) two Nikai leading with some difficulty a sacrificial cow,³ which is purposely made small, so as not to seem altogether beyond their control (figs. 141, 142); and (3) the well-known and exquisite figure of a Nike in the act of raising her foot to adjust her sandal, and hence generally known by the name of the Sandal-looser⁴ (fig. 143).

There are few remains in the whole range of ancient art which show such exquisite delicacy of feeling and execution as we see in the gracefully flowing lines of these lovely forms.

¹ From Kekulé, *op. cit.*

² Conf. Helbig, *Wandgemälde*, No. 941.

³ This motif looks as if it had been borrowed from the Parthenon frieze, Pl. xxxix.

in Michaelis.

⁴ No cast or drawing can give a just idea of this lovely figure.

Besides these, as we have said, there are fragments of *two figures of Athênê*, of *two cows*, of a *rudder*, and of *Persian weapons*. Before Athênê seated on a ship (fig. 144) we may suppose that the Nikai are busily prepared in erecting a trophy of naval spoils; and that

FIG. 144.



RESTORATION OF ATHÈNE
SITTING ON SHIP.

FIG. 145.



RESTORATION OF ATHÈNE
SITTING ON CHAIR.

before Athênê on the throne (fig. 145) a cow is in the act of being sacrificed. The existing remains of the Balustrade indeed only show us the cow led by Nikai in the sacrificial procession, but there are many evident copies—in reliefs, gems, and coins of a later date—of the scenes pourtrayed upon the parapet, which enable us to supply the missing link in the design (fig. 146).

FIG. 146.



(From gems in British
Museum.)

VICTORY AND COW.

FIG. 147.



NUDE VICTORY.

In the work quoted above Prof. Kekulé has published a restoration of the reliefs on the Balustrade, in designing which he used the guidance afforded by the numerous copies of these beautiful works. Among the best known of these are the relief of *the two Nikai*

leading the sacrificial cow in the Vatican ;¹ two reliefs in Florence, one of *Nikè adorning a trophy*, and another of *Nike raising some object with her foot*, an action which throws her into somewhat the same attitude as the Sandal-looser (fig. 143), though a much less graceful one ; and a vase-painting at Munich. Prof. Kekulé has also published² the curious paintings on a vase belonging to M. Philimon at Athens, in which a Nike is assisted in her task of leading the obstreperous sacrificial cow by two youths, one of whom holds its head and another its tail.³

Hitherto, as we saw above, only two figures of Athênê, and two sacrificial cows, have been discovered. Kekulé thinks that only one action is represented in the entire Balustrade. He was therefore surprised at first to find more than one victim, for we read that *one* cow was selected from the hecatomb of Athênê Polias as a sacrifice for Athena Nikê (Apteros). Finding more than one, however, he thinks that a whole train of victims may have been represented. Petersen,⁴ on the other hand, who maintains that the temple was built some thirty years later than Cimon's victory on the Eurymedon, evades the difficulty by assuming that each side of the Balustrade contained a complete and independent action. He hazards the conjecture that the Battles of Plataæ and Mycale were represented on the W. side, the Battle of Salamis on the S., and the Battle of Marathon on the N. In this case each scene would naturally contain one figure of Athênê, and the one sacrificial Cow. The Trophy also—perhaps in different stages of completion ; and the Sacrifice—either in preparation, or actual performance—would be represented on all three sides.

As far as we know all the Nikai of the Balustrade were draped. We have, however, on a gem in the British Museum, from the golden period of Attic art, a most exquisite figure of *Nike almost entirely nude* (fig. 147), and there are other representations of Victories both nude and clothed in the same collection and in foreign museums.

¹ In the cabinet of the Hermaphrodite. Vid. Visconti, v. Taf. 9.

² *Op. cit.* p. 5.

³ For other representations of Nike vid.

Stackelberg, *Gräb. d. Hellen.* Taf. xvi. 1 ; Heydeman, *Griech. Vasenbilder.* xi. 2 ; Schöne, *griech. Reliefs*, Taf. xxxi. 126.

⁴ *Op. cit.*

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE SCHOOL OF MYRON.

UNRIVALLED and predominant as were the genius and influence of Pheidias in Athens, and, in a less degree, throughout Greece, we shall not be surprised to find at the same period traces of other schools of a different character, and with somewhat different aims. So really great and prolific an artist as Myron, whose works were, by the very nature of their subjects, peculiarly calculated to attract the public eye, could not be without enthusiastic followers and imitators. And in fact we recognise his style even in some of the sculptures of the Parthenon itself. Among the best known members of his school is

LYCIUS OF ELEUTHERÆ,

About Ol. 90 (B.C. 420),

who is sometimes called the son,¹ and sometimes only the pupil,² of Myron.

Although we have no remains or copies of his works, we gather from descriptions of them that he followed in the footsteps of his preceptor. His chief work was a group of *thirteen figures in bronze*, representing the single combat between the Dis geniti *Achilles and Memnon*,³ in the treatment of which the sculptor probably followed the *Æthiopis* of Arctinus.⁴ Near the Hippodameion, in

¹ Pausan. i. 23. 7. Athen. xi. p. 486, D.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.

³ Pindar, *Ol.* ii. 83 (ed. Dyssen), and *Nem.* iii. 63, vi. 52. Conf. the same scene

depicted on the fine 'red on black' crater in the Brit. Mus. (Table-case I, No. 121).

⁴ Conf. Welcker, *Ep. Cycl.* i. 212 and ii. 169.

the Altis at Olympia, is a semicircular basis, in the centre of which stood an image of *Zeus*, and on either side of him *Thetis and Eos* (Hemera, Aurora), supplicating him on behalf of their respective children. The combatants themselves, *Achilles and Memnon*, who have not yet joined battle, stood at each end of the long pedestal, and the other figures were arranged in symmetrical antithesis—Greeks to Barbarians—between the two mothers and their sons. *Odysseus* was balanced by *Helenus*, as the wisest of the Trojans; *Alexander* (Paris) by *Menelaus*, as pre-eminent in hatred; *Aeneas* by *Diomedes*; and *Deiphobus* by the *Telamonian Ajax*. Below the statue of *Zeus* were elegiac verses in ancient characters, from which we learn that this group was dedicated by the citizens of Apollonia for a victory.¹ On this occasion, probably Lycius had his subject chosen for him, and may or may not have treated it in the Myronic manner. The next work by Lycius mentioned by Pausanias is

The Boy with the Perirrhanterion,² probably the basin of lustral water, though the word *περιρραντήριον* properly means the *whisk*, or brush, with which the water was sprinkled about, as in Roman Catholic churches at the present day. This statue stood near the Temple of the Brauronian *Artemis* in Athens, and the basin of holy water may have been actually used by her worshippers. A still more Myronic subject was that of another work of Lycius,

A Boy Blowing an Expiring Fire, which Pliny declares to be 'worthy of his teacher,'³ and which he mentions again under the name of '*puer suffitor*,' boy holding a censer.

Lycius also executed a statue of

Autolycus, a Pancratiast, whom Xenophon in the 'Symposion' praises as a well-educated Athenian boy.⁴ Pausanias⁵ says that he had seen a statue of *Autolycus* the Pancratiast in the Prytaneum at Athens,

¹ Pausan. v. 22. 2.

² Ibid. i. 23. 8.

³ Plin. xxxiv. 79: 'Puerum sufflantem languidos ignes.' At the end of the same chapter he speaks of the same statue probably as '*puerum suffitorem*,' holding a

censer. Brunn, *Künstler-Ges.* i. 259.

⁴ Plin. N. H. xxxiv. 79: 'Autolycum pancratiæ victorem, Ol. 89. 3 (422 B.C.) propter quem Xenophon symposium scripsit.' Pausan. ix. 32. 8.

⁵ Plin. *ibid.*

and relates a subsequent adventure of his in the time of the Thirty Tyrants. Pliny also mentions a group of

The Argonauts, by Lycius, of which we know nothing but the name. To the same school we may refer

STYPHAX OF CYPRUS

(About 440 B.C.),

who probably lived somewhat earlier than Lycius. He was celebrated for one statue,

The Splachnoptes (σπλαγχνόπτης), or 'roaster of entrails,' who was represented in the act of blowing a fire with his mouth.¹ Pliny says it was the portrait of the 'Olympian' Pericles' favourite slave, who was so seriously injured by a fall from the roof of a temple on which he was at work, that the physicians despaired of his life. Athênê, however, out of regard to Pericles, showed him a herb (hence called Parthenion), by the application of which the wounded man was immediately restored to health.²

CRESILAS³ OF CYDONIA (IN CRETE),

Ol. 87 (B.C. 432),

another member of the same school, is especially interesting to us, because we have copies of two of his works—*the Amazon* (fig. 148), with which he is said to have competed against Pheidias and Polycleitus; and a portrait statue of *Pericles*, which Pliny declares to have been worthy of his surname, and a marvel of that art 'which makes illustrious men still more illustrious.'⁴ The famous *bust in the British*

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 81.

² Plin. xxii. 44. Conf. Plut. *Pericles*, 13. The same story is told by Plutarch of Mnesicles, the architect of the Propylæa. Pliny has probably confounded the names. Such a 'Deus ex machina' would hardly be employed on behalf of a slave. But vid. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 265.

³ Formerly called Ctesilaos. The right name was established by the discovery of an inscription containing the name of Cresilas on a basis discovered near the W. front of the Parthenon in 1840. Ross, *im Kunstblatt*, 1840, No. 12.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 74. Conf. Pausan. i. 25. 1.

Museum (fig. 149), which is supposed to be a copy of the head of Cresilas' statue, was found at Tivoli, and there are inferior replicas of it in the Vatican, and perhaps at Munich.¹ The face is of the ideal Greek type; the head is covered by a helmet, probably as a mark of his dignity as *στρατηγός* (commander-in-chief of the forces), and not, as was said, for the purpose of concealing the only ugly part of his

FIG. 148.



CRESILAS.

FIG. 149.

PERICLES.²

person. The style of the bust—the short crisp curls, and the treatment of the eyes—is in accordance with the period to which it is generally, and no doubt correctly, referred.

But the work which is the best warrant for placing Cresilas among the followers of Myron is a statue of

A Dying Warrior at his last gasp, in whom, says Pliny, 'one may see how much life still remains in him.'³ This description immediately

¹ But vid. Friederichs, *Baust.* p. 125, and E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeitung.* 1860, p. 40.

² From the bust in the Brit. Museum.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 74.

reminds us of Ladas the runner by Myron. Some writers see in this work a portrait of *Diitrephes*, who was killed at Mycalessus, Ol. 91. 1 (B.C. 416), and whose statue Pausanias saw in the Acropolis, pierced with arrows.¹ It is generally taken for granted that the expression of the face in this statue was exclusively that of physical pain and exhaustion. But the touching expression which awakens our sympathy in the face of his wounded Amazon justifies the belief that Cresilas attempted something more and higher than the representation of dying agony, and that he added *animus* to the *anima* of his predecessor.

Although we class him with the followers of Myron, he seems in some of his productions to have been influenced by the quieter tone of the Argive school. He stands half-way between Myron and Polycleitus.

Cresilas also made a *Doryphoros*,² an *Offering to Demeter Chthonia*,³ and an *Offering to Pallas Tritogeneia*,⁴ of which three works we know nothing but the names.

STRONGYLION,

Prime Ol. 91. 2 (B.C. 415),

who also belongs to this group of artists, appears, like his great master, to have excelled in the representation of animals,⁵ although he by no means confined himself to this branch of his art. Among his works was one deity,

Artemis Soteira, in Megaris, set up by the Megarians as an offering of gratitude to the goddess for her miraculous intervention in the Persian war; also

Statues of Muses on Mount Helicon. The artists Olympiosthenes, Cephisodotus, and *Strongylion* are each said to have furnished three statues of the Muses, which were placed in the grove of these Goddesses on Mount Helicon. These works appear to have

¹ Thucyd. vii. 29. Pausan. i. 23. 3.
Ross, *Archaeol. Aufs.* i. 168.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv.

³ *Corp. Insc. Gr.* No. 1195.

⁴ *Anthol. Græc.* iv. 142. 119.

⁵ Pausan. ix. 30. 1: Στρογγυλίωνος, .
ἀνδρὸς βοῦς καὶ ἵππου ἀρίστα εἰργασμένου.

stood in separate groups of three each, which were, however, not very far from one another. In the early mythology of Greece there were only three Muses, and it is highly probable that in this case each artist furnished a complete and separate group of all the Muses recognised at that period.

The Statue of an Amazon by Strongylion was surnamed *εὐκνημος* from the remarkable beauty of its legs, on account of which the Emperor Nero is said to have taken it about with him on his travels.¹ Strongylion also executed the

Statue of a Boy, to whom Brutus (Philippiensis) gave his own name.² Martial refers several times to this work as an example of great beauty in a small compass, and compares it on that account with his own epigrams.³

Strongylion displayed his preeminent skill in representing animals in his

*'Wooden Horse.'*⁴ It was natural that so important and celebrated a legend as that of the Trojan horse should furnish a favourite subject to Greek art. The work of Strongylion appears to have been a colossal bronze image, from the back of which the imprisoned warriors were peeping out. Pausanias specifies these as Mnestheus, Teucer, and the sons of Theseus. We learn from an inscription discovered on the Acropolis of Athens in 1840 that this statue was dedicated by Chæredēmus, and stood in the sacred enclosure of the Brauronian Artemis between the Propylæa and the Parthenon.⁵ Aristophanes refers to it in *'The Birds'*⁶ (which was represented in Ol. 91. 3 (B.C. 414)) as a familiar object of vast proportions.⁷

¹ Plin. xxxiv. 82. Conf. Brusian, *Allg. Enc.* I. xxxii. 442, note 41; Klügemann, *N. Rhein. Mus.* xxi. p. 324.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 32.

³ Martial, *Ep.* lxxvii. :—

Cosconi, qui longa putas epigrammata nostra
Utilis ungendis axibus esse potes.
Hac tu credideris longum ratione colossum
Et *puerum Brutum* dixeris esse brevem.

Conf. Martial, ix. 51. 1:

Nos facimus *Bruti puerum*.

⁴ δούρειος, 'δουράτρεος' (Homer, *Od.* viii. 493).

⁵ Inscr. in Ross, *Archæol. Aufs.* i. p. 194:

Χαιρέδμημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκεν Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησεν.

⁶ *Aves*, 1037 (ed. Bothe):

Καὶ Θεογίνης ἐναντίω δὲ ἄρματε,
Ἴππων ὑπὸ τῶν μεγέθος ὅσον ὁ δούρειος.

Conf. Schol.: οὐ πιθανὸν κοινῶς λέγειν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν Ἀκροπόλει. . . ἐν Ἀκροπόλει χαλκοῦς ἵππος κατὰ μέγεθος τοῦ Ἰλίου.

⁷ Bergk (*Zeitschr. für die alten Wiss.* 1845, p. 979) thinks that the bronze bull on the Acropolis mentioned by Pausan. (i. 24. 2, and Athen. ix. p. 396, D) was by Strongylion.

The foregoing artists may, with more or less certainty, be classed among the followers of Myron. We shall now notice a few others who may be considered as independent. Among the most considerable of these is

CALLIMACHUS,

Prime about Ol. 93 (B.C. 408)?

We are not told to what nation this artist belonged, but we may perhaps infer that he was an Athenian from the fact that he was employed to make a *Candelabra* for the eternal lamp which burned before the most ancient and sacred image of Athênê in the Erechtheum at Athens. Pausanias in mentioning this work, of which he gives no details, says that Callimachus, though he falls short of the greatest sculptors in 'art' (*ἐς αὐτὴν τὴν τέχνην*), excels them all in technical 'skill' (*σοφία*). In fact, he carried his attention to the niceties of execution to excess, and on that account acquired the surname of *Katatexitechnos* (*κατατηξίτεχνος*), 'the diluter of art,' because he lost sight of general effects in painful anxiety about details.¹ Next to his Candelabra, his principal work seems to have been a group of

Lacedæmonian Girls dancing, 'a work of faultless execution, but one which excessive diligence robbed of all grace.'² He also made a statue of

Hêrê Nymphæumene,³ which stood in the Temple of Hêrê at Plataeæ, beside the temple-image of the Goddess by Praxiteles.

The peculiarities of the style of Callimachus have very naturally acquired for him the reputation of being the first to use the drill in

¹ Pausan. i. 26. 6. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 92: 'Semper calumniator sui, nec finem habentis diligentiae.' Vitruvius, iv. 1. 10. Dionys. Hal. *De Vi Demosth.* 51: ὥστε καὶ φλέβια καὶ πτίλα καὶ χυνοὺς . . . εἰς ἄκρον ἐξεργάζεσθαι καὶ κατατήκειν εἰς ταῦτα τὰς τέχνας. Dionys. of Halicarn. (*De Isocrate*, c. iii. p. 522) compares Callimachus and Calamis with Isocrates for the delicacy and

grace of their works; a judgment which, if it stood alone, would be misleading.

² Plin. *ibid.* Rangabé thinks that these were identical with the Caryatids of the Erechtheum.

³ 'Espoused.' So called in connexion with an amusing story of a trick played on her by Zeus at the suggestion of the cunning Cithæron (Paus. ix. 3. 1).

sculpture,¹ and of having invented the elaborate forms of the Corinthian order of architecture.² The boring of marble, however, is seen in the famous Æginetan group at Munich. It may further be objected that a Corinthian capital has been found in the temple at Phigaleia; but the pillar referred to can hardly be called Corinthian in the proper sense of the word, and may, moreover, have been added subsequently to the erection of the temple. The type of the Corinthian capital, which shows a union of Ionic volutes with freer and richer vegetable forms, was of very slow growth, and cannot with any degree of historical accuracy be ascribed to any one artist.³

DEMETRIUS OF ALOPEKE,⁴

Ol. 80-90 (B.C. 460-420)?

The tendency to realism, or an undue attention to subordinate details, which we observed in Callimachus, was further developed in Demetrius to an extent which carried him far away from the region of true art. Quintilian characterises him as 'excessive in truth,' and as 'a greater lover of likeness than of beauty';⁵ and Lucian emphatically describes him as a 'maker of men and not of Gods.'⁶ Demetrius differed in his tendencies as widely as possible from Polycleitus, and so far from choosing the human form only in its bloom and pride as his model, and making beauty the chief object of his art, he preferred to display his great technical skill in representing ugliness and vulgarity. One of his chief works was a statue,⁷ which stood near the Erechtheum in Athens, of

Lysimache, a priestess of Athênê, who was sixty-four years old, and therefore no longer a suitable model for the sculptor. Still worse was his portrait statue of

Pelichus, the Corinthian general, whom he represented, not in suitable drapery, so as to show the head alone, which even in age

¹ Pausan. i. 26. 7. ² Vitruv. iv. 1. 10. Conf. Botticher's *Tektonik* (new edit. 1881).

³ O. Müller, *Handb. d. Archæol.* p. 93.

⁴ An Attic *deme* or district.

⁵ Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 9.

⁶ Lucian, *Philopseud.* 19: οὐ θεοποιὸς τις ἀλλ' ἀνθρωποποιὸς ὢν.

⁷ Or rather *statuette*, since Pausanias, i. 27. 4: ὅσον τε πήχεος μέλιστα.

may have both dignity and beauty, but 'half-naked, pot-bellied, and bald, with straggling hairs floating in the wind, protruding veins, and all the characteristics of the ugliest old age, like the very man himself.'¹

We should observe for the credit of this period that Demetrius stood alone in his extreme naturalism, and that his tendency was very generally condemned.

Of his manual skill we have abundant evidence. Lucian says of his statue of Pelichus, that if it had been of wood instead of bronze, it might have been taken for a work (*τέχνημα*) of Dædalus, 'for this too, as one says, is running away from its pedestal.'²

OTHER ARTISTS OF THIS PERIOD.

In order to complete the list of sculptors who probably belong to this period, although we know nothing of their style, &c., we may mention

PYRRHUS,

Ol. 86-94 (B.C. 436-404),

whose statue of *Athênê Hygieia* stood on the Acropolis near that of Diitrephes. The name of Pyrrhus has been found in an inscription published by Ross.³

In this, artistically speaking, unimportant series we are surprised to find the name of 'the wisest of men,'

SOCRATES, SON OF SOPHRONISCUS.

† Ol. 95. 2 (B.C. 399).

Sophroniscus was a statuary, and his illustrious son is said to have

¹ Lucian, *Philops.* 18, ἀνδρῶν ὅμοιον. Plin. jun. (*Epist.* iii. 6) describes an exactly similar bronze statue of an old man in his possession, which he appears to have valued very highly.

Good examples of the realistic style, in humorous rather than offensive examples,

are *the Fisherman* in his working dress, in the Vatican; *the Vecchia Rustica* lately discovered on the Esquiline, and now in the Conservatori Palace at Rome.

² Lucian, *Philops.* 19. Plato, *Menon.* p. 97. Vide *supra*, Dædalus, p. 20.

³ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* i. 185, 189.

followed in his youth the profession of his father,¹ and to have executed a statue of *Hermes Propulaios* and a Relief of the *three Graces*, 'Peitho, Aglaia, and Thaleia,' which was placed on the wall behind the statue of Athênê on the Acropolis. This statement, though contained in several authors, is always made with qualifications,² and is not to be depended on with any great degree of confidence. The well-known archaic (or archaistic?) *relief of the Three Graces* in the Chiaramonti Gallery of the Vatican is supposed by some to be the work referred to by ancient writers. The Goddesses are represented in very high, metope-like relief, not nude, as in later art, but in long and heavy drapery. The artist has endeavoured to individualise each of the sisters in attitude and dress, which is contrary to the practice of archaic art. The general air of lifelessness which pervades this work is against its claims to originality.

There are *three similar reliefs* in the Acropolis at Athens differing in age. The oldest of them is probably the original of which the Vatican relief is a modification. These are among the oldest Attic reliefs, and were probably offerings to Peitho, Aglaia and Thaleia, for we know that the Charites (Graces) were worshipped at the entrance of the Acropolis. A similar group is found on Attic coins.³ There was also a replica of the Vatican relief in the Gius-tiniani Gallery.⁴ Some writers—Using ('Griech. Reisen.' p. 125), Brunn, and Michaelis—think that Hermes once formed part of the group.⁵

¹ Diog. Laert. ii. 18. Valer. Max. iii. 4. ext. 1. Suidas, s. v. Σωκράτης.

² Schol. Aristoph. *Nub.* v. 773, ed. Dindorf (vol. x. p. 263): οὐκ ἀπλῶς θυμυσι κατὰ τῶν χαρίτων ὀπίσω γὰρ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἦσαν γλυφεῖσθαι αἱ χάριτες ἐν τῇ τοίχῃ, ἃς ἐλέγετο ὁ Σωκράτης γλύψαι· τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον λιθογλύφος ἦν τὴν τέχνην αἰνιττεται οὖν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σωκράτους εἰς τὴν πρῶτην τέχνην. Σωφρονίσκου γὰρ λιθοξόου ἦν υἱὸς Σωκράτης καὶ τῆς λαευντικῆς μετέσχε τέχνης, καὶ ἀνδριάντος λιθίνους

ἐλάβεον καὶ ἀγάλματα δὲ τῶν τριῶν χαρίτων εἰργάσατο, Πειθοῦς Ἀγλαίας καὶ Θαλείας καὶ ἦσαν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐγγεγραμμένα τοίχῃ. Conf. Pausan. i. 22. 8; ix. 35. 3; Plin. xxxvi. 32.

³ Millingen, *Gall. Myth.* xxxiii. p. 200. Conf. Pausan. vi. 24. 4; ix. 28. 1; ix. 35. 1.

⁴ *Giustin. Gall.* ii. 64.

⁵ But see Benndorf, *Arch. Zeit.* 1869, p. 55.

NICERATUS OF ATHENS,

About Ol. 90 (B.C. 420),

judging from the subjects of his work, must have enjoyed a considerable reputation. Statues by his hand of

Asklepios and Hygieia were seen by Pliny in the Temple of Concord at Rome. He also made portrait statues of

Alcibiades and Demarêtê, his mother, in the act of sacrificing ; and, according to Tatian, of

Glaucippe, who is known to fame as having 'brought forth an elephant ;'¹ and of

Telesilla of Argos, the poetess and warrior, who is said to have inspired the courage of her countrymen by her songs, led them in person against the Spartans, and avenged the shameful treachery of Cleomenes.² This statue stood in the Temple of Aphrodite at Argos in front of the image of the Goddess herself.³

DEINOMENES,

About Ol. 95 (B.C. 400).

The name of this artist, which we meet with in Pausanias and Pliny, has been found in an inscription on the basis of a lost statue on the Acropolis, dedicated by Metrotimus.⁴ He made statues of

Protesilaus and Pythodemos, the latter of whom was a wrestler ;⁵ also of

Io and Callisto, whose stories, says Pausanias,⁶ closely resemble one another, both having been objects of the love of Zeus, and the jealous wrath of Hêrê, and both transformed, the one into a cow, and the other into a bear.

¹ Tatian, c. *Græc.* 53 (p. 115, ed. Worth). Pliny (*N. H.* vii. 34) calls her Alcippe.

² Pausan. ii. 20. 7. Polyæn. viii. 33. Suidas, s.v. Plutarch, *De Virt. Mulier.* p.

245. Ccnf. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, iv. 434.

³ Pausan. ii. 20.

⁴ *Corpus Inscript. Gr.* No. 470.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 76. ⁶ i. 25. 1.

CLEITON,

Before Ol. 95. 2 (B.C. 399),

is interesting to us only from the mention made of him in Xenophon's 'Memorabilia,' where he is noticed as a maker of *athletic statues*—runners, wrestlers, boxers, and pancratiasts. Socrates cross-examines him, and asks him how he gave 'the look of life' to his figures ; and, as usual, suggests the answer which the puzzled sculptor had been unable to find.¹

The school of Critios also belongs to this period, but our limits will not allow us even to enumerate the artists who composed it. They are unimportant.

¹ iii. 10. 6: τὸ ζωτικὸν φαίνεσθαι, πῶς τοῦτο ἐνεργάζει τοῖς ἀνδριᾶσιν.

CHAPTER XXIX.

PELOPONNESIAN ART.

POLYCLEITUS OF SICYON.

Born OL 74. 3-75. 3 (B.C. 482-478)?

SIDE by side with the great school of Attic art, which culminated in the person of Pheidias, there existed in the Peloponnesus another school of extraordinary excellence, but of very different tendencies and character, of which Argos was the chief seat, and the Sicyonian sculptor Polycleitus the pride and glory.

Though born in Sicyon he was, like his great contemporaries Pheidias and Myron, a pupil of Ageladas,¹ and, practising his art at Argos, was counted among Argive artists.

We know very little more of his personal history than that he was employed in the plastic decoration of the famous *Temple of Hêrê* (Heraion) at Argos, built on the site of the more ancient edifice, which perished by fire in Ol. 89. 2 (B.C. 423), owing to the carelessness of its sleepy priestess Chrysis.² The date therefore, Ol. 90 (B.C. 420-416), which Pliny³ assigns to him probably marks the period of his greatest fame, when he executed his principal work, the image of Hêrê. If so, he must have been from ten to fifteen years younger than Pheidias. The estimation in which he was held may be gathered from the fact that his name is mentioned with that of Pheidias by Plato,⁴ Aristotle,⁵ Cicero,⁶ Martial,⁷ Plutarch,⁸ Lucian,⁹ Juvenal,¹⁰ and others. The names of Pheidias and Polycleitus were

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.² Thucyd. iv. 133.³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 49.⁴ *Protag.* p. 311, c.⁵ *Eth. Nicom.* vi. 7.⁶ *De Orat.* iii. 7.⁷ x. 89.⁸ *Pericles*, 2.⁹ *Somn.* 8.¹⁰ viii. 102.

naturally associated in men's minds as the two foremost representatives, the one of Attic and the other of Peloponnesian art; and the comparison between them was rendered the more inevitable and the more easy by the character of their principal works. Pheidias, as we have seen, exerted his highest powers in fashioning the chryselephantine statue of the Olympian Zeus; and the most splendid work of Polycleitus in the same materials was the image of the majestic consort of the King of Gods and men—the white-armed, ox-cyed Argive Hêrê.

THE HÊRÊ OF POLYCLEITUS.

This celebrated statue was the temple-image of the new Temple of Hêrê built by Eupolemus, about Ol. 90, on Mount Eubœa, between Argos and Mycenæ.¹ It is somewhat minutely described by Pausanias,² who tells us that the Goddess was fashioned in colossal proportions of gold and ivory, and seated on a throne. On her head she wore a diadem (στέφανος), on which *the Horæ* and *the Charites* (Hours and Graces) were carved in relief. In her right hand she held a sceptre, on the top of which was *a cuckoo*, as a reminiscence of the early loves of the divine pair, and in her left *a pomegranate*, the meaning of which Pausanias 'dares not mention,' but which is generally considered as either an emblem of fecundity or of Hêrê's triumph over Demeter.³ Pausanias further relates that the sculptor Naucydes placed *the figure of Hêbê* in gold and ivory beside her mistress.⁴ The Goddess was, as is usual in images of Hêrê, fully and richly robed, and we may gather from the epigram of Parmenio that only the neck and arms were nude.⁵ Very high praise is bestowed

¹ Pausan. ii. 17. 4: τὸ Ἡραῖον εἶναι κοινὸν ἱερὸν. . .

² Pausanias (ibid.), speaking of the sculptures on this temple, says that they represented the *Birth of Jupiter*, the *Battle of Gods and Giants*, the *Trojan War*, and the *Iliupersis* (sack of Troy). Considerable remains of these works were found by Rizo Rangabé (now Greek Minister at the Court of Berlin) in 1834, who characterised their style as a transition from the manner of Pheidias to that of Praxiteles. These interesting relics are said to lie neglected in a local museum at Argos.

³ Her daughter Persephone was lost to her after eating the seed of a pomegranate in the gardens of Hades.

⁴ Tertullian, *De Corona septem Mil.*, in a somewhat obscure passage, adds to these particulars that the goddess was surrounded by a vine, and had a lion's skin under her feet, by which her triumphs over Dionysos and Heracles were indicated: 'insultantem ostentant novercam de exuviis utriusque privigni.'

⁵ Ὁραγίος Πολύκλειτος, ὃ καὶ μόνος ἐμασιν Ἡρὴν ἀθρήσας, καὶ ὅσῃν εἶδε τυπωσάμενος θνητοῖς κάλλος ἰδεῖν ὅσον θεῖς αἱ δ' ὑπὸ κάλποισι ἀγνωστοὶ μορφαὶ Ζηρί φυλασσόμενα.
Anthol. Planud. 216.

on this work by ancient writers.¹ Philostratus speaks of it, together with the Zeus and Parthenos of Pheidias, and the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, as full of exquisite beauty;² and Strabo goes so far as to say that the *xoana* of Polycleitus, of which this was the chief, were 'the most beautiful of all in the art displayed,³ but were surpassed in costliness and size by those of Pheidias.' This was not, as we know, the general opinion of antiquity, although the Hêrê too has been made the theme of laudatory epigrams, and was, no doubt, one of the greatest triumphs of plastic art.⁴

The exceeding beauty of the famous bust at Rome known under the name of the '*Hêrê Ludovisi*' (fig. 150), the object of the ecstatic admiration of Winckelmann, Göthe, and Schiller, has seduced some writers into the pleasing belief that it is a reflex of the work of Polycleitus.⁵ This is a delusion. At that early period the Greeks did not look for human beauty or human sympathy in the faces of their Gods, but for the rigid forms, the far-off, stern, unsympathising, self-sufficing impassiveness, which seemed to them the very sign and essence of divinity. We probably get much nearer to the idea of the Hêrê of Polycleitus by contemplating such works as the *most archaic of the many heads of the Goddess contained in the Villa Ludovisi*, or the archaic head in the museum of the Acropolis at Athens, which cannot be placed later than the sixth century B.C., or the *Hera Farnese* at Naples, which should be compared with certain coins of Argos⁶ (fig. 151).

It is interesting to trace the gradual change of type in the successive representations of Hêrê in Greek and Roman sculpture. We

FIG. 150.



THE HÊRÊ LUDOVISI.

¹ Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* 14. 6: "Ἦραν εἰδείξεν Ἀργείοις Πολύκλειτος λευκώλενον, ἐλεφαντό-πηχυν, εὐώπιν, εὐέλμονα, βασιλικήν, ἰδρυμένην ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνον.

² Philostr. *Vita Apoll.* *Tyan.* vi. 19: καλὰ καὶ μεστὰ ὄρας.

³ Strabo, viii. p. 372: τῇ μὲν τέχνῃ καλ-

λιστα τῶν πάντων.

⁴ Martial. x. 89. ⁵ Hettner, *Vorschule zur bild. Kunst.* p. 202. O. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* p. 523. Others ascribe the '*Hêrê Ludovisi*' to Alcamenes.

⁶ Millingen, *Anc. Coins*, pl. iv. 19. O. Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* 132.

may perhaps class the best known of them thus : I. The *Archaic bust* in the Villa Ludovisi, stiff and rigid, without a trace of womanly feeling in the face. This bust has the typical corkscrew curls, a very broad band over the head, and long straight hair down the back of the neck. There are holes in the hair and ears, indicating ornaments of bronze or gold ; and the general effect was heightened by the use of colour. It is of the very earliest type, and shows the transition from idol to statue.¹ II. The bust called the *Hêrê Farnese* at Naples,² in which the unbending determination, not to say wilful obstinacy, of the Homeric Goddess is expressed in every feature, and especially in the massive and prominent chin. In this bust the *kredemnon*³ which

FIG. 151.



THE ARGIVE HÊRÊ.

surrounds the head in equal breadth has the effect of a crowning *stephane*, because its upper edge does not touch the forehead. The slightly wavy hair is brushed back behind the ears, and hangs down the back of the neck in an archaic plait. III. The *Archaic bust* in the Acropolis at Athens, in which the peculiar formation of the eyelid and the eye itself gives us the true idea of the *βοῶπις* (ox-eyed) Goddess. IV. The *Hêrê Girgenti* in the British Museum, which is considerably softer and freer in style. V. The *Hêrê Ludovisi, par excellence*, the most famous of all the busts of Juno, in which the divine and human, the Goddess and the Woman, are exquisitely blended, and which has just that air of *grande dame* which suits the exalted social

¹ Compare a head found by Cesnola, *Cyprus*, p. 190. The bust form, which was unknown at this early period, may seem to militate against the claim of these works to represent the style of Polycleitus. But they may have belonged to statues. Conf. also coin of Samos in Decamps, *Select.*

Numism. 83, and Millin. *Gall. Myth.* xii. 49.

² Brunn, *Annal. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 297; *Bullet. d. Inst.* 1846.

³ A kind of headdress, which could be used as a veil.

position accorded to women of high class in the reign of Alexander and his successors. VI. *A bust of Hêrê* (also in the Villa Ludovisi), with veil and lofty *stephane* as bride, in which character even *she*, for once, looks soft and mild;¹ and VII. The '*Juno Pentini*' (fig. 152), in which the stern Goddess has given place to the divine and beautiful coquette. Of a similar character is another bust of Hêrê at Naples (fig. 153).²

Another work attributed to Polycleitus is *a statue of Hermes*, originally executed for the town of Cardia or Ænos, in the Thracian

FIG. 152.



JUNO PENTINI.

FIG. 153.



JUNO AT NAPLES.

Chersonese,³ but transferred to the neighbouring town of Lysimacheia, which was founded by Lysimachus after Ol. 117. 3 (B.C. 310).

These are the only perfectly well authenticated statues of *Gods* by the hand of the great Polycleitus. Mention is made of a *Zeus Melichius*⁴ in Argos, an *Aphrodite*⁵ in Amyclæ, and a marble group of *Apollo, Leto, and Artemis*, in the Temple of *Artemis Orthia*, on

¹ See the beautiful description of Hêrê, adorning herself for conquest, in Hom. *Il.* xiv. 184:—

κρηδέμενη δ' ἐφύπερθε καλύψατο δια θεῶν
καλῶ νηγατίφ· λευκὸν δ' ἦν, ἥελιος ὥς.

Then o'er her head the imperial Goddess threw
A beauteous veil new wrought as sunlight white.

² *Mon. d. Inst.* viii. 1864–8, and *Annal. d. Inst.* 1864, p. 297.

³ Bursian, *Allg. Encycl.* I. lxxxii. p. 445, note 52. Conf. Ulrichs, *Skopas' Leben u. Werke*, p. 107.

⁴ Pausan. ii. 20. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 18. 7.

Mount Lycone, between Tegea and Argos,¹ as works of Polycleitus; but there is good reason to believe that they belong to a younger artist of the same name.²

Heracles Hégētēr, and Heracles slaying the Hydra. Pliny³ mentions a statue by Polycleitus under the former title which he saw at Rome; and Cicero⁴ refers to another statue of the same hero in the act of slaying the Hydra, but we know nothing further of them.

Amazon. According to the myth, the Amazons, after they had been defeated by Dionysos, fled to the sanctuary of the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus, which they themselves had founded. Pliny, who seems to accept the fable, relates that the most celebrated sculptors of the age were invited to compete with a statue of a female warrior for this temple. In this competition, if it ever took place, Polycleitus obtained the first prize, because each of his rivals assigned to him the second place. Pheidias is said to have stood second, Cresilas third, and Phradmon fourth.⁵

We have several statues which are supposed to be copies of the works of the three first-mentioned artists, and they resemble one another very closely in size, attitude, and drapery, and in a certain air of weakness and depression indicative of their defeat. The statue of Cresilas represented an '*Amazon wounded and fainting.*' To this description the well-known figure in the Capitoline Museum closely corresponds, both in the wound beneath the breast and the pathetic expression of the face, and we are fully justified in regarding it as a copy of the work of Cresilas.⁶

Of the second work, that of Pheidias, the so-called *Mattei Amazon* in the Vatican, is, with considerable probability, supposed to be a reproduction in marble. We know that the original bronze figure was leaning on a spear,⁷ and although the arms of the Mattei figure

¹ Pausan. ii. 24. 5.

² Brunn, *Kunstgesch.* i. p. 211. For controversy on this point vid. Bursian, *loc. cit.*; Ulrichs, *Skopas*, p. 4.

³ *N. H.* xxxiv. 56.

⁴ *De Orat.* ii. 16. 70.

⁵ Plin. xxxiv. 53. An unknown 'Cydon' is also mentioned, through a mistake of Pliny's, arising from the word *Κύδων* (Cydonian) being placed after the name Cresilas.

⁶ Vide *supra*, p. 336, fig. 148.

⁷ Lucian, *Imagg.* 4.

are restored, it is evident that the right arm was raised, and the restoration is, no doubt, correct. An exactly similar design is found on an ancient gem,¹ in which the figure is represented leaning on a spear—an attitude which well accords with the feeble appearance of her exhausted frame. We see most clearly in the wiry hair of the Mattei Amazon (which was maintained in the bronze longer than in the marble) that it is copied from an original in bronze, in which material all the Ephesian Amazons were executed. The strap by which the spur was fastened is found, according to the custom of these female warriors, on one foot only. A third statue in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (fig. 154),² remarkable for the beauty of the breast and the harmonious arrangement of the drapery, is accepted by many as a copy of the work of Polycleitus. But, as we have already said, the Amazon of Cresilas is the only one that can be identified with any certainty. We may judge of the uncertainty which prevails among many competent authorities respecting the other two from the facts that Conze³ claims the celebrated Doryphorus (generally attributed to Polycleitus) for the *Attic* school, and that it is on the likeness of the head of the Amazon in the Braccio Nuovo to that of the Doryphorus that the whole theory of its authorship rests.⁴

FIG. 154.

THE AMAZON OF
POLYCLEITUS?

¹ This gem, which has been lost, is described in Welcker's *Acad. Kunst. Mus. in Bonn*, p. 64, and copied in Overbeck, *Ges. d. Plastik*, i. 347. There is a very fine bust of an Amazon in the Conservatori Palace at Rome which resembles closely the Amazon ascribed to Pheidias. It was found in the 'Orti di Mecaenae' in the Esquiline. The expression of the eyes is mournful, and the slightly open mouth adds to the pathetic expression of the face. The wiry snake-like hair, two locks of which are bound behind the head, indicates that it is copied from a bronze original.

² With which a beautiful bronze statuette in Florence should be compared.

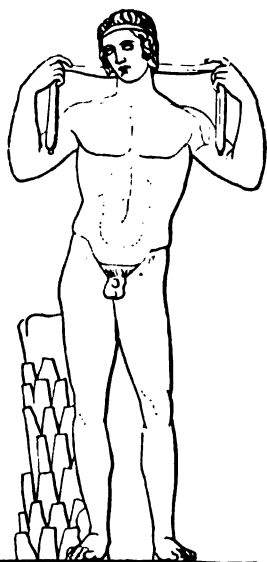
³ *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. gr. Plastik*, p. 6.

⁴ Some writers think that they see the characteristics of Polycleitus' style in an Amazon found in 1869 near the Baths of Diocletian, and now at Berlin. It resembles the figure in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, mentioned in the text. As other representations of this favourite subject we may mention the figure in the Pal. Borghese at Rome (*Annali dell' Instit.* 1872, 95). Conf. *Jahn, Annali*, 1864, 239, vol. viii. 7.

ATHLETES. We now come to the special field of Peloponnesian art in general, and of Polycleitus in particular. However honourably this great artist may have acquitted himself in the attempt to create a Hērē worthy of the Pheidian Zeus, he was only in his real element when moulding the manly form in its greatest natural perfection, developed and beautified by the exercises of the 'grace-giving palæstra.'

Pausanias mentions by name *six statues of victors* in the Olympian

FIG. 155.



DIADUMENOS FARNESE.

games, from different parts of Greece, as the works of Polycleitus.¹ There is a very beautiful *head of a Palæstrite* in the style of Polycleitus in the Archiginnasio at Bologna; but the most celebrated works of Polycleitus were not portrait statues of real athletes, but ideal forms which fall into the category of *genre*.

The Diadumenos. Pliny² mentions under this name a statue by Polycleitus of a youth of tender age ('molliter juvenem'), which was so greatly admired that it was sold for a hundred talents, about 23,000*l*. Lucian³ also refers to it as 'the beautiful.' The well-known *Diadumenos Farnese* (fig. 155), now in the British Museum,⁴ is supposed by some to be a copy

of this work; while others refer it to an original by Pheidias himself.⁵

¹ Pausan. vi. 13. 6; vi. 4. 11; vi. 7. 10; vi. 9. 2. Perhaps of Polycleitus II.

² *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.

³ *Philopseud.* 18: τὸν διαδούμενον τὴν κεφαλὴν τῇ ταινίᾳ τὸν καλόν, Πολυκλείτου γὰρ τοῦτο ἔργον.

⁴ Since 1864.

⁵ There is a beautiful head, probably from a similar figure, in the museum at Cassel, which also seems more Attic than Peloponnesian in its style. This head was among

the works of art exhibited in Paris, October 14, 1807, and appears in the catalogue (Paris, Dubray, *Imprimeur du Mus. Nap.* 1807, p. 6, No. 31) under the title, '*Tête d'un jeune homme dont les cheveux et le front sont serrés d'un large bandeau.*' Vid. Bötticher, *Kön. Mus.* 437. The Brit. Museum possesses another figure from the class of athletic *genre*, called the *Diadumenos 'Vaison.'*

The Doryphorus. By far the most celebrated work of Polycleitus, and the one in which his scope and style were most fully represented, was the so-called *Doryphorus* ('The Spear-bearer'). This was a statue of a robust youth, 'viriliter puerum,' whose whole frame had been developed to its full size and strength by gymnastic and martial exercises. He was represented as standing, quiet and motionless, with a lance in his hand. It is referred to by Quintilian, who says that the most celebrated artists, 'when they wish to mould or paint the most beautiful human forms, never fall into the error of taking some Bogoas or Megabyzus as their model, but that celebrated Doryphorus fit for the palæstra or the field of battle.' This work, too, was, in one sense, though not the highest, ideal; inasmuch as no such figure ever existed. It was the human form freed from all the inherited or acquired defects which are found in every living man. It was, no doubt, the embodiment of the great artist's theory of the proportions of the manly frame, for Pliny appears to say that he was 'the only man who has left a manual of his art in a work of art.'¹ Polycleitus is also said to have committed his system to writing in a treatise, in which he laid down the proportion of the different parts of the body to one another — 'of finger to finger, palm of the hand to fingers, whole hand to wrist, hand and wrist to fore-arm, fore-arm to upper-arm, and of all to each — as is written in the *canon* of Polycleitus.'² There seems good reason to believe that the Doryphorus was identical with the figure so often referred to by ancient writers as '*the canon*' (ὁ κανὼν) of Polycleitus,³ in which he represented the normal youthful athlete according to the scheme laid down in his written treatise. Cicero alludes to this statue, saying that it was the teacher of the sculptor Lysippus. Lucian, too, rather to our surprise, considering the somewhat heavy⁴ type of Polycleitus' figures, likens his idea of a perfect dancer to this

¹ *N. H.* xxxiv. 55: 'Solusque hominum Artem ipsam fecisse artis opere judicatur.' This is Otto Jahn's interpretation.

² Galen. *De Plac. Hipp. et Plat.* 5. Vitruvius (iii. 1) expressed these proportions in numbers, and the question is whether he followed the Canon of Polycleitus.

³ Friedr. (*Baust.* 118), Thiersch (*Epochen.* 357), and Brunn (*Künstler-Gesch.* i. 215)

maintain the contrary. The question depends somewhat on the punctuation of the passage in Plin. xxxiv. 55, 'puerum fecit, et quem canona vocant,' or 'puerum; fecit et quem canona vocant,' &c. The text as it stands seems to me to be in favour of *two* statues, but the matter is not decided by this one passage.

⁴ Cic. *Brut.* 86. 296; *Orat.* ii. 5.

same canon. 'I fancy,' he says, 'that a form will present itself to me; like the canon of Polycleitus; let it be neither too tall and immoderately long, nor low and dwarfish in its stature, but accurately proportioned (*ἡμετρος ἀκριβῶς*).'¹

It is highly probable that among the many existing antique statues of lance-bearing youths of the massive type ascribed to Polycleitus we possess copies of the canon. Among these *the figure from Herculaneum at Naples* is generally considered to give the best idea of the work of Polycleitus. Some archæologists think that a still closer copy of the Doryphorus is concealed from us in the Vatican (Braccio Nuovo) by its false restoration as a *Discobolus*.² This statue is a good example of the manner of the Peloponnesian school. The upper part of the breast is made abnormally large, by which the free play of the lungs and the robust strength of the young athlete are forcibly expressed. This feature is characteristic of the fifth century B.C., and more especially so of Polycleitus, who was as celebrated for his formation of the breast as Myron for his heads, and Praxiteles for his arms.³

Athlete. Pliny mentions in a few words an Athlete by Polycleitus engaged in scraping himself with the strigil after exercise ('*se destringentem*'), probably in the same manner as the well-known Apoxyomenos of Lysippus.⁴ In the same sentence he speaks of a

Wrestler, 'showing his art in the use of his heels' ('*talo incessentem*').⁵ Of these two statues we know nothing but the name and subject. We are able to gain a clearer notion of another work of Polycleitus called

Astragalizontes, a group of two nude boys playing with knucklebones, which stood in the palace of the Emperor Titus, and was generally considered to be 'unsurpassed as a work of art.'⁶ The well-known *group in the British Museum* (fig. 156) is referred

¹ Lucian, *De Saltat.* 75.

² This was first pointed out to me by Prof. Helbig at Rome.

³ 'Chares a Lysippo statuas facere non isto modo didicit ut Lysippus caput ostenderet Myronis, brachia Praxitelis, pectus Polycleiti.'

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 55.

⁵ 'παγκρατιαστὴν ἀποπτερίζοντα,' Jacobs, *ad Philostr.* p. 435; *ap.* O. Müller, *Handb. d. Arch.* p. 113.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 55: '*talīs ludentes . . . hoc opere nullum absolutius plerique judicant.*'

by some to the original of Polycleitus, but without sufficient reason ; the whole style and tone of this beautiful work, which is Roman in execution though of Greek invention, are against the supposition.¹

The two Canephoræ, which Verres stole from Heius of Messana, were also attributed to Polycleitus, whose name Cicero mentions with the greatest reverence. These were two bronze figures, not very large, but of exquisite beauty, with the air and dress of virgins, bearing the sacred vessels on their heads in a basket, after the manner of the Athenian Canephoræ.² A writer of the fourth century of our era speaks of them in the same sentence with the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias and the Cow of Myron.³ Polycleitus is also said to have executed a statue of

FIG. 156.



ASTRAGALIZONTES.

Artemon, surnamed *Periphoretos*, an engineer employed by Pericles in his wars, and so named because, being lame, he inspected the warlike machines from a litter.⁴ He has sometimes been confounded with an effeminate youth of the same name mentioned by Anacreon.⁵

STYLE OF POLYCLEITUS.

In our efforts to form a conception of the genius and style of the greatest of Peloponnesian sculptors, we receive more aid than usual from ancient amateurs and critics. There was, as is well known, a very marked difference between the scope and manner of the Peloponnesian school on the one hand, and the Attic on the other, and Polycleitus is as true a representative of the former as Pheidias of the

¹ In the one preserved figure of this group the teeth are shown in a very remarkable and unusual manner. It reminds us of Murillo's 'Putti.' Vid. *Anc. Marb.* ii. 3; and *Arch. Zeit.* 1867, p. 103. There is a marble statue of a girl playing with astragals, of good Ro-

man work, in the Berlin Museum.

² Cic. *in Verrem*, iv. 3. 5.

³ Symmach. *Epist.* i. 23.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 56. Plut. *Pericl.* 27

⁵ Anacr. *Carm. rell.* ed. Bergk, p. 110.

latter. We expect to find the type of Polycleitus's figures, as compared with those of his Attic predecessors and contemporaries, and also those of his successors, Lysippus, &c., somewhat broad and heavy. Varro expresses these qualities by the term *quadrata*,¹ which, though it may not correspond exactly to our 'square-built,' 'thickset,' denotes a certain breadth and solidity, as opposed to the elegance of Attic art and to the length and slimness which Lysippus gave to his statues.

In comparing Polycleitus with his greater rival Pheidias, we may take as our guide the well-known passages in Cicero and Quintilian.² As regards technical skill, and, in one sense, beauty of work, it was a question to which of the two the palm should be awarded. The former writer says that, '*in his opinion*,' the statues of Polycleitus were 'almost perfect,' by which he probably meant that others preferred the soft elegance of a Praxiteles, or the *abandon* of a Scopas. Quintilian³ maintains that the great Sicyonian surpassed all others in '*industry*' (finish) and graceful dignity.⁴ His '*industry*' is further attested by his saying, recorded by Plutarch, that the artist's work became most difficult '*when the clay came to the nail*,'⁵ i.e. when the last finishing touches had to be given. 'But although,' adds Quintilian, 'the palm is awarded to him by most persons, yet that some qualification (*ne nihil detrahatur*) may be made, they think that he wanted dignity (or majesty) (*pondus*), for though he endowed the human form with a beauty beyond the truth of nature, he did not reach the sublimity (*auctoritatem*) of the Gods.' We have here the gist of the whole matter. Pheidias employed the human form, in an ideal and supernatural development, to embody his visions of the divine nature. By the demiurgic force of his genius

¹ *Apud* Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 56. Celsus, *De Medic.* ii. 1: 'Corpus autem habilissimum quadratum est, neque gracile neque obesum.' The equivalent, τετράγωνος, was applied to qualities of mind and character. Plato, *Protag.* 344 A (*Fragm.* 12. 2, Schneidewin): καὶ ποσὶ καὶ νόβη τετράγωνος τετυγμένος. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* i. 10. 11, τετράγωνος ἀνὴρ.

² Cic. *Brut.* 18. 70.

³ Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 7.

⁴ 'Decor.' Conf. Cicero, *De Officiis*, i. 35: 'Status, incessus, sessio, accubitio, vultus

oculi, manuum motus teneant decorum. Quibus in rebus duo maxime efficienda, ne quid effeminatum aut molle, et ne quid durum et rusticum.'

⁵ Plutarch, *Quest. Conviv.* ii. 3. 2: ὑπὲρ οὗ τὸν Πολύκλειτον οἰόμεθα λέγειν, ὡς ἔστι χαλεπώτατον αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, οἷς ἂν εἰς ὕψους δὲ πηλὸς ἀφίκεται. Conf. Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 102:

'... nec non Polycliti
Multus ubique labor.'

he created the Gods of Greece, and men and Gods accepted and approved his work. But Polycleitus regarded the perfect human form—such as Nature, freed from accidents, *would* have made it—as the scope and limit of his aspirations. He did not even try to reach the awful majesty of the Gods; but he set before his countrymen the ideal man ‘supra verum,’ such as we never see, indeed, but such as he might be, in the prime of life, if, born without blot or blemish, his frame were developed by healthy growth and judicious training into perfect harmony and beauty. He rested there. It is true that he formed a Hêrê, and one which could be praised; and it is on account of this work that he is classed with Pheidias for the qualities of ‘sublimity, grandeur, and dignity,’¹ as compared with ‘the elegance and grace of Calamis and Callimachus.’ But this was not the kind of subject he would have chosen for himself; and though he seems to have equalled, if not excelled, Pheidias in the toreutic art,² his chryselephantine Hêrê did not excite the enthusiasm of antiquity like the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, or even his own athletic statues. For once, when called on by his country, he made an exceptional effort to soar to Olympian heights and embody the Divine, but his true sphere of action was on earth.

Nor does Polycleitus appear to have chosen for representation the female form, the favourite subject of Attic artists, but rather man in the bloom of his youth, or in the combined activity and strength of his early manhood; and hence Quintilian says of him that ‘he avoided the graver (*graviorem*) age, and ventured on nothing but smooth cheeks.’³

Much of what we have here said would apply to his older contemporary Myron, with whom he had a common subject, and to whom he is directly compared. Myron was thought to excel Polycleitus ‘in variety of rhythm,’ by which is meant that the former delighted in portraying the perfect athletic form not in repose, but in moments of the most intense and complicated activity, when all the

¹ Dion. Hal. *De Isocr.* 3, p. 541, ed. Reiske: Κατὰ τὸ σεμνὸν καὶ μεγαλότεχρον καὶ ἀξιοματικόν.

² Plin. xxxiv. 56: ‘Hic (Polycleitus) con-

summasse hanc scientiam iudicatur, et toreuticon sic erudisse ut Pheidias aperuisse.’

³ Quint. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10, 7.

forces of mind and body were concentrated into one focus, as in the Discobolus and the Ladas.

Polycleitus was an architect as well as a sculptor, and Pausanias speaks in eulogistic terms of an odeum (theatre) built by him at Epidaurus. 'For harmony and beauty,' he says, 'what artist will venture to contend with Polycleitus?' He was also especially celebrated as a caster of bronze, and for his skill in the toreutic art, which includes both the working in gold and ivory, and the chasing of the precious metals; which arts he appears to have carried to the highest perfection.¹

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 54. Strabo, viii. 372. Martial, viii. 51. 2. Statius, *Sylv.* ii. 2. 67.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SCHOOL OF POLYCLEITUS.

AN artist like Polycleitus, whose works were the offspring of clear intelligence and careful study, rather than of inspired genius and lively imagination, would naturally have a greater number of pupils than a Pheidias. His aims were not the very highest, but he thoroughly attained them, and there was nothing altogether hopeless or absurd in the attempt to follow him. While, therefore, the great Attic master can hardly be said to have formed a distinct school at all, we are able to trace the teaching and influence of Polycleitus through four or five successive generations of disciples. It was to him and to his school, in a very great measure, that his country was indebted for the extraordinary prevalence of that pure and refined taste, and accurate workmanship, which surprises us in the productions of even the ordinary artisan; and that passionate love for real beauty in art, which seems to have pervaded the whole Greek race.

Of the immediate pupils of Polycleitus the following names are recorded: Asopodorus, Alexis, Phryno, the two Arcadians Athenodorus and Demeas of Cleitor,¹ Canachus, and Pericleitus. Some of these were employed in the execution of *the great offering at Olympia*, made by the Lacedæmonians for their naval victory under Lysander at Ægospotami. This monument—which is the more interesting because it reminds us of a similar work by Pheidias offered for the victory at Marathon—consisted of a group of nearly *forty bronze statues* arranged in a double row, probably on a semicircular basis. Even the insane and baneful ambition of a Lysander must have been fully

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 50. Pausan. x. 9. 8, 9.

gratified for the moment by the erection of such a monument in such a place. In spite of the presence of the Gods, it is evident that *Lysander* 'with long hair and noble beard,' after the ancient fashion,' was the central figure. As god of the sea on which the victory was gained, *Poseidon* placed a garland on the hero's head, and *Zeus*, *Apollo*, *Artemis*, and the *Dioscuri* were witnesses of his triumph. These, with *Abas*² the Seer in attendance on *Lysander*, and *Hermon*, the pilot of his ship, formed the front row. The statues of *Zeus* and *Apollo* were the work of *Athenodorus*, those of *Poseidon* and *Lysander* were by *Dameas*. Both these artists were pupils of *Polycleitus*, and both Arcadians from *Cleitor*. The seer *Abas* was made by *Pison* of *Calaurcia*; *Hermon* the pilot by *Theocosmus*; and the *Dioscuri* by *Antiphanes*. Behind these principal figures were statues of *Spartans* or their allies,³ who had taken a prominent part in the battle. Of these *Canachus* of *Sicyon*, another pupil of *Polycleitus*, and *Patrocles*, made ten, *Tisander* eleven, and *Alypos* of *Sicyon* seven.

Among the immediate pupils of *Polycleitus* mentioned above was *Pericleitus*, who is chiefly known as the teacher of

ANTIPHANES OF ARGOS,⁴

Ol. 93-103 (B.C. 408-368),

who executed the statues of the *Dioscuri*⁵ in the Lacedæmonian group described above. This artist also made a '*Trojan Horse*' in bronze for the Argives, as an offering for their victory over the Lacedæmonians at *Thyrea* (B.C. 414). We are able to trace the school of *Polycleitus* to a fourth generation in the person of a pupil of *Antiphanes*,

¹ Plut. *Lysand.* i.

² *Lysander* must have had more than one prophet! We read (Pausan. iii. 11. 5) that *Agias* prophesied that *Lysander* would capture the fleet of the Athenians except ten triremes.

³ 'The sea-blue Nauarchs' (Plut. *De Pyth. Orac.* 2).

⁴ Pausan. v. 17. 3.

⁵ Plutarch (*Lysander*, 18) refers to this group, and says that *Lysander* 'set up in Delphi, from the spoils of the victory at *Ægospotami*, a bronze image of himself and each of his captains, and the golden stars of the *Dioscuri*, which disappeared from their places before the battle of *Leuctra*.'

CLEON OF SICYON,

OL. 98 (B.C. 388),

who made two of the bronze images of Zeus called *Zanes*, set up in the Altis at Olympia. The pedestals of these statues have been discovered near the eastern end of the northern wall of the Altis. The cost of their erection was defrayed from the fines levied on those who violated the regulations of the Olympian contests, which they had sworn to observe before the altar of Zeus Horkios.¹ The names of the offenders were inscribed on the bases of these statues as a punishment and a warning. Cleon also executed an image of *Aphroditē* in bronze, and statues of victorious *athletes*, among which was that of *Hysmon the Eleian*, who was represented with the jumping weights (*ἀλτήρας ἀρχαίους*) in his hands.²

The names of several artists are recorded who, though not direct pupils of Polycleitus, may be considered to have worked on the lines laid down by him. Of these we can only mention the most important.

PATROCLES OF SICYON,³

Born OL. 77. 3 (B.C. 470),

who, as we have seen above, executed *ten figures* for the Lacedæmonian group, appears in Pliny as a sculptor of athletic figures. He is, however, best known as the father of three considerable artists: Naucydes, Dædalus, and Polycleitus II., of whom the eldest probably was

NAUCYDES OF ARGOS,

Born OL. 85. 1 (B.C. 440).

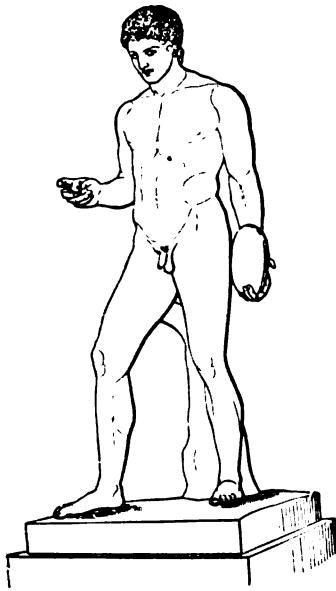
This artist has been generally called the son of an otherwise unknown artist *Mothon* from an erroneous rendering of a passage in

¹ Thucyd. vi. 95. Pausan. v. 21. 2; 22.
1. Conf. C. T. Newton, 'The Discoveries at Olympia,' *Edinb. Rev.* Jan. 1879.

² Pausan. vi. 3. 9.
³ Brunn, *Ber. d. Kön. bayer. Acad. Nov.* 6, 1880, p. 446.

Pausanias.¹ The word *Móθwnos*, which has been translated 'son of Mothon,' probably denotes the place in which he lived, viz. *Methana*, between Epidaurus and Trœzen. Naucydes therefore was *Μεθωναῖος Ἀργεῖος*.² He is said to have made a chryselephantine statue of *Hêbé*, as attendant on the renowned work of the elder Polycleitus, the Argive *Hêrê*.³ Of Gods he made a statue of *Hecatê* for her temple at Argos, and a *Hermes*. The best known of his other works were *Phrixus sacrificing the ram*;⁴ two statues of the *Olympian Wrestler Cheimon*, one of which

FIG. 157.

THE DISCOBOLUS AFTER
NAUCYDES?

was removed from Argos to the Temple of Concord in Rome;⁵ a statue of *Eucles the boxer*, nephew of the illustrious Rhodian, Diagoras, on whom Pindar has bestowed immortal honours;⁶ and above all a *genre* figure of a

*Discobolus*⁷ (fig. 157), of which some writers, on slender grounds, would see a copy in the Vatican statue⁸ found by Gavin Hamilton on the Appian Way at Rome. This beautiful figure, which appears to me much more Attic than Peloponnesian in style, represents an athlete standing quietly with his quoit in his left hand, collecting all his powers for the crowning effort. He is in the act of taking up his position, as is shown by the advanced right leg; he is measuring the ground with his eye, and at the same time moving the fingers of his right hand, as if to test their strength

¹ τὸ μὲν (ἔγαλμα), Πολύκλειτος ἐποίησε, τὸ δὲ ἀδελφὸς Πολυκλείτου (some MSS. have *Περικλείτου*) *Ναυκίδης Μόθωνος*. The fact that of the three brothers *Dædalus* is called a Sicyonian, and the two others Argives, is satisfactorily explained by Brunn; but see Ephesian inscription, in *Corp. Inscr. gr.* 2984, and some lately discovered Olympian inscriptions, quoted in *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 45, n.

221, and *Arch. Z.* 1878, p. 84, n. 129.

² Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, p. 46. Brunn, *loc. cit.* Thucydides (iv. 45) calls it *Μεθάνη*, *ibid.*

³ Pausan. ix. 32.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 80. Pausan. i. 242.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 9. 3.

⁶ *Ol.* vii.

⁷ Plin. *loc. cit.*

⁸ In the *Sala di Biga*.

and pliancy, on which his fate depends. Whether it is a copy of the work of Naucydes or not, it is no doubt a work of great excellence from the best period of Greek art. Some writers ascribe the original of the Vatican Discobolus to Alcamenes.¹

Considerable poetic interest attaches to another work of Naucydes mentioned by Tatian, viz. a statue of *the Lesbian Poetess Erinna*, the contemporary and friend of Sappho, who died a virgin at the age of nineteen after producing verses 'worthy of Homer.'² Her chief work was called *Ἡλακάτη* (the distaff), of which only four verses are extant. According to a passage in the 'Ecphrasis' of Christodorus, Erinna was represented sitting, lost in poetic musing and forgetful of the congenial labours in which 'the fear of her mother'³ compelled her to occupy herself.

Παρθενική δ' Ἥρινα λιγύθροος ἔζητο κούρη
οὐ μίτον ἀμφάρωσα πολύπλοκον, ἀλλ' ἐνὶ σιγῇ
Πιερίης ραθάμυγας ἀποσταλάουσα μελίσσης.

There sat in stone Erinna, vocal maid,
No woven maze of threads her hand essayed,
But from her musing soul flowed silently
The purest honey of Pieria's bee.—H. A. P.

Naucydes had several distinguished pupils, among whom was *Alypos* of Sicyon, Ol. 93. 4 (B.C. 405), who as a very young man was employed in the execution of the Lacedæmonian trophy mentioned above.

DÆDALUS OF SICYON,

who was also engaged in the same work, was probably the second son

¹ See Lübke, *Gesch. d. Plastik*. p. 168.

² Suidas, t. ii. p. 75: οἱ δὲ στίχοι αὐτῆς ἐκρίθησαν ἴσοι τοῖς Ὀμήρου. In reference to the small number of her verses, see the Epigram (*Cod. Pal.* p. 330; *Anal.* ii. p. 19, 47):—

Ἀντίτερος κύκνου μικρὸς θρόος ἢ κολοίων
Κρωγὸς ἐν εἰρηναῖς κιδνόμενος νεφέλαις.
Nobler in the realm of music are the swans that rarely sing,

Than the myriad daws whose clamour fills the very skies in spring.—H. A. P.

³ Epigr. *Cod. Pal. Anal.* iii. p. 261:—

Ἡ καὶ ἐπ' ἡλακάτῃ μητρὸς φόβῳ, ἢ καὶ ἐφ' ἰστοῖ
Ἔσθῃκει, Μουσέων λάτρις ἐφαπτομένη.

The Muses' vot'ry loom and distaff plied
In fear her angry mother else should chide.—H.A.P.
Conf. 'Erinna,' Welcker in Creuzer's *Meletemata*, pt. ii. p. 3.

of Patrocles,¹ of whom, according to Pausanias,² he was also a pupil. Pliny³ mentions him as a sculptor of iconic statues of Olympian victors.

The celebrity of Dædalus is further attested by a *trophy* in the Altis at Olympia, which he was commissioned to make by the Eleians themselves for a victory over the Lacedæmonians in Ol. 95 (B.C. 400).⁴ His other works, of the nature of *genre*, were *two boys using the strigil*⁵ after exercise (*ἀποξυόμενοι*) and a *Girl bathing*⁶ (fig. 158), generally called Venus, which stood in Pliny's time in the portico of Octavia at Rome. This was probably the prototype of the well-known *Cowering Venus* (*Venus accroupie*), of which there are copies in the Vatican, Louvre, and other museums.⁷ The youngest son of Patrocles was

FIG. 158.



COWERING 'APHRODITE.'

POLYCLEITUS THE YOUNGER,

Ol. 93. 4 (B.C. 405),

who appears to have been⁸ a pupil of his own brother Naucydes. To Polycleitus the younger, and not to his great predecessor and namesake, is generally ascribed the statue of

Zeus Meilichios, offered by the Argives in atonement for the massacre of Bryas and his guard of a thousand men. This general was accused of violence towards a maiden of Argos, and he and his troops were destroyed by the enraged citizens.⁹ The most interesting of his works for the history of art is his

Zeus Philios, as being of an entirely different type from that of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias. This statue stood in the sacred precincts of the Temple of Demeter and Cora at Megalopolis, and repre-

¹ Vid. *Corp. Inscr. gr.* 2984, and the Olympian inscription referred to above.

² Pausan. vi. 3. 4.

³ *N. H.* xxxiv. 50.

⁴ Perhaps after the retreat of King Agis from the R. Alpheius in consequence of an earthquake. Paus. viii. 3. Xenoph. *Hell.* 2. 25. Grote, *H. of Greece*, viii. 313. Clinton, *F. H.* 400.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 76.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 35.

⁷ See engravings of this figure in Bouillon, &c. i. 15, 1; Clarac, *Mus. de Sc.* 345, 1417; and Stephani, *Compte rendu* de 1859.

⁸ vi. 6. 2.

⁹ Pausan. ii. 20. 2. Conf. Diodor. viii. 75. It may still be doubted whether this statue was the work of the older or younger Polycleitus.

sented the God in his character of patron of friendship. According to Pausanias this new type of Zeus was invested with the attributes of Dionysos, wearing the buskin, and holding a cup in one hand and in the other a thyrsos. On the top of the thyrsos was an eagle, which is not usually found in the representations of Dionysos.¹ His statue of

Antipatros of Miletus, a boy who was victorious in a boxing-match at Olympia, is connected with a story which throws a curious light on the intrigues to which the keen rivalry of the Grecian States gave rise. In the 98th Olympiad Dionysius, the Tyrant of Sicily, sent a splendid embassy to represent him at the Olympic games. The Sicilian envoys succeeded in bribing the father of Antipatros to induce his son to be proclaimed as a Syracusan instead of a Milesian; the boy, however, rejected their gifts with scorn,² and claimed his honours in the name of his own country.

In no known connexion with the above we find the name of another Argive artist of this period, named

PHRADMON,

Ol. 90 (B.C. 420)?

who competed, as is said, with Pheidias and others with the statue of *an Amazon*, and was adjudged the last place.³ He made a statue of *Amertas* the boxer, and a bronze group of *twelve cows*, as an offering for a victory over the Illyrians, which is the subject of an epigram.⁴

ARTISTS IN OTHER PARTS OF GREECE.

Of these the best known are

CLEOITAS AND ARISTOCLES.

Ol. 86-90 (B.C. 436-420).

Cleoitas is said to have contrived the ἀφesis—a complicated

¹ Pausan. viii. 31. 4. Preller, *Arch. Zeitung*, 1845, p. 105.

² Pausan. vi. 2. 4. ³ Plin. *N.H.* xlix. 53.

⁴ *Anthol. Palat.* ix. 743.

system of barriers connected with the chariot-races—at Olympia, as is recorded in elegiac verses on the base of one of his statues at Athens.¹

NICODAMUS OF MÆNALUS (ARCADIA),

Ol. 90 (B.C. 420),

who executed a statue of *Athênê*,² standing erect, with helmet and ægis; two statues of *Heracles as a boy*, in one of which he is represented as shooting the Nemean lion.³

CALLICLES OF MEGARA,

Ol. 100 (B.C. 380),

the son of Theocosmus of Megara, the sculptor of an iconic statue of the great descendant of Heracles, *Diagoras of Rhodes*, surnamed 'the victorious,' who enjoyed the rare honour of being a *περιοδονίκης* (victor at all four Greek festivals). The seventh Olympian ode of Pindar, written in his honour, was inscribed in letters of gold on the Temple of Athênê at Cnidos in Rhodes.⁴

APELLAS THE PELOPONNESIAN,

Ol. 100 (B.C. 388),

son of Callicles, and grandson of Theocosmus of Megara, as has been established on the ground of inscriptions recently discovered in Olympia.⁵ Apellas made statues of *philosophers*, and *women*

¹ Pausan. vi. 24. 14. Conf. Stenhope, *Olympia*, and C. T. Newton, *Edin. Rev.* Jan. 1879.

² Beside the 'Young Heracles' of the Capitol, there is a 'Boy Heracles' in Lansdowne House. Ageladas had previously made a

beardless Heracles (Paus. vii. 24. 2).

³ For other statues by Nicodamus vid. Paus. vi. 6. 1; v. 26. 6; 25. 7; vi. 6. 3; 3. 9.

⁴ Schol. *Pind.* p. 158, Boeckh.

⁵ Brunn, *op. cit.* p. 484. Conf. Furtwängler, *Arch. Zeit.* 1880, p. 152.

praying; but his principal work was an iconic statue of *Cynisca*, daughter of Archidamus, and sister of Agesilaus, 'the first woman,' according to Pausanias,¹ who employed herself in breeding horses, and carried off the Olympic palm. A heroum was erected in her honour at Sparta, near the gymnasium, called Πλατανιστάς (grove of plane trees).

¹ vi. 1. 6. *Ibid.* iii. 8. 1; 15. 1.

FOURTH PERIOD.

*FROM THE END OF THE PELOPONNESIAN
WAR TO THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER
THE GREAT. OL. 94-111 (B.C. 404-336).*

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE YOUNGER ATTIC SCHOOL.

IT is customary with the historians of Greek art to represent the period on which we enter at the end of the Peloponnesian war as having little traceable connexion with the preceding Periclean age. Yet the dominant tendencies of the later school are manifestly the logical sequence of those which prevailed in the preceding periods. The development of Greek art, in its progress from youth to manhood and decay, is perfectly organic and normal. It is indeed difficult to trace the connexion between Pheidias, Myron, Polycleitus, &c. and the *coryphæi* of the new Attic school, Scopas and Praxiteles; but we cannot doubt that they form part of the same golden chain, though some of the intermediate links are hidden from us by the dust and ruins of the Peloponnesian war. There is scarcely any characteristic of the new period—whether political, religious or social—the germs, at least, of which may not be seen before the Peloponnesian war; though, no doubt, the fierce heat engendered in that terrible conflict did much to

accelerate their maturity and to make them predominant in the Grecian world.

Great indeed was the change produced in the region of art, as well as in every other phase of Greek life and civilisation, by the results of this long and sanguinary war ; and we shall gain the clearest idea of the characteristics of the new school, and the state of things from which they sprang, by contrasting them with those of the Periclean age. The latter, as we have seen, took its colour from the events and results of the Persian wars. The sudden call to meet the giant power of Darius produced nothing less than a political and social revolution in Greece. Resistance was determined on, but resistance was possible to the Greeks only on condition of their being ready to sacrifice every selfish interest and feeling to the general weal. To give the Athenian State any chance of success in the tremendous conflict with Persia the whole force of the country must be placed at its disposal—the individual must be valued, and value himself, only so far as he could promote his country's honour and independence.

The Athenians who came to the front in this awful crisis had been inclined, like their Ionian kinsmen in Asia Minor, to luxury and effeminacy ; they had been divided into factions, and the rich and noble had tyrannised over the poor. But only freemen could be expected to risk all for the preservation of national independence, and only the self-denying and the temperate would prefer labour, privation, and danger to gilded slavery. It is characteristic of the crisis that the Athenians at this period changed the long flowing Ionian robes for the short woollen tunic, more suitable to the exigencies of a hardy active life. The resolute turn which then took place in the life of the Athenians towards simplicity, manliness, self-restraint, and subordination of the individual to the State, continued during the whole of the Periclean age, and greatly influenced the character of Attic art.

The religious feeling of the nation too was powerfully worked upon by the events of the Persian war, and was most closely and favourably connected with the development of the noblest art. Undoubting faith in the existence and intervention of the Gods still ruled in the heart of the nation, and the feeling of reverential awe

was mingled with gratitude for assistance on the field of battle, and for the rich rewards of victory. The greatest minds of the age were foremost in giving the Gods their due. Æschylus, himself a Marathonian warrior, was so imbued with the divine spirit that he seems to speak the language of the Gods. The most exalted piety breathes in the glorious verse of Pindar and Sophocles ; and even Pericles, the friend of Anaxagoras the Apostle of *νοῦς* (Geist), who partook of the philosophic culture of the age, would undertake nothing without prayer to the Gods.¹

When we look for the characteristics of style in the plastic art of this grand period, we find in them the natural outcome of the political, religious and social tendencies of the times. The age of Pericles and Pindar and Sophocles was the age of Pheidias and Polycleitus. Its artistic, no less than its literary, productions are marvels, in which the highest powers and noblest feelings of the human mind are harmoniously blended. The subjects chosen for representation are the loftiest which the heathen mind can contemplate—the Olympian Zeus—the Argive Hêrê—the Athênê Parthenos—the Aphroditê Urania—in whose lineaments the same sublime and noble thoughts, the same elevating faith, the same loving reverence, were embodied, as in the odes of Pindar, and the tragedies of Æschylus and Sophocles. When art condescends to human subjects they are equally characteristic of the age. In the Aristion we see the rustic, hardy, patient Marathonian warrior,² and in the Discobolus of Myron,³ the Doryphorus of Polycleitus, and the Rider of the Parthenon frieze, we see the spirited yet simple and well-disciplined young Greek of the time, *patiens pulveris atque solis*, trained for the service of his country in every manly exercise.

The younger school of Attic art, of which we have now to speak, arose under very different circumstances. Pheidias and Polycleitus probably died just before the commencement of the Peloponnesian War (B.C. 401). The first great lights of the new period did not appear above the horizon until after the Peace of Antalcidas (B.C. 387), when Athens was partially recovering from the state of

¹ Plutarch, *Pericles*.

² Vid. *supra*, p. 159.

³ Vid. *supra*, p. 106. 'Rusticorum mascula militum proles.'

humiliation and dependence in which we see her after the Sicilian expedition. Scopas appears in Athens, with an already established reputation, about the year 378 B.C., so that the great masters of the two greatest periods of Greek art are separated from one another by more than fifty years. This interval, moreover, was chiefly occupied by wars which did more to change the conditions of society, and to loosen the connexion between the two schools, than a far longer period of peace would have done.

The internecine struggle between Athens and Sparta and their respective allies and partisans differed as widely as possible, both in its nature and results, from the war between Greece and Persia. The latter united the Greeks in the defence of western freedom and civilisation, and brought them under the hegemony of Athens, which of all the Grecian States was most worthy to guide the destinies of the Hellenic race. The Peloponnesian War, on the other hand, was a civil war of the very worst kind, which sowed the seeds of discord in every city and household within the limits of Hellas, roused every evil passion, fostered selfishness, treachery and cruelty, and engendered that frightful immorality which is the inevitable companion of suffering and despair.

And the art of this era, like that of the preceding one, is the reflection of the public and private life of Greece; it shows 'the very age and body of the time its form and pressure;' and the change is great! In the political world it may be expressed by saying that the statesman and high-minded gentleman Pericles had been succeeded by the demagogue Cleon; the guide and ruler of the people by the coarse and pretentious bully who traded on their passions. Still more deeply and widely working was the new leaven of religious scepticism. The more active spirits of the new era had eagerly imbibed the tenets of the new philosophy, and did not, like Pericles and Sophocles, and like many of the greatest philosophers in all ages, strive to reconcile the claims of science and religion. Even the mass of the people had lost much of their reverence and love for Gods who had failed to help them in their need.

The change in the general tone of society is analogous to that which we observe in the religious sentiment. The old, contented,

patient subordination of the citizen to the State has ceased to exist. In the storm of war and revolution, amid the wreck of states and institutions, the breaking up of old forms and the severance of old ties, the individual learned to look to his own safety alone, and to shape his own destiny irrespective of the general interests of his country. The State, of course, was a loser by the change; the strength and glory and independence of ancient Greece were thereby undermined, and a path made smooth for the coming conqueror. But the nobler spirits, in the full freedom of self-development, attained a grandeur of intellectual and moral proportions which has excited the admiration of all succeeding ages. Few periods in the history of the world can show a more brilliant array of great names than that between the Peloponnesian War and the absorption of Greece in the Macedonian empire; when Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, Euripides and Aristophanes, Pelopidas and Epaminondas, Isocrates and Demosthenes, Dion and Timoleon, were in the zenith of their activity and fame. Nor can we yet speak of a decline in plastic art. The Epic element in sculpture gradually makes way for the Lyric and Dithyrambic. The grand old Gods of the former period are not altogether neglected, but their representation is somewhat modified. The awful sublimity of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias is mitigated into kingly dignity and paternal benevolence; the stern Hêrê of Polycleitus becomes the proud and stately, but not altogether impassive and unapproachable, queen; while the Aphroditê Urania, the general mother of all living creatures, is changed into the ideal of a lovely woman, the perfect embodiment of the lover's fairest and most passionate dreams.¹

Besides modifying the old types, the younger Attic school formed new ones representing abstractions of the reason, as *Plutus* (wealth), *Eirene* (peace), *Tyche* (fortune), *Peitho* (persuasion); or feelings of the heart, as *Pity*, *Fame*, *Impetuosity* and *Shame*. Greater prominence was given to secondary Gods, such as *Eros* (Love), who appears under various forms as *Himeros* and *Pothos*;² and to the attendant trains of the older Deities, as the *Tritons*, *Nereids* and

¹ The painters led the way to a change of style from the old to the new Attic, by copying nature more closely. Conf. O. Jahn, *Pop. Aufs.* 139, 'Effect of the Drama on

Sculpture.'

² Pausan. i. 43: 'As they differ in name, so also in their operations.'

Hippocamps of Poseidon and *Amphitritè* ; and the *Sileni*, *Satyrs* and *Nymphs* of Dionysus. As might be expected from the nature of the new subjects, more attention is now paid to psychical expression. The face of Zeus or *Hêrê* was no field for the emotions and the passions ; and even when the artists of the Periclean age condescended to mould human beings, they represented them not as individuals, but in their general normal animal perfection. But in the representation of gods who were nothing more than incarnations of some special human feeling, the manifestation of that feeling in the face was a prime condition of their very existence. In the more human deities whom they brought down from heaven to earth, the men of the new generation looked for companionship and sympathy. They loved to see in the face and attitude of their gods the manifest traces of the emotions and passions which thrilled and burned in their own restless and excitable hearts.

On the whole, then, we may say that what was lost in dignity and sanctity was gained in tenderness and grace. A new and alluring field was opened to the artist—the field of beauty, mirth and love. The skill which he had hitherto expended on the form alone is now extended to the face, and the smile of beauty, the bashfulness of youth, the simplicity of childhood, the soft *abandon* of luxurious ease, the wild enthusiasm and the vague dreaminess of Bacchic inspiration, are now the favourite subjects of his chisel. A new path has been entered on, and one which we know must ultimately lead to frivolity and extravagance, to the decline and degradation of art. Yet, in the period of which we are speaking, the artist retained enough of the old Greek moderation (*αἰδώς*) to keep him from transgressing the limits beyond which sculpture loses all its highest and most essential qualities. The sensual is still subordinate to the spiritual, and the general style of the new Attic school, though gentler, softer, more lively, and even passionate, than that of the preceding period, is still ideal, natural, chaste and simple. Earnest and religious spirits will regret the change ; but to the majority of mankind the vivid emotions, the tender grace, the variety and brilliant colouring of the new school will more than compensate for the calm and quiet dignity, the religious sanctity and severity, and the divine sublimity of the old.

CEPHISODOTUS.

Ol. 96. 4-102 (B.C. 392-372). ♀

Before proceeding to speak of the two greatest masters of the new Attic school, we shall refer briefly to their immediate forerunners, and more especially to Cephisodotus. Pliny mentions two artists of this name, the elder of whom was father of Praxiteles and brother of Phocion's first wife, and therefore, as we may conclude, a full Athenian citizen. This older artist is especially interesting to us, standing as he does on the confines of two great periods of Greek art, and forming the principal link between the older and younger Attic schools. We know little or nothing of the circumstances of his life, and as no ancient writer gives any description of his works, we are left to form an idea of his style from an extant group, which is with good reason referred to him. The high estimation in which he was held by his contemporaries is sufficiently attested by the many important public commissions with which he was entrusted. Among his works were a statue of *Athênê* in the Peiræus, with a sceptre in one hand and a *Nikê* in the other; of a second *Athênê* with a spear, both of which were executed in bronze;¹ and an *Altar* in the same temple 'with which few works could compare.'² He was also employed, in conjunction with Xenophon, in the execution of a group for the Temple of *Zeus Soter* in the newly founded city of Megalopolis,³ in which the God was represented sitting on a throne with a statue of *Megalopolis* on his right hand, and of *Artemis Soteira* on his left.⁴ Pliny also mentions as the work of the elder Cephisodotus a statue of *Hermes bearing the infant Bacchus in his arms*,⁵ the prototype, perhaps, of a poor Roman work, which the reader may have seen in the western avenue of the Boboli gardens at Florence.⁶

¹ Pausan. i. 1. 3.² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 74: 'Minervam mirabilem . . . et aram cui pauca comparantur.'³ In Ol. 102 (B.C. 372-368).⁴ Pausan. viii. 30. 10.⁵ Plin. xxxiv. 87.⁶ Overbeck, *G. d. Plastik*, ii. 9.

The same subject, as we know, was treated by Praxiteles in the immortal work lately discovered at Olympia.¹

Three of the nine Muses on Mount Helicon (of which, as we have seen, Strongylion and Olympiosthenes also made three each), and a statue of *an Orator* in the act of speaking with raised hand, were also the work of Cephisodotus.² But of all his works the most interesting to us is his statue of *Eirene with the infant Plutus* (fig. 159) on her arm,³ of which Professor Brunn has recognised an excellent copy in the well-known group at Munich,⁴ to which Winckelmann gave the name of *Ino Leucothea*. In this beautiful work we see plastic art in the full freedom acquired for it by Pheidias, but before it had attained the softer and more delicate tenderness of the chisel of Praxiteles. The goddess is clothed in the long Ionian chiton, which is drawn up at the girdle so as to lap over it down to the hips, in the graceful fold called the *Diplōdion*. Over the chiton is a mantle fastened on her shoulders by brooches and hanging down her back; and she wears thick-soled sandals. The head is bound by a broad fillet partly concealed by the thick hair which is brushed away from either side of the forehead, and falls in rich clusters on her shoulders. Her raised right hand rests on a long sceptre, the sign of her divinity. The head is gently inclined towards her foster-child, who stretches out his little hand as if to caress her chin. The ears are pierced for earrings. The restoration of this figure is confirmed as, in the main, correct by a comparison with a similar group on Attic coins; but the infant god should hold a cornucopiæ

FIG. 159.



EIRENE AND PLUTUS.

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 457.

² Pausan. ix. 31. 1. Plin. xxxiv. 87.

³ Pausan. ix. 16. 2.; i. 8. 2.

⁴ Formerly in the Villa Albani at Rome.

in his left hand, as the suitable attribute for a son of Demeter, instead of the wine jug, as at present. The simple arrangement of the drapery and the wavy edge (or selvage) (*Sahlkante*) of the robe, which is characteristic of the Pheidian school, justify us in referring the design of this work to the period of Attic art immediately following the age of Pheidias; while the gentle, dreamy, affectionate air of the goddess-nurse smacks of the later Attic school. It is probably a good copy, made in the time of the renaissance of Attic art in Rome, from a bronze original.¹

Among the other artists of this period who may be looked on as heralding the rise of the new school are

XENOPHON OF ATHENS (OR PAROS),

whom we have already mentioned in connexion with Cephisodotus,² and who assisted Callistonicus the Theban in the execution of a group of *Tyche with the infant Plutus*;³

OLYMPIOSTHENES (OF ATHENS?),

who furnished three of the *nine Muses* for Mount Helicon;⁴

POLYCLES OF ATHENS,

Ol. 102 (B.C. 372),

who made a portrait statue of *Alcibiades* 'the beautiful.'⁵ Pliny mentions the name of Polycles as sculptor of 'a famous *Hermaphrodite*,' which Ottfried Müller⁶ and Ulrichs⁷ refer to our present period, but Brunn⁸ to a younger Polycles, who flourished about Ol. 156 (B.C. 156). The nature of the subject, so alien to the spirit of the best period of Greek art, speaks loudly for the latter opinion; and

¹ See Brunn's admirable analysis in the *Beschreibung der Glyptothek in München*, 1873.

² Pausan. viii. 30. 10. ³ Ibid. ix. 16. 1.

⁴ Ibid. ix. 30. 1.

⁵ Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 37. 40, p. 122. Conf. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 273.

⁶ *Handb. d. Archæol.* sec. 128.

⁷ *Chrest. Plin.* 328.

⁸ *K.-G.* i. 541.

EUCLEIDES OF ATHENS,

mentioned as a debtor in Plato's will,¹ who made *a statue of Zeus enthroned*, of Pentelican marble, for Ægeira in Achaia, and statues of *Démêtêr, Dionysus, Aphroditê, and Eileithyia*, of the same material, for temples of these divinities at Bura, in the same district.² We are expressly told that the figure of Démêtêr was draped, from which we may perhaps infer that Dionysus and Aphroditê were, under the influence of the modern school, represented nude.

We now proceed to speak of two artists who worthily sustained the glory of Greek sculpture in its second bloom; whose original genius struck out new paths in the boundless region of art, and reached a summit of fame, only inferior to that on which stood Pheidias himself. The elder of these was Scopas, the younger Praxiteles.

¹ Diog. Laert. iii. 42: Εὐκλείδης ὁ λιθοτόμος ὀφείλει μοι τρεῖς μνᾶς. Plato, † Ol. 108, 2 (B.C. 347).

² Pausan. vii. 25. 9.

CHAPTER XXXII.

SCOPAS OF PAROS.

Ol. 90 (B.C. 420-416?).¹ Prime B.C. 387.

PROBABLY son, or younger brother, of Aristandros, an artist in bronze, who, as we have seen, assisted in making an offering in honour of Lysander's victory at Ægospotami. Scopas, like Polycleitus and Callimachus, was an architect as well as sculptor, and our earliest notice of him is in connexion with *the Temple of Athena Alea at Tegea*, built by Aleus son of Aphidas, and burnt in Ol. 96. 2 (B.C. 395). On the site of this ancient temple Scopas reared an edifice which, according to Pausanias, surpassed in magnitude all other Peloponnesian temples, including those of Olympia and Phigaleia!² The whole building, constructed of the Doliana marble, was surrounded by Ionic pillars; and within the cella was a double row of columns, one above the other, the lower of the Doric, and the upper of the Corinthian order. The plastic ornaments of the two pediments were also the composition of Scopas. The subject of the E. pediment was one which had been treated by archaic art in the Chest of Cypselus, and the François Vase, viz. *the Chase of the Calydonian Boar*.³ Next to the huge monster which occupied the centre came, on one side, *Atalantê, Meleager, Theseus, Telamon, Peleus, Polydectes* (Pollux), *Iolaus*, the companion of Heracles, *Prothous and Cometes*, sons of Thestius and brothers of Althæa; and on the other side, *Ankæus* falling wounded into the arms of *Epochus, Castor, Amphiaraus, Hippothous*

¹ Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 49) gives this as the time when he 'flourished,' which cannot be correct. Ulrichs (*Skopas*, p. 5) thinks that it should be taken as the time of his birth. Conf. Stark, in *Philologus*, xxi. p. 415.

Some date him B.C. 395-350.

² This is not the case. Pausanias was mistaken as to the relative size of the temples here mentioned.

³ Pausan. viii. 45. 4.

son of Kerkyon, and *Peirithous*. The group in the western pediment represented *the combat between Achilles and Telephus* in the plain of the Caucas near Pergamon. The old temple-image of the Goddess, which was of ivory, was taken away by Augustus because Tegea favoured Antony; he also removed the tusks of the boar, leaving nothing but the hide. The site of the temple has been quite recently excavated, without any great result, by Milchhöfer,¹ and was subsequently examined by the architects Adler and Dörpfeld. The plastic remains, which were recognised as works of Scopas by Treu, are *heads of two youthful heroes*, and the mutilated *head of the Calydonian Boar* from the eastern pediment. The human heads also belonged to one of the pediments, as they are only finished on one side.² The interior Doric pillars are five feet in diameter, a fact which enables us to form an idea of the size of the larger external pillars, and the vast extent of the whole building.³

It seems probable that Scopas subsequently superintended the erection of *the Temple of Asklepios* at Gortys⁴ (W. of its metropolis, Tegea), on a tributary of the Alpheius, which was 90 feet in length by 45 feet in breadth, and of Pentelican marble—the only temple of that material in the Peloponnesus. For this sanctuary Scopas furnished the statues of *Asklepios* and *Hygieia*, the former of which was represented, for the first time probably, without a beard.

One of his earlier works, perhaps the earliest, was an *Aphrodite Pandemos*, the only one executed in bronze, while he was still under the influence of his father, or brother, Aristandros, who worked exclusively in that metal. The Goddess is here sitting on a goat, from which it has been inferred, rather hastily perhaps,⁵ that she is represented in her lowest and most sensual character as the patroness of

¹ *Mittheil. d. deutsch. Arch. Inst. in Athen*, iv. p. 133.

² Conf. Treu, *Archaeol. Zeitung*, 1880, p. 98. All these remains are at Piali. The heads are of the same Doliana marble as the temple itself.

³ Dodwell's *Tour*, &c. ii. 419. Conf. Ulrichs, *Scopas*, p. 18.

⁴ Pausan. viii. 28. 1.

⁵ Vid. Ulrichs, *Scopas*, p. 5. There is a relief of *Aphrodite Epitragia* on an elegant

black vase at Odessa, representing a female, clothed in a mantle which covers her right arm, but leaves her left arm and head free, seated sideways on a goat (*Archaeol. Zeit.* ix. p. 375). The *Aphrodite Pandemos* and the *Aphrodite Urania* are contrasted in an epigram of Theocritus (*Anthol. Pal.* vi. 340):—

Ἄ Κίπρις οὐ πάνδημος· ἱλάσκει τὰν θεόν, εἰπὼν
οὐρανίαν, ἀγνὰς ἀνθεμα Χρυσόγονας
οἰκῇ ἐν Ἀμφικλέους, ᾧ καὶ τέκνα καὶ βίον εἶχε ν
ξυρὸν.

promiscuous love (*vulgivaga*). Scopas also made a figure of *Hecate* in marble for her temple in Argos (which contained two other images of the Goddess in bronze by Polycleitus the younger and Naucydes), and a statue of *Heracles* for the Gymnasium in Sicyon. Heracles, as we know, like the God Hermes, was regarded as the patron of gymnastics, and as a pattern to the Ephebi of physical strength and endurance, and courageous effort.¹

About the year 377 B.C. (Ol. 100. 3) Scopas went, in the prime of life, to reside at Athens, to which place, no doubt, his fame had long preceded him. Paros, his native island, was in all probability included at this period in the Confederation formed by Timotheus and the orator Callistratus, and he may now have acquired the citizenship of Athens. His well-established fame procured him many pupils, among whom were *Leochares*, *Timotheus*, *Bryaxis*, and his great rival *Praxiteles*, whose style bore so strong a resemblance to that of Scopas that the Roman critics of Pliny's time were unable to distinguish between the works of the two artists.² During his residence at Athens he must have executed many works for that city, and for other places which looked to it as the great centre of art; but it is very remarkable that only one group by Scopas is mentioned as being in Athens itself. This was *the two Erinnyes* (Εὐμενίδες, σερμαὶ θεαί) or Furies, of the Parian marble called *Lychnites*, which Scopas added to the *one* by Calamis. They stood in the temple of these dread goddesses on the slope of the Areopagus at Athens.³ According to Pausanias, there was 'nothing terrible' in their aspect, as in that of the Eumenides of Æschylus, 'who,' he says, 'first placed serpents in their hair; or that of the wooden statues of their temple at Keryneia with their blood-coloured robes.'⁴ Scopas probably represented the Εὐμενίδες literally as the 'gracious' Goddesses, solemn, even awful, but appeased and not unkindly. The *Canephora* (basket-bearers) of Scopas, which Pliny⁵ mentions among the possessions of Asinius Pollio, were only ideal representations of the noble Athenian maidens who bore the sacred utensils in a basket

¹ Pindar, *Nem.* x. 53:—

εὐρυχόρου ταμῖαι Σπάρτας ἀνάντων
μοῖραν Ἑρμῆ καὶ σὺν Ἡρακλεῖ δέποντι θολεῖαν·
μᾶλα μὲν ἀνδρῶν δίκαιαν περικαθόμενοι.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 28.

³ Clem. Alexandr. *Protrept.* 47 (p. 41, ed. Pott). Schol. *Æsch. c. Tim.* (p. 747, ed. Reiske). Pausan. i. 28. 6.

⁴ Pausan. vii. 25. 7.

⁵ *N. H.* xxxvi. 25.

on their heads in the festal procession of the Panathenæa. The beautiful manner in which this mode of carrying burdens displays the lines and curves of the female form is well known to all who have travelled in Italy, and may be seen in the matchless frieze of the Parthenon, and in the Caryatid from the Pandroseion, in the British Museum. The three variations in this style are: I. that of the Caryatid just mentioned—a Roman copy of which may be seen in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican—in which both arms hang down; II. that in which either right or left arm is raised to support the burden;¹ and III. that in which both arms are raised, as in the well-known figures in the Villa Albani. The main features of these charming statues are the same in all: the head is held erect, the hair flows down the back, their dress is the long dignified Ionic chiton with the diploëdion falling over the hips; and they wear in their faces an expression of gentle piety, mingled with the proud consciousness of their sacred character.²

Other works of Scopas were a figure of *Hestia* (Vesta)³ enthroned between two *καμπτήρες* (metæ) as some, *λαμπτήρες* (candelabra) as others read, which Pliny⁴ saw in the Servilian gardens at Rome;⁵ and a *Herma* of *Hermes*. The custom of setting up *Hermæ* at cross-roads and in the streets of Athens is well known, and is brought into historic prominence by Thucydides' striking account of their defacement by unknown hands before the fatal expedition to Sicily.⁶ These *Hermæ* consisted of busts (originally of *Hermes* himself, but subsequently of any deity) on quadrangular pillars. They were so numerous in Athens after the time of the Pisistratidæ, that they gave their name to a street. Most of them were, of course, of rude workmanship, and it was evidently thought a condescension on the part of Scopas to furnish an image of this kind for the street.⁷

¹ Clarac, plate 443, 444.

² Cicero (*Verres*, iv. 3) mentions two small bronze Canephoræ among the plunder of Verres.

³ *Hestia* was originally synonymous with *Gaia* (the earth). Vid. Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 23:—

Καὶ Γαῖα μήτηρ, Ἑστῖαν δὲ οἱ σοφοὶ
Βροτῶν καλοῦσιν ἡμίην ἐν αἰθέρι.

Ovid, *Fast.* vi. 267:—

Vesta eadem est quæ terra.

⁴ xxxvi. 25.

⁵ Ulrichs, *Skopas*, p. 53. Stark (*in Phi-*

lologus, xxi. 423) supports the reading, *λαμπτήρες* (candelabra), and denies all connexion between *Hestia* and the Gymnasium.

⁶ Thucyd. vi. 27.

⁷ *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 165. 233 in Ulrichs, *Skopas*, p. 56. His work bore the inscription:—

ὦ φίλῳ, μὴ γένοιτο τῶν πολλῶν ἕνα
ἔρμαιν θεωρεῖν, εἰμὶ γὰρ τέχνη Σκόπα.

'O, my good friend, do not suppose that you are looking at one of the common herd of *Hermæ*, for I am the work of Scopas!'

The raging *Bacchante* (Mænad) of Scopas was among the most original and characteristic of his productions, answering in plastic art to the dithyramb in poetry. It is evidently derived from the lively representation of Bacchic enthusiasm on the stage, and it may have been executed on the occasion of the building of the great theatre at Athens which Lycurgus the Orator finished in Ol. 109. 3 (B.C. 342). The type is well known from existing works of art and from the descriptions of tragic poets, orators, and epigrammatists. Mind and body are alike intoxicated, and religious phrensy is expressed by the

FIG. 160.

GEM IN
BRIT. MUS.

mad vigour sustained by wine. The glowing ecstatic Mænad is filled from head to foot with 'initiatory' (τελεστικήν) phrensy.¹ Excited to the highest pitch by the maddening strains of dithyrambic music, she rushes frantically along in loose and fluttering garments, with her head bent down upon her bosom, or thrown violently back, almost to dislocation (fig. 160), her soft hair streaming in the wind, and a portion of the sacred kid, which she has torn in halves, still quivering and palpitating in her blood-stained hand (χιμαιροφόνος).²

The beautiful lines of Euripides, though applied to the male follower of the wine god, breathe the spirit of the still wilder Mænad:—

ἡδὺς ἐν οὐρεσιν, ὅταν
ἐκ θιάσων δρομαίων
πίση πεδόσσε, νεβρίδος ἔχων
ἱερὸν ἐνδυτόν, ἀγρεύων
αἶμα τραγοκτόνον, ὠμοφαίγον χάριν
ἰέμενος εἰς ὄρεα Φρύγια, Λύδια.³

Jocund he among the mountains, as with racing rout oppressed
Down he throws his heavy body in the sacred fawn-skin dressed,
Swift to mark the life-blood redly from the slaughtered goat that ran,
Or with eager pace to traverse Phrygian hills or Lydian.—H. A. P.

¹ 'The divine madness,' says Plato, 'was subdivided into four kinds—prophetic, *initiatory*, poetic, erotic—having four gods presiding over them: the first was the inspiration of Apollo, the second of Dionysus, the third that of the Muses, the fourth that of Aphrodite and Eros' (Jowett's translation, ii. 143).

² The Mænad in the gem is intended probably for Agave, and holds, not the torn kid,

but the head of her son Pentheus (Pausan. ii. 2. 6. Ovid, *Met.* iii. 714). On a beautiful vase in the Blacas coll. (*Panofka Musée Blacas*, pl. 13-15) Dionysus himself is represented in a state of wild ecstasy, tearing a kid in halves. Conf. Philostrat. *Épêphr.* 2. *Anthol. Planud.* iv. 57.

³ Eurip. *Bacchæ*, 135, ed. Paley.

We have no sober description of this work, which is spoken of by Callistratus in his florid and bombastic way, and forms the subject of several epigrams. But after all perhaps it *could* only be described in terms as wild and passionate as the nature of the subject itself. 'Scopas,' says the Orator, 'infused into the execution of this statue a divine inspiration.' Speaking of the contrast between the excited Bacchante and the lifeless kid, he adds, 'for the stone sought to assume even the form of death, and art employed one and the same material to represent two opposite states—life and death. And all the tokens which the soul stung to madness can present were mingled in this work of art in an indescribable manner.' And again, 'but what most of all surpassed all expectation was that the stone, in spite of its hardness, accommodated itself to the fineness of the hair, and followed the motion of the locks, and though destitute of the principle of life, had nevertheless the appearance of life'¹ (ζωτικῆς ἑξέως γεγυμνωμένος τὸ ζωτικὸν εἶχεν). Equally extravagant are the epigrams on this remarkable creation of Scopas:—

τίς ἄθε; Βάκχα· τίς δέ μιν ξίσε; Σκόπας·
τίς δ' ἐξέμηνε, Βάκχος ἢ Σκόπας; Σκόπας.²

Who is here? Bacche: but who carved her? Scopas:

But who has driven her mad, Bacchus or Scopas? Scopas.

Another epigram says that in this figure the power of art 'mingled phrensy with the stone.'³

We have unfortunately no work which we can safely regard as a copy of the Mænad of Scopas. By far the best representation of the same subject in marble is a statuette from Smyrna,⁴ in the Millingen Coll. at Florence (fig. 161), and there are others in relief in the British Museum and Lansdowne House. In some Roman sarco-

¹ Callistratus Stat. 2.

² Anthol. Gr. i. 74, 75 (Planud. iv. 60), Σίμωνίδου.

³ Anthol. Gr. iv. 60. 58: καὶ μανίην ἐγκατέμειξε λίθῳ.

⁴ Archæol. Zeit. vii. Taf. 1, 2. Conf. Urlichs, Scopas, p. 63. This statuette is thought by some too noble for a Mænad, and is called Cassandra pursued up the temple

steps by Ajax. The difficulty is that on her left side is an unmistakeable lion's paw (i.e. the hide), which implies the presence of another figure, perhaps Heracles in the Rape of the Priestess Augè at Tegea (Arch. Zeitung, vii. Taf. i. ii. 1849; Jahn, Arch. Beitr. 223. Conf. Rochelle, Mém. de Numism. p. 162).

phagi the Bacchante is nude, and differs very widely from the type of Scopas, who represented her fully clothed, and manifesting the inward workings of the divine *efflatus* by her rapid movements, and the expression of wrapt enthusiasm in her beautiful face.¹ There are other representations in which the Bacchante appears in a state of comparative repose or exhaustion.

FIG. 161-162.



MÆNAD FROM SMYRNA.

The Apollo of Rhamnus. In a deme on the S.E. coast of Attica called Rhamnus are the ruins of two temples of Nemesis,² a goddess of Nature, the earlier of which was built of *poros* stone, and was destroyed by the

¹ 'Nothing can be more wild and terrible than the gestures (of the Mænads)—touching as they do the verge of distortion—into which these fine limbs and lovely forms are thrown. There is nothing, however, which exceeds the possibilities of nature, though it borders on the utmost line. . . . The hair, loose and flowing, seems caught in the tempest of their own tumultuous motion; their heads are thrown back, leaning with a strange delirium on their necks, and looking upwards to heaven

whilst they totter and stumble even in the energy of their tempestuous dance. Another dances with mad voluptuousness. A monstrous superstition even in Greece, while it was capable of combining ideal beauty and poetical and abstract enthusiasm with the wild errors from which it sprang. . . . *The Greeks who turned all things—superstition, prejudice, murder, madness—to beauty* (Shelley).

² Rhamnusia virgo, Catull. 66. 71.

Persians when they landed at Marathon. After the victory of the Greeks the estimation in which the Goddess was held, as the guardian of moderation and the avenger of wrong, was greatly increased, and a second temple, of marble, was built about Ol. 78. 1 (B.C. 432), for which Scopas, some years later, made a statue of *Apollo*.¹ This work was removed to Rome by Octavian after the battle of Actium, and dedicated by him, in the famous temple of the god on the Palatine,² under the name of *Apollo Palatinus* or *Actius*.³ It formed part of a group with a statue of *Artemis* by Timotheus and of *Leto* by Cephisodotus the younger, the son of Praxiteles.⁴ It is a matter of dispute whether the so-called *Apollo Citharædus* (fig. 163)—discovered in the villa of Cassius at Tivoli, and now in the Vatican,⁵—is a



APOLLO CITHARÆDUS.

copy of the work of Scopas, of which we probably have a reminiscence in coins of Delphi (fig. 164). The citharædus (harp-player) in the latter is evidently intended for Nero himself.⁶ The fact that the figures on the coins differ considerably from one another proves that they are not exact copies; but the style of the Vatican statue accords very closely with our idea of Scopas' manner. The general design of this grand and striking figure is not unworthy of a great artist, and bears the stamp of originality. Hitherto Apollo had been generally represented nude, and in his calmer and more dignified mood. In the work

FIG. 164.



COIN OF DELPHI.

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 25.

² Completed A.U.C. 726.

³ This is the reason why this temple is called 'Ædes Apollinis Rhamnusii' in the *Curiosum Urbis Romæ*. Vid. Ulrichs, *Scopas*, &c. p. 67.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Sala della Croce Greca*, No. 582. Overbeck (*Ges. d. Pl.* ii. 19) rather favours Visconti's opinion that the Vatican Apollo is a copy of a later Greek original by Timarchides.

⁶ Sueton. *Nero*, c. 25.

before us we see him in the long flowing robes appropriate to the Citharædus. He is crowned with his own bays, and, with the heavy phorminx in his hands, moves hastily along under the overpowering, entrancing influence which Music exercises over its votaries.¹ It is a true and powerful embodiment of the poet's conceptions and feelings, and expresses in the rapid forward motion, the upturned eyes, and the whole expression of the face, the self-abandonment, the thrilling rapture of the musical enthusiast.

The Rhamnusian Apollo was probably the last work executed by Scopas before he left Athens, which was then suffering from the calamities consequent on the Social War (Ol. 105. 4–106. 2, B.C. 357–355), and had no money to spend on works of art. We now follow him to other parts of Greece and Asia Minor.

Eros, Himeros, Pothos, in Megara.² In these representations of Love, Desire, and Longing we have examples of the minor *satellite* deities, the types of which were first created by the new Attic school. The general idea of Eros (Love) is here broken up into its elements, and represented in its different stages and manifestations. In doing this Scopas followed not only the poets,³ but the philosopher Plato, who in the 'Symposium' makes Eros the father of Himeros and Pothos. In the 'Cratylus' the same philosopher defines the two conceptions with prosaic distinctness. 'Hence,' he says, 'the name Pothos (longing) is applied to things absent as Himeros (desire) to things present.'⁴ Scopas executed these statues for the Temple of *Aphrodite Praxis*, at the foot of the Acropolis of Megara, which contained an archaic image of the Goddess in ivory. In the same building were two figures, by Praxiteles, of *Peitho*, representing the sweet, persuasive, enticing power of Love,⁵ and of another

¹ Propertius, ii. 31. 16:—

Deinde inter matrem, Deus ipse, interque sororem
Pythius in longa carmina veste sonat.

Conf. Tibull. iii. 4. 35.

² Conf. reverse of vase in Brit. Museum (Case N, 106) with painted figures of Eros, Pothos, and Himeros.

³ Eurip. *Hippol.* 527:—

Ἔρως, Ἐρως δ' κατ' ὀμμάτων
σταῖς πᾶσι.

Conf. Eurip. *Iph. Aul.* 1304, ἐπὶ πόθῳ
τρυφῶσα Κύπρις, and Lucian, *Deor. Dialog.*

20, 15, where Aphrodite promises the aid of both Eros and Himeros in winning Helen.

⁴ Plato, *Cratylus* (ed. Stallbaum), 420: Ὅς τότε θῆσαν παρῇ οὐ τις ἐφίετο· ἵμερος ἐκαλεῖτο, ἀπογενομένου δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος πόθος ἐκλήθη. Conf. *Symp.* p. 197 D.

⁵ Anacreont. (Bergk):—

χεῖλος οἶα Πειθοῦς
προκαλούμενον φίλημα.

Conf. Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 219 (Dyssen), δονέοι μᾶστιγι Πειθοῦς. Sappho (fragm. 135) calls Peitho a daughter of Aphrodite.

Goddess, called *Parégoros* (the Consoler).¹ The Eros of Scopas stood opposite to his mother, Aphrodite, while his sons, or satellites, faced the two female statues by Praxiteles.² We are not to think of these Erotes of Scopas as the little playful *boys* of Alexandrian art, but rather as tender youths just merging into manhood, such as we see in the group of Deities in the Parthenon frieze in the British Museum and in the so-called 'Genius' of the Vatican.³

Aphrodite and Pothos (or Phaethon) in Samothrace.⁴—The reading of the passage in which this group is mentioned is uncertain. But if we prefer 'Phaethon' we must think not of the presumptuous son of Helios and Clymene, who tried to drive the horses of the Sun, but of the son of Cephalus and Eos, whom Aphrodite carried off and made guardian and priest of her temple. The island of Samothrace was intimately connected with Athens, and was the chief seat of the worship of the Cabeiri⁵ (*Κάβειροι*), and of holy mysteries only second in sanctity and importance to those of Eleusis.⁶ It was for this place that Scopas made the group of Aphrodite and Pothos (or Phaethon), 'who were worshipped with the holiest ceremonies.'⁷

Artemis Eukleia in Thebes.⁸ Bœotia received the first impulse in the direction of plastic art from the school of Sicyon—Dipœnus, Scyllis, and others; and Canachus made a temple-statue of the Ismenian Apollo for Thebes, and was the teacher of the Theban artist Ascarus.⁹ But after the Persian wars, and especially between the years Ol. 100. 3—102. 4 (B.C. 378—369), many works of art were made for Thebes by Athenian artists, and among others by Calamis, Myron, and Phœdias himself. Scopas, too, was employed by the Thebans to make a statue of

¹ Pausan. i. 43. 6.

² Ulrichs, *Skopas*, p. 89.

³ *Gall. delle Statue*, No. 250.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxvi. 25. If Pothos was here represented standing beside the goddess, the composition was new to statuary, although it had already appeared in reliefs.

⁵ Herodotus (iii. 37) mentions these mysterious deities, and says that they were worshipped at Memphis as sons of Hephæstus, and were like the dwarf gods of the Phœnicians. The Cabeiri are first mentioned in a drama of Æschylus, in which they are brought into connexion with the Argonauts in Lemnos, and Æschylus seems to regard

them as Lemnian deities, who concerned themselves with the produce of the fields, and especially the vineyards. Vid. Lobeck, *Aglaoph.* p. 1202. The Cabeiri only appear in works of art as local deities. On a coin of Thessalonica (with Cybele on the reverse) they appear with the *Rhyton* (drinking horn) in the right hand, and a hammer in the left (*Num. Brit.* 5. 3; K. O. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* sec. 395. 5).

⁶ Aristophanes, *Pax*, 277.

⁷ Plin. *N. H. l.c.* Conf. Schelling, *Ueber die Götter v. Samothrake*.

⁸ Pausan. ix. 17. 1.

⁹ Ibid. ii. 10. 5, and v. 24. 1.

Artemis Eukleia (glorious in war), to celebrate their victory at Leuctra; just as Athens had set up a temple to Eukleia on the banks of the Ilissus after the battle of Marathon.¹

Artemis appears in four principal characters, with dress and attributes appropriate to each: I. *Artemis Phosphoros* or *Selasphoros* ('Light-bringer'), in long robe and veil, with bow and quiver on her

FIG. 165.



ARTEMIS LOOKING AT ENDYMION.

back, and a torch in each hand, as in the well-known *Diana Lucifera* in the Vatican. II. *Artemis Soteira* ('Saviour'), in long chiton, with the hand moving backwards towards the quiver. III. *Artemis 'Agrotera,' 'Laphria'*² ('huntress, forager'), in which character she is clad in the short chiton, *nuda genu*, and carries her weapons ready for use; and IV. *Artemis Eukleia* (*Brauronia*, &c.), with long robe, torch, bow, and quiver.³

Of a later date is the representation of *Artemis as the lover of Endymion*, in which light she is represented in the well-known statue in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican (fig. 165). The Goddess is supposed to be contemplating the beautiful Endymion⁴ asleep, and raising her hands in delighted astonishment at his beauty.

Athênê Pronaia in Thebes. A statue of this goddess by Scopas stood at the entrance of the Ismenion in Thebes.⁵

¹ Pausan. i. 14. 5.

² Ibid. iv. 31. 7; vii. 18. 8, in Calydon and at Patras. Like other lovers of sport Artemis was a game-preserve, and is often accompanied by pet animals as in the famous *Diane à la Biche* in the Louvre.

³ Cicero, *In Verrem*, iv. 34: 'Cum scola, sagittæ pendebant ab humero, sinistra manu retinebat arcum, dextra ardentem facem præferebat.'—O. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* p. 554. Ulrichs, *Skopas*.

⁴ There is a figure of Endymion as a sleeping shepherd, in the Hall of the Animals, 153, in the Vatican, and another, larger than life, but of poor Roman work-

manship, from Hadrian's villa (?), now in Stockholm. See Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* xi. 2, where Selene describes Endymion to Aphrodite, and how she stole on his sleep ἀποφῆτι κατιούσα ἐπ' ἄκρων τῶν δακτύλων βεβηκίνα.

⁵ Pausan. ix. 10. 2. It is natural to suppose that the *Athênê* of the second Attic school differed widely from the severe type of an earlier age, and even from that of Pheidias. We have examples of the gentle and pathetic *Minerva* in the Vatican, and a still more striking and beautiful one in the *Minerva Tritogeneia* belonging to Prince Carl of Prussia, which is very sweet and even sentimental in character (*Annal. d. Inst.* xvi. p. 112).

Apollo Smintheus in Troas. Apollo in his character of 'mouse-killer' appears in Homer as the especial protector of the Trojans, and was extensively worshipped in Mysia and Æolis. The chief centre of this cult was the Smintheion (Temple of Smintheus), at Chryse in the Troas, for which Scopas in Ol. 102 made a temple-image (ξόανον) of *Apollo with his foot resting on a mouse*.¹ The epithet and office of Apollo remind us of the *Zeus Apomyios* ('fly-averter') in Elis, who came to the assistance of Heracles when tormented by flies at Olympia.²

Leto and Ortygia in Ephesus. The Ionians of Asia Minor celebrated the birth of Apollo and Artemis in the cypress grove of Ortygia, in the neighbourhood of Ephesus, as well as in the Island of Delos. According to Strabo, there were several temples in this place, the oldest of which contained archaic statues (ἀρχαῖα ξόανα), and more recent works by Scopas, viz. a group of *Leto* bearing a sceptre, and by her side *Ortygia*, the nurse, holding a child in each hand.³

According to Strabo,⁴ these works of Scopas stood in two different shrines or chapels—Leto in one, and Ortygia, with the two children, in the other. The last group occurs on coins of Ephesus,⁵ in which a woman is represented with a child on each outstretched arm. She is looking back in wild terror at the Pythian serpent issuing from its hole in the Delphian νάπη (woody glen),⁶ of which the children seem to have no fear at all. A similar design is found on coins of Tripolis in Caria; and in both cases, of course, the female figure *may* be Leto herself. There is a vase with reddish figures from the second Hamilton collection, on which Leto or Ortygia is represented with the two children in her arms, fleeing from the serpent Python, which is issuing from its cave at Delphi. Here, too, the divine children stretch out their hands as if they wished to play with the monster.

¹ Strabo, xiii. p. 604. There are coins of Alexandria Troas in which Apollo carries a mouse in his hand (Choiseul, *Gouff. Voy.* ii. pl. 67). The excavations made on the site of the Smintheion by the Society of Dilettanti have proved fruitless.

² Pausan. v. 14. 2. Those who have been in Arcadia and Olympia do not think

meanly of Jupiter in this character.

³ Strabo, xiv. p. 640. Pausan. x. 38. 9.

⁴ viii. p. 387.

⁵ Mionnet, *Descr.* p. 540. Tischbein, iii. 4.

⁶ *Clearch. in Athen.* xv. 701. Conf. O. Müller, *Handb. d. Archæol.* sec. 362.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WORKS OF SCOPAS

(CONTINUED).

TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS¹ AT EPHEBUS.

FROM time immemorial down to the Christian era the worship of a Goddess, introduced among the Carians at a very early period, perhaps by the Phœnicians, appears to have flourished in the city of Ephesus. But the type of the Ephesian deity,² to whom the Greeks gave the name of Artemis, differs very widely from any of the forms in which this Goddess appeared to her Greek worshippers, and is indeed essentially non-Hellenic. The Greeks, who, as we are told, colonized Ephesus in the eleventh century B.C. under Codrus, found the worship of a Goddess called *Upis* already firmly established. Her first attendants were said to be the Amazons who lived among the Lydians and Leleges about her temple. This deity the colonists identified with Artemis, which is singular enough, for it would be difficult to find a greater contrast to the active *virgin* huntress than the motionless form of the Ephesian goddess, covered with fully developed female breasts, whom St. Jerome calls 'the mother of all animal life.' Fortunately we possess many copies of the Ephesian idol. The lower limbs are tightly wrapped in her garment, so as to give her the appearance of a mummy. On her chest are parallel rows of breasts, and under them symbolical objects—bees, flowers,

¹ For statues of Artemis see Paus. i. 23. 9; x. 37. 1; vii. 9. 1; viii. 37. 2; Cic. *in Verr.* ii. 4. 34. None of the extant figures of this goddess are of great excellence.

² There is a fine head of the Ephesian Artemis of the Greek type in the Vatican

(No. 81) 'Gallery of Vases,' and a statue in the Conservatori Palace at Rome—with bronze head, neck, hands, and feet, and the rest of the body of marble—which is profusely ornamented with lions, horses, winged monsters, bees, flowers, &c.

and fruit, and heads of bulls and fanciful monsters in rows. On her arms are the figures of lions,¹ who seem to be crawling upwards.²

The older temple of Artemis at Ephesus was begun by the architect Chersiphron between 600 and 500 B.C., and finished by Pæonius (the architect of the Branchidæ temple) and Demetrius in 460 B.C., at which period Ephesus was tributary to Athens. The Artemision was the only Greek temple in Asia Minor which escaped the vengeance of Xerxes, who recognised an Asiatic goddess in the Ephesian Artemis. It perished, as we know, by the hand of the incendiary Herostratus, on the same night in which Alexander the Great was born (B.C. 356). A new temple was quickly raised on the same site, of which Pliny gives a rather minute description. In a very doubtful passage he says that Scopas was said to have carved the reliefs on one of the thirty-six ornamented pillars. 'The length of the whole temple,' he says, 'is 425 feet, the breadth 225, and there are 137 columns 60 feet in height, 36 of which are carved in relief, one of them by Scopas.'³ Winckelmann suspected some corruption in the text, and proposed to read *uno e scapho* of one block, i.e. monolith, in contradistinction to the 88 unornamented columns. This reading is supported by Brunn, and certainly removes many difficulties.⁴

The site of this interesting building was found in 1873 by Wood, who brought over several fragments of sculptured columns, which are now in the British Museum. The height of the drums is about 6 feet, and the circumference 18 feet. On the best preserved of these fragments we see four figures, and fragments of a fifth and sixth on each side of them. There were probably eight on the whole circumference. *Hermes* is easily recognised by the kerykeion (caduceus), the petasos, and the chlamys wrapped round his arm. Another figure with large wings and long sword by his side is probably *Thanatos* (Death), who beckons to a woman on his right hand. She is dressed in the sleeved chiton and the himation, which she draws over her breast with her right hand, while her left hand holds the other corner of it above her shoulder, like the well-known Diana of Gabii in the Louvre.

¹ Gerhard, *Antike Bildw.* 305, 307, 308.

² Newton's *Essays*.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 26: 'Ex iis xxxvi. cælatæ una a Scopæ.'

⁴ Brunn also suggests the reading, '*imo scapho*,' 'at the bottom of the shaft,' which gives a still more probable meaning.

She is preparing to follow Thanatos ; and behind her comes Hermes, on whose right side is a richly robed matron (*Cora*, Proserpine ?). Next to Cora is *Hades* (Pluto) ?, who wears richly ornamented sandals. The scene is in the lower world, and may represent either the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice, or more probably that of *Alcestis*, in which case the figure to the left, quietly waiting for her, will be, not Orpheus, but *Heracles*, who has fought and defeated Death.

Dionysus and Athene in Cnidos. Among other works of illustrious artists existing in Cnidos Pliny mentions Dionysus and Athênê by Scopas,¹ of which, however, he gives no description or criticism. Some coins of Cnidos bear the helmed head of Athênê, and a full-length figure of Dionysus in a long robe, with a goblet in his right hand and a *thyrsos*, held crosswise, in his left. He is beardless, and the type lies between that of the Indian Bacchus and that of a later period of Greek art.

Aphrodite in Pergamon (?). Pliny mentions a nude statue of *Aphrodite* by Scopas as standing in the Temple of Brutus Gallæcus, near the Flaminian Circus at Rome. There is nothing in his words which enables us to form an idea of the *motif* of this figure, but he adds that it 'surpassed the famous Cnidian Aphrodite, and would have rendered any other place (but Rome) illustrious.' He then goes on to account for the little attention which so great a work received. It is possible, of course, to understand the word *antecedens* as referring to time, but it is evident from the following words, 'and would have rendered any other place illustrious,' that high praise is intended to be conveyed. Junius Brutus Gallæcus built a temple of Venus from the spoils of the Gallæci and Lusitani, whom he conquered in 138-136 B.C. It was customary with the Roman consuls and generals to bring back works of Greek art from their provinces, and it has been plausibly conjectured that Brutus obtained the Aphrodite of Scopas from Attalus III. of Pergamon, and used it to adorn his magnificent triumph in 136 or 132 B.C.² In the natural anxiety of antiquarians to form a conception of so renowned a work, and at the same time to affix a worthy

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 22. Vid. marble head of Dionysos in Leyden (Urlichs, *Scopas*, 160-2). Newton, *Discov. at Hali-*

carn. iii.-v. p. 375. Conf. Brunn.

² Urlichs, *Skopas*, 119.

name to the nameless statues which excite the admiration of the world at Rome and Paris, the Venus of Melos,¹ the Venus of Capua in the Louvre, and the Venus Chigi at Rome, have been severally brought forward as copies of the Aphrodite of Scopas. With greater reason, I think, the Capitoline Venus has been entered as a candidate for this honour, as being evidently 'the work of an older and colder man.'²

Ares in Pergamon (?). In the same Temple of Brutus Gallæus at Rome stood a colossal *statue of Ares* by Scopas, which was also probably brought from Pergamon. Asia Minor, the cradle of plastic art, became after the Persian war, and during the whole of the golden age of Greek art, dependent, in an artistic sense, upon the mother country. Down to the fourth century, the only works thought worthy of mention in Asia Minor are the Amazon of Polycleitus, the Apollo of Myron at Ephesus, and the 'Drunken old woman' at Smyrna, which has also been attributed to him.³ From the fourth century downward Rhodes, Cos, Cnidos, and Asia Minor, where Scopas and Praxiteles exercised an enlivening impulse,⁴ again enter the lists and bear away the palm, which is subsequently transferred to Macedonia and continental Greece. In the work of Scopas, described by Pliny, Ares was represented sitting, and consequently in a state of repose, but we have no further details. Attempts have been made to refer the beautiful and well-known *Ares Ludovisi* (fig. 166) in Rome to Scopas; and the art-idea which it embodies is certainly in harmony with his peculiar genius. But the Ares Ludovisi formed part of a group with Aphrodite, and the style resembles that of Lysippus, more especially in his Apoxyomenos. The question is whether Lysippus can be credited with so very original and novel a conception, which is just what we might look for from Scopas; and again, have we sufficient knowledge of the technical style of the latter to justify our deciding that the Ares cannot be his work?

The design of the Ares in the Villa Ludovisi is in the highest

¹ Waagen, *Kunstwerke in Paris*. Nagler, *Künstler-Lexicon*. Schnaase, *Ges. d. bildenden Künste*, p. 234.

² Urlichs, *Skopas*.
³ This statue, generally attributed to Myron, was more probably by a sculptor called Maron. Vid. Schöne, *Arch. Zeit.*

1862, p. 333. Conf. Benndorf, *A. Z.* 1867, p. 78, and Epigram, *Anthol. Pal.* vii. 455.

⁴ Pausan. viii. 45. 5: (Σκόπας) ὃς καὶ ἀγάλματα πολλοῦ τῆς ἀρχαίας Ἑλλάδος τὰ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ Ἴωναν τε καὶ Καρίαν ἐποίησε.

degree original and novel. The figure before us is well worthy in its powerful and magnificent proportions of the God of War; but his mighty frame is like an unstrung bow, and we see him, not in his character of destroyer of the human race, enemy of Gods and men, rushing with furious cries to his 'insolent game'—but silent, almost pensive, lost in sweet dreams of peace and love. His shield leans idly against the rock, his weapons are scattered on the ground,

FIG. 166.



MARS LUDOVISI.

and the sword, which he still retains, is feebly grasped. The bent back, the drooping head, the folded arms, the eyes gazing vaguely into the distance, give to the whole figure an air of lassitude, which is not the weariness of long labour, but the languor of unresisting submission to the soft influence of a power still mightier than his own. The source of that power is indicated by the Eros between his feet. The remnant of another figure, which may still be seen on the shoulder, shows that the triumphant Goddess herself is by his side, from whom he averts his gaze, as if half ashamed of his defeat. The technical skill displayed in this noble work, and especially in the magnificent curve of the back, the aristocratic head and well-

developed chest, and in the arrangement of the chlamys over the lap, are worthy of the design. We are justified, therefore, in regarding it as a Greek original, but we have no sufficient grounds for dogmatism respecting the artist.

Achilles Group in Bithynia.—Pliny speaks with great enthusiasm of another work by Scopas, in which the marvellous wealth and variety of his imagination were fully displayed. It represented in round figures '*Neptune himself, Thetis, Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins, whales or hippocampi, Tritons, and the train of Phorcus,¹ Sea monsters (pistrices), and many other marine creatures,—all by*

¹ 'Lord of the unharvested sea, and father of Thousa, the mother of Polyphemus.'

the same hand; an illustrious work even if it had occupied a whole lifetime.' It stood in the Temple of Neptune, in the Flaminian Circus at Rome, which Cn. Domitius dedicated about the year 35 B.C., and adorned with works of art which he had brought from Nicæa and Nicomedia.¹ We have here another example of the way in which Scopas represented the finer shades of difference in the character and functions of kindred deities of the same element or the same moral sphere. In the grand forms of Poseidon and his consort Amphitrite he seeks to express the mingled grandeur and beauty of the ocean—

'boundless, endless, and sublime.'

In the attendant Nereids is embodied the loveliness, the alluring sheen of the calm and playful waters; in the strange, grotesque forms of the Hippocamps, the romance and mystery, and in the jovial, boisterous, insolent Tritons, the reckless wildness and turbulence, of the unfathomable, wildly sporting, incontrollable, and ever restless sea.² And over them all is spread the pathos, the melancholy, the vague longing after some distant object which the sea inspires in all who look on it, and with which Greek art, drawing its vital power from nature itself, always invested the denizens of the ocean (fig. 167).

The description of Pliny has many points of resemblance with the subject of a magnificent relief in Munich representing *The Marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite* (fig. 168), which has many characteristics of the style of Scopas. It is one of two friezes formerly in the Palace of Santa Croce, near the Flaminian Circus, but it is not

FIG. 167.



YOUNG TRITON IN THE VATICAN.

¹ Ulrichs (*Skopas*, 126) thinks that it was taken from a temple of Poseidon in Astakos-Olbia or between Kios and Mystea. Stark (*Philologus*, p. 445) thinks that it was in-

tended for the Achilleion on the coast of Troas, at the entrance of the Hellespont.

² 'Die lustig-munteren, wonneberauschten Meer-götter' (Schiller).

known where they were originally found. They came into the possession of Cardinal Fesch, and were sold in Paris in 1816. One of them was bought by H. von Klenze, and transferred to the Glyptothek in Munich.¹

In this very beautiful and original composition *Poseidon* (fig. 168, D, *a*) appears seated in a chariot drawn by two young Tritons, one of whom is blowing a sea-shell, while the other holds a lyre. By the side of the mighty 'Earth-shaker' is the dignified and graceful form of *Amphitrite* (fig. 168, D, *b*), who is drawing her bridal veil more closely round her head. A Nereid in the head-dress of a matron, probably *Doris the Oceanid* (fig. 168, C, *c*), comes to meet them, riding on a Hippocamp (fig. 168, C, *d*). These three majestic personages form the central group, which is flanked on each side by a subordinate group of three youthful female forms; *one of whom* (fig. 168, B, *c*), to the left of Doris, seated in a graceful attitude on a *Sea bull* (fig. 168, B, *f*), is bearing aloft with both her hands the indispensable *jewel-box* of the bride. Of the two others, *one* (fig. 168, A, *g*) is riding a *Triton* (fig. 168, A, *h*) of the Centaur type, and *the other* (fig. 168, A, *i*) a *Sea dragon* (fig. 168, A, *j*). On the right side of the central group, immediately behind the chariot of Poseidon, a lightly clothed *Nereid* (fig. 168, E, *k*) lies stretched in the coils of a *Hippocamp's* (fig. 168, E, *l*) sinuous body, with her back to the spectator, holding a goblet in one hand and a goblet in the other.² *Two other Nereids* (fig. 168, F, *m*, *n*) follow, on the back of a *Sea dragon* (fig. 168, F, *o*) and a *Triton* (fig. 168, F, *p*) respectively.

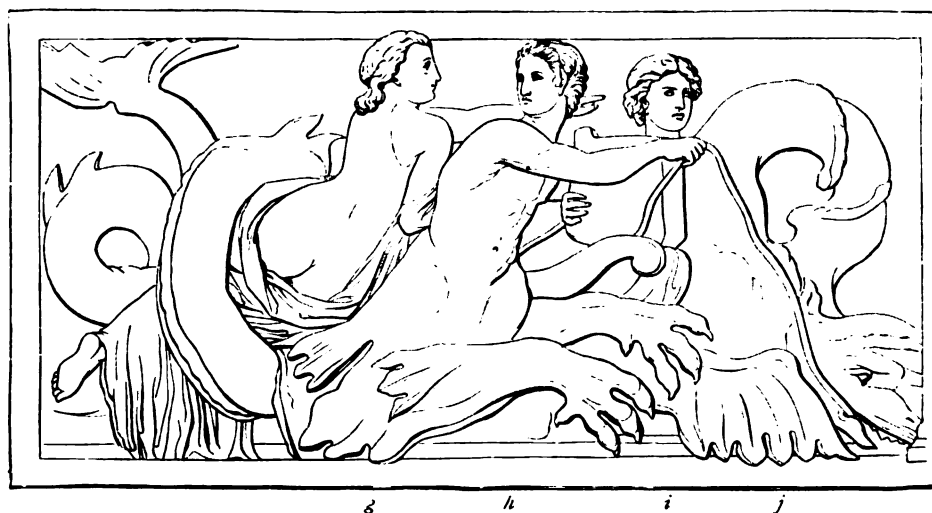
The simple grandeur of the original conception is developed into a rich variety of lines by the fantastic shapes of the marine monsters, in contrast with the lovely forms of the Nereids, who recline with such easy grace and serene confidence among the coils of their grotesque steeds, that we accept their strange and impossible position

¹ O. Jahn, *Bericht d. sächs. Gesellsch.* 1854, p. 163, Taf. iii.-viii. As examples of the manner in which the Greeks represented the Deities of the ocean, see the *Statue of Poseidon* in the Vatican, which is greatly marred by the *restored aplustre*; the bust of *Glaucus* in the same gallery; two fine *Tritons* in the Conservatori Palace in Rome; a double *Triton Ilerna* in the Capitol. Museum; two colossal

heads of Tritons in the Villa Albani with fins for eyebrows, which fall over the cheek and round the chin; and others in the Vatican. For a description of Tritons vid. Pausan. ix. 21, 1.

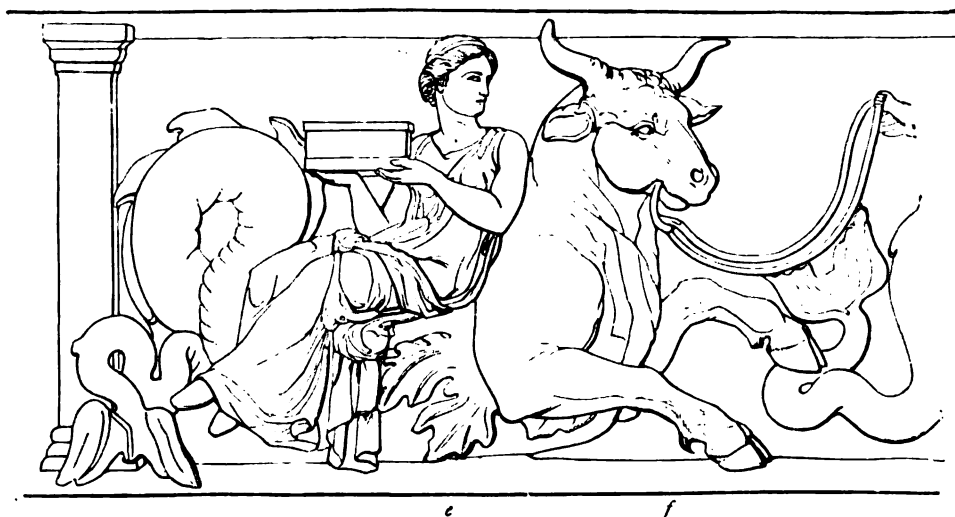
² Compare the beautiful group at Naples representing a *graceful nymph riding on a Hippocamp*. The same subject is treated in a fine gem in the collection at Florence and in another at Berlin.

FIG. 168, A.



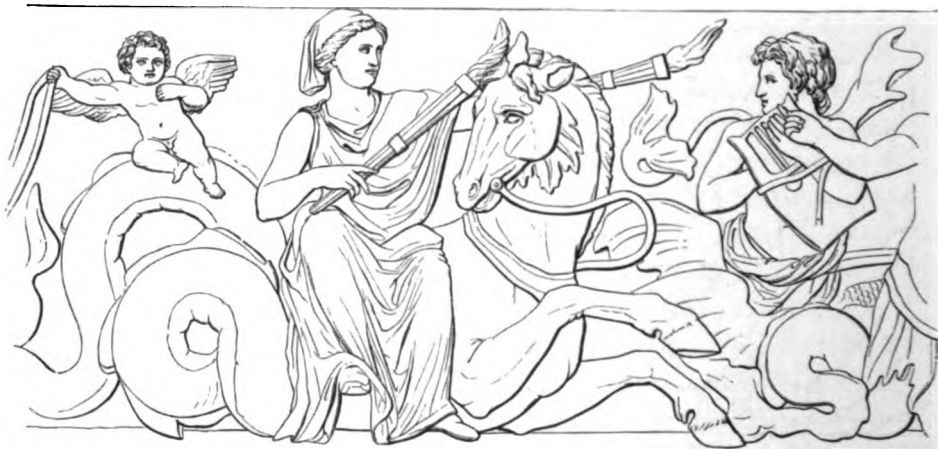
NEREID ON A TRITON.

FIG. 168, B.



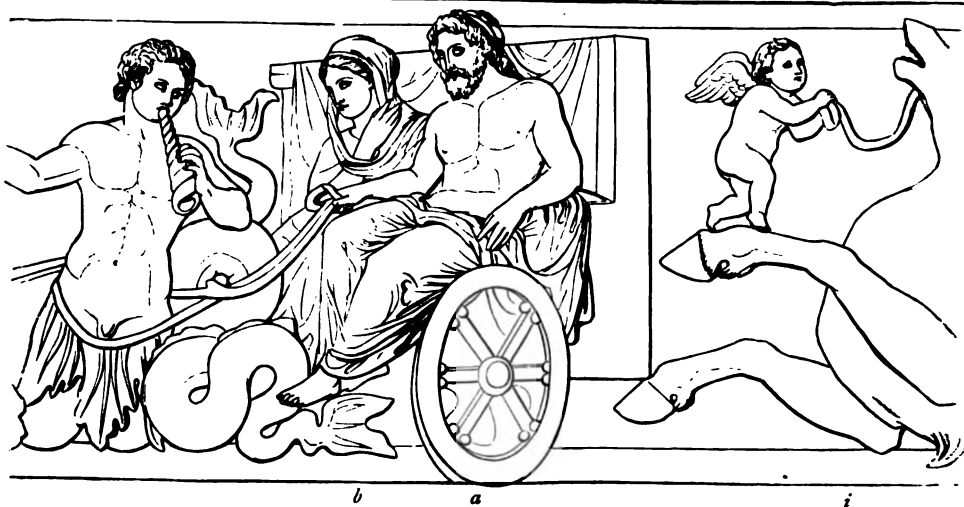
NEREID ON A SEA BULL.

FIG. 168, c.



c d
DORIS (?) ON A HIPPOCAMP.

FIG. 168, d.



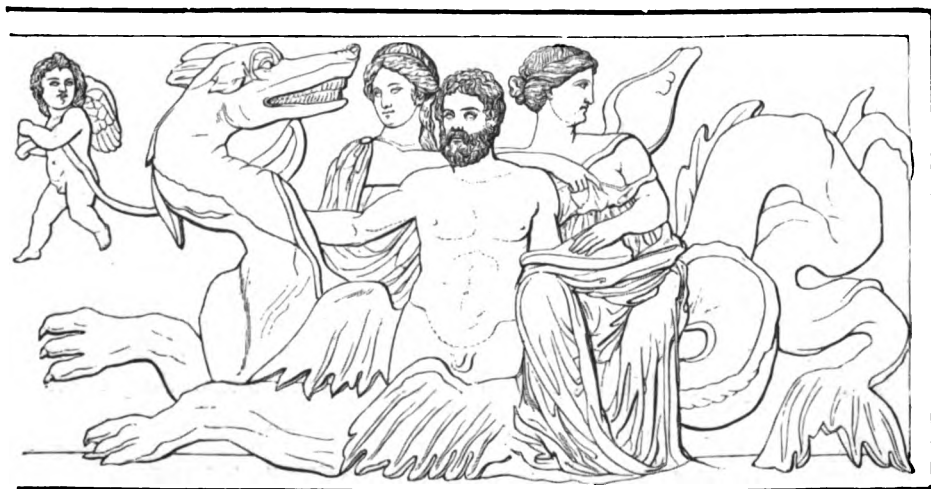
b a i
POSEIDON AND AMPHITRITE.

FIG. 168, E.



NEREID IN THE COILS OF A HIPPOCAMP.

FIG. 168, F.



NEREIDS, TRITON, AND SEA DRAGON.

with delight, as the most natural thing in the world.¹ These groups of Nereids correspond in their number and functions to the Charites (Graces) and Horæ (Hours) of Olympian weddings.²

A pretty playful element is added to the grandeur, the beauty, the turbulence, and the grotesque mysterious romance of this group by the introduction of the little *Boy-Erotes* (Cupids), who, perched on the tails or the uplifted hoofs of the Hippocamps, or floating in the air, perform with easy confidence and nonchalance the part of charioteers. Their presence is very embarrassing to those who think that this work proceeds from the atelier of Scopas himself, for the boy-cupids are framed in the spirit of Alexandrine poetry, while the Eros of Scopas, as we have seen, was a tender youth.

It will be observed by the spectator who looks at this frieze from the proper distance that the procession seems to be coming towards him. This effect is produced by the perspective inclination of the back of the chariot, and the oval form of the wheel, and the fact that one of the harnessed Tritons is represented *en face*. By these means the effect is produced not of two processions meeting, but coming from opposite sides towards the spectator.

Among the works which have the greatest claim to be copied from originals of Scopas, we may mention *the Nereid*, No. 49, in Venice. There are also *two Nereids* in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, and others in the galleries of Florence and Naples. Nor was the representation of marine deities and their train unknown to the earlier periods of art. On the Chest of Cypselus Thetis is represented standing on a biga—the horses of which had golden wings—and receiving from Hephæstus the famous impenetrable armour for her son Achilles.³ Tritons are also mentioned by Pausanias in his description of the reliefs on *the throne of the Amyclean Apollo*;⁴ and Myron, as we have seen, made *Pristæ*⁵ (*Pistres*, *Pistrices*), marine monsters. There is also an amphora with black figures of an earlier date than Scopas, on

¹ The tolerance of the fair sex for powerful *monsters* has in all ages been remarkable.

² See Brunn's analysis of this group in his *Beschreibung d. Glyptothek*, p. 144.

³ Pausan. v. 19. 5. Eurip. *Electra* :—

Νηρῆδες δ' Εὐβοΐδας ἀντὶς λιπούσαι
Ἰφαιόστου χρυσέων ἀκρόων
μοχθούς ἀσπιστάς ἔφερον τευχέων, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Pausan. iii. 18. 5.

⁵ Some writers, however, think that this word means *genre* figures.

which Thetis is represented bringing a spear, and the Nereids different portions of the divine armour to Achilles.¹

The same subject is treated in the same manner on many sarcophagi,² and on gems, terracottas, Prænestine mirrors, Pompeian paintings, and mosaic floors. Nor is it only in works of classical antiquity that the influence of Scopas is clearly seen. It may be traced in Raphael's fresco of Galatea in the Farnesini at Rome, in the Caracci frescoes of the Pal. Farnese, and in many other works of the Italian school.

¹ *Campana Coll. Catalog.* Cl. I, Ser. 4-7, No. 1118. See also a vase found by Baron Haller in the Island of Rhodes, representing *Nereids carrying the arms of Achilles* (*Mon. d. I.* iii. 19, 20, 1840; *Ann. d. I.* xii. 1840); and another in the Brit. Mus. (Table-case N, No. 22), where *Thetis and*

the Nereids are occupied in the same task. Conf. 'Stoviglia Ruvese della Raccolta del Iatta a Napoli' (*Ann. d. Inst.* xii. p. 125), and an Amphora in Brit. Mus.; *Arch. Anzeiger*, ix. 179; Urlichs, *Scopas*, p. 143.

² *Mus. Pio. Clem.* iv. 33.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WORKS OF SCOPAS

(CONTINUED).

THE MAUSOLEUM AT HALICARNASSUS.

Ol. 107. 2-108 (B.C. 351-348)?

SCOPAS was engaged, at an already advanced age, in conjunction with Bryaxis, Timotheus, and possibly Praxiteles, in executing the plastic ornaments of the famous tomb of King Mausolus (Maussolus) at Halicarnassus.¹ This able and successful tyrant removed his residence from Mylasa, the former capital of his kingdom, to Halicarnassus,² in Caria, in the building and decoration of which he spent vast sums extorted from his subjects and his vanquished enemies. He was nominally a satrap of Persia, but after his revolt from Artaxerxes in 362 B.C.—the year of the battle of Mantinea, in which Epaminondas was killed, and three years before the accession of Philip of Macedon—he appears to have run a very prosperous career of independence and conquest until his death in Ol. 117. 2 (B.C. 353). His widow, Artemisia, inconsolable for his loss, immortalised her husband and herself by rearing a tomb in his honour, which rivalled the Pyramids, and ranked with the ‘seven wonders of the world.’³ Artemisia herself died two years after the king, while the tomb was yet unfinished; and it is recorded, to the honour of the artists employed, that they

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 30. Vitruv. vii. præfat. 12.

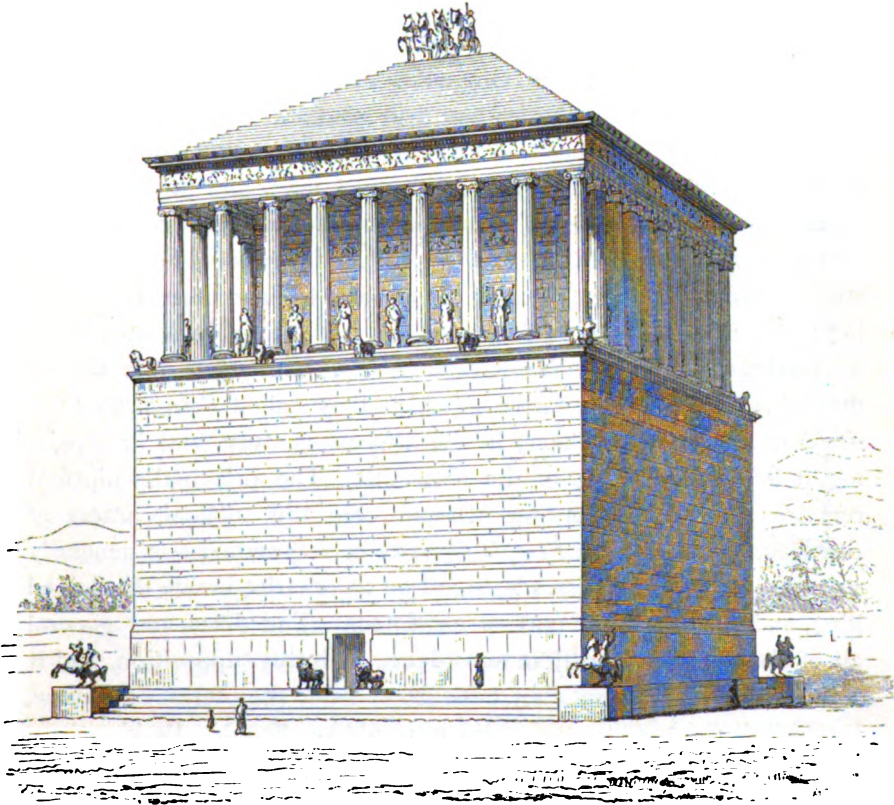
² *Hod.* Budrun, on the Gulf of Cos, in Anatolia.

³ Pausan. viii. 16. 4. Newton thinks it not improbable that Mausolus himself may

have begun to build his own tomb, as was not unusual with Asiatic monarchs. Vid. Newton's *Hist. of Disc. in Halicarnassus, Cnidus, Branchide*, i. 55, and his article in *Class. Mus.* July 1847.

completed the work, probably without further reward. Pliny's account of the design and dimensions of the Mausoleum are very difficult to understand. Newton is of opinion that it consisted of a mighty basement of solid masonry,¹ in which probably was the sepulchral vault, and which supported a *pteron* (cella) thirty-seven and a

FIG. 169.



PULLAN'S RESTORATION OF MAUSOLEUM.

half feet in height, surrounded by thirty-six columns² (fig. 169). Above this pteron was a kind of pyramid with a flat top, on which

¹ *Halicarnassus, Cnidus, &c.*, vol. ii. part i. p. 186. Mr. James Fergusson in an interesting treatise (*The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus restored*) dissents from this view, and proposes a different restoration to that of Mr.

Pullan, adopted by Newton. Conf. Petersen, *Das Mausoleum*.

² Parts of these columns are in the Brit. Mus.

stood a quadriga of marble, made by Pythis (Phyteus?). The basis of the substructure rose by three steps, and the pyramid on the top of the pteron by twenty-four steps, and the whole building was about one hundred and forty feet in height. We are also told that the E. side was adorned by *Scopas*, the N. by *Bryaxis*, the S. by *Timotheus*, and the W. by *Leochares*. This mighty work, which stood some seventeen hundred and fifty years, and has given a word to every civilised language, is referred to by Lucian¹ in an imaginary conversation between the shades of Mausolus and Diogenes. The king, in answer to the philosopher's question why he assumed so great a superiority over his brother ghosts, replies that he 'had a larger monument lying on him at Halicarnassus than any other dead man, and of such great beauty, and with horses and men represented in marble so naturally, that no temple could easily show the like.' It is also mentioned as a stupendous work in an epigram.² It appears to have been still standing in the twelfth century of our era, and was probably destroyed by an earthquake; so that the Knights of St. John were able to use the ruins in building a fortress (which they called *Petroneum* (*Budrun*) in honour of St. Peter) in the fifteenth century, and in repairing it in the beginning of the sixteenth. The principal sculptural remains, now in the British Museum, are the colossal *Statue of Mausolus* himself, and a *Female figure* of corresponding size, generally supposed to be a Goddess, who stood on the chariot beside the deified king, and performed the part of charioteer. The dress and general air of the latter are hardly in accordance with this supposition, and it is far more probable that they both stood inside the pteron, or *heroum*, in which divine honours and sacrifices would be offered.³ Besides these we have *seven torsos*, some of them colossal, among which the fragment of a *Horse and his rider* is the most remarkable; *four female heads*, beautifully executed, which Newton conjectures to be *Hêrê*, *Demeter*, *Artemis*, and *Aphrodite*; *several male heads*—*Apollo*, *Hermes* (or *Heracles*), *Theseus*, a *Carian prince* (or *Amazon*), and *Ganymede*; a *colossal Ram*; the fore- and hind-quarter of a *colossal*

¹ *Dial. Mort.* 24. 1.

² *Liber de Spectaculis*:—

Aere nec vacuo pendentia mausolea
Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant, etc.

³ Conf. Stark, *Philologus*, xxi. 464.

Horse; fragments of *twenty Lions* found on the N. side, at a considerable distance from the building; the head and foot of a *Boar*; a *Dog* of corresponding size, and a *Lioness*.¹ Of the *chariot* we have only fragments of a gigantic wheel. There are also portions of *three Friezes*, one of which no doubt ran round the top of the substructure; another was above the row of columns which surrounded the pteron; and the third at the top of the cella wall.

Of these remains the most interesting is the colossal statue of *Mausolus* (fig. 170) himself, which is evidently a portrait, and very unlike the ideal Greek type. The face itself is broad and square, the forehead low, the underlip full and sensual. The deep-set eyes produce the effect of a somewhat barbaric wildness, combined with self-conscious dignity. The beard and moustache are short. The hair of the head, which is very effectively though not minutely executed, is stroked back from the forehead, and falls in long wavy masses on each side of the head, more like that of a German student of the last generation than of an ancient Greek or Asiatic. Mausolus is clothed in a chiton, which is seen on the chest, above the chlamys which envelopes the whole figure in rich folds and is wrapped round the middle of the body. The drapery is grand in design, and executed with great skill and truth. The only remaining foot is covered by a laced boot over a sort of leather sock.

The next in importance is a *colossal female figure* of matronly form, supposed to be a goddess acting as charioteer,² although the dress is hardly suitable to that function. The features of the face, above which is a triple row of the well-known archaic curls of hair, are entirely destroyed. The attitude of this noble and beautiful figure is grand and imposing, and the drapery is executed with even

FIG. 170.



PORTRAIT OF MAUSOLUS.

¹ At Constantinople.

² Newton, vol. ii. part 1, p. 249. Conf Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.* i. Taf. 31.

greater skill and refinement than that of Mausolus. It consists of a long chiton of soft and light material, which covers the bosom in fine folds, and an ample chlamys, reaching to the nude and beautifully formed feet. The latter garment is wrapped in a thick broad fold round the middle of the body, and falls gracefully over the left arm, in the same manner as in the famous Niobid of the Vatican.

The remains of an *Equestrian statue* (Carian prince ?¹), found on the N. (Bryaxis') side, serve to raise our admiration of the genius and skill of the artists employed on the Mausoleum to a still higher point. Although only a mere torso of the horse, and of the rider little more than the lower half of the body, remain, the mutilated figures of both seem instinct with life and vigour. The horse is in the act of rearing, and the legs of the rider, who wears the oriental trowsers, cling to the sides of the horse with the close grasp of the perfect horseman. 'Notwithstanding,' says Newton, 'the great mutilation which this statue has received, it may be considered one of the finest examples of ancient sculpture which has come down to us.'² Of less careful execution is *the Torso of a seated male figure*, in a chiton, and a heavy mantle lying across the lap, which might represent Zeus, were the upper part of the body nude, as is usual in his statues. It may however, be compared with the standing figure of *Zeus Labrandeus*, on coins of Carian kings, which is also fully clothed.

The British Museum contains several other draped figures from the Mausoleum, both male and female, which want of space prohibits us from describing more particularly. Of the south side entrusted to Timotheus there are no remains.

Of several heads, also in the British Museum, the most worthy of special mention are—

*A large female head*³ (Aphrodite ?) of great beauty and exquisite workmanship, with the normal rows of archaic curls and the back hair collected into a conical coif or cap very like that of the Aphrodite (?) in the central group of Gods in the Parthenon frieze ;

a youthful male head, bearded, of purely Greek and heroic type,

¹ Newton. Fergusson calls it an Amazon.

² *Discov. in Halicarn.* vol. ii. pt. i. p. 219.

³ Were it not for a certain pathetic expression in the face we should unhesitatingly say that it represented the Goddess of love.

probably *Theseus*, and a male head, beardless, probably representing *Apollo* ;

the Head of an Asiatic (Carian) prince, wearing the tiara ; and

the Head of a youth (Ganymede?) in a Phrygian cap, very small, and perhaps belonging to a relief.¹

RELIEFS OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

Of the three distinct friezes of the Mausoleum mentioned above, there are seventeen slabs in the Brit. Museum.² Twelve of these, which had been built into the wall of the Castle of Budrun by the knights of St. John, were sent to England by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe in 1846 ; four more, probably by Scopas, from the E. side of the Mausoleum, were discovered by Newton in 1857 ; and another, formerly in the possession of the Serra family in Genoa, was purchased for the British Museum in 1865. Most of these slabs belong to '*the Frieze of the order*,' on the outside of the pteron above the Ionic columns. At the time of their discovery they bore evident traces of colour, the ground being dark blue, the nude of the figures dark red, and the dress of scarlet and other colours. The bridles of the horses were of metal, for the insertion of which holes are still visible. The subject is *the Battle of the Greeks and Amazons*, the same as that on one side of the Temple of Phigaleia, with which it forms an object of interesting and instructive comparison.

The most striking characteristics of the frieze before us are the exuberance of life, the energy and even violence of movement, the endless variety of action, posture and dress, and the hurry, heat, and passion which reign in every part of the composition. The extraordinary richness of inventive fancy, in which the artist yields to none of his predecessors, shows itself in effective contrasts between male and female figures, mounted and on foot, draped and nude, erect, oblique, and prostrate. Nor is it only by the attitude and motion of the body that intensity of feeling is indicated. The varying emotions roused by the

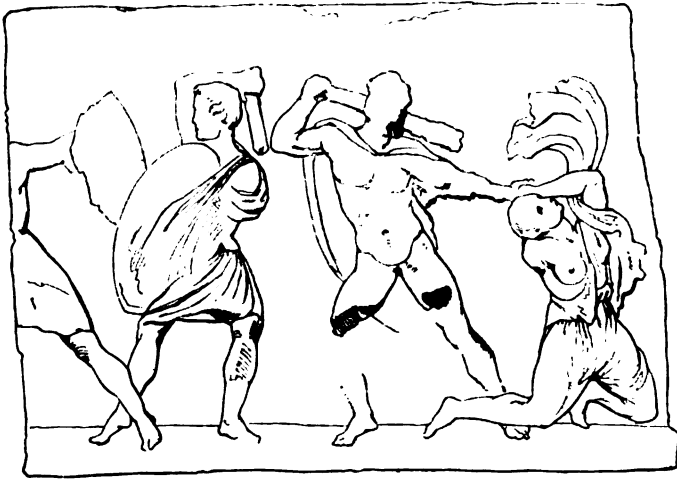
¹ Newton, *l. c.*

² They were first seen *in situ* by Dalton in the last century, and sketched by him.

vicissitudes of battle are clearly depicted in the faces of the actors. What we have said above of the predominance of the subjective, lyric, individual, element in the modern Attic school, is fully exemplified in these reliefs. Each of the smaller groups into which the composition is so skilfully divided might form the subject of a poem.

The artist transports us into the thickest of the battle at its hottest moment. On the whole, of course, the Greeks are prevailing, but they have no easy task. A *Heracles* (fig. 171) (or Theseus) is needed to ensure a victory over these earliest advocates of the

FIG. 171.



HERACLES (OR THESEUS) AND AMAZONS.

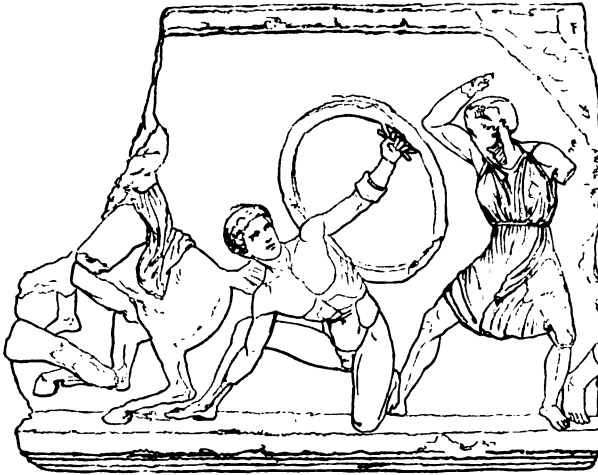
rights, and avengers of the wrongs, of women, who were 'a match for men' (*ἀντιάνειπαι*) in quite another than the usual and more agreeable sense.

The Greeks are all on foot, and for the most part nude, though a few have the small chlamys round the arm or flying from the shoulder. They are armed with sword or javelin and buckler, and some wear a Corinthian helmet. The Amazons are on foot or horseback, and most of them wear the sleeveless chiton alone, in such a manner as to leave part of the person exposed. Some wear the chlamys, or have sleeves to their chiton; others the closely

fitting trowsers (*ἀναξυρίδες*). They are armed with axe, sword, and bow, and generally carry a small shield (pelta), though many are without it.

The works of the older school with which our frieze has the greatest analogy are the reliefs of the Temple of Nike Apteros and those of the Temple of Apollo in Phigaleia. It greatly surpasses the former in boldness of conception and variety of situation and action, and the latter in freedom and correctness of drawing. As in many other similar works, not even excepting those of the Parthenon, there is an

FIG. 172.



THE FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

extraordinary difference of merit in different portions of the same frieze, some of which are worthy of the greatest masters of the period, while others have many glaring faults. In the present case this disparity is accounted for more easily than usual by the death of Artemisia—whose successor, Hydrieus, took no interest in the Mausoleum—and the consequent necessity for finishing the work in haste by the hands of inferior artists.

The most interesting groups of the relief are those discovered by Newton, and the one purchased from the Serra family in Genoa. In slab C a beautifully moulded Greek warrior is laying



FIG. 173. FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM.

his left hand on the head of a conquered Amazon whom he has forced down on her knees (fig. 173) and is about to dispatch with his sword. She on her part stretches out her right hand in piteous supplication, and having failed to pierce his heart with her other weapons, is trying what a pathetic glance can do. In the group on the left of slab D, perhaps the finest of all, two Greeks are employed in cutting down one disarmed Amazon (fig. 174), who supports herself on one hand and knee in a very beautiful attitude. A very fine contrast is presented to us in N, where a Greek warrior in a Corinthian helmet is bending over an Amazon whom he is about to dispatch (fig. 175). The ruthless intent expressed in his face, and the calm upward look with which the heroine awaits the

deadly stroke, are inimitably given.¹ In slab M we see an Amazon

¹ The *beauty* of her face has unfortunately been omitted in our illustration.

FIG. 174.

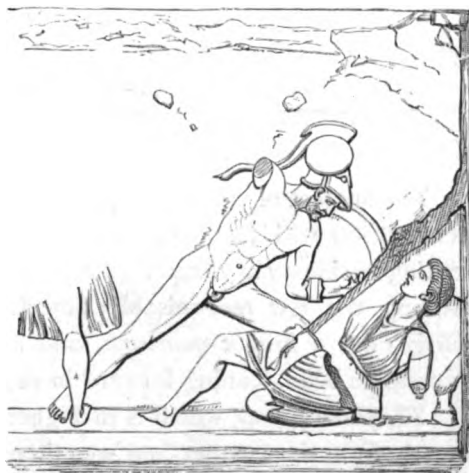


GREEKS AND AMAZONS.

(*εὐππιος*) sitting in fearless ease with her back to her horse's head, and drawing her bow against an enemy (fig. 176). Her rearing horse meanwhile is striking with his foreleg at a Greek before him.

The difference between the older and the younger Attic schools, of which we have spoken above, is seen not only in the greater boldness and variety of conception, and the unbounded freedom of execution displayed in this frieze, but in the psychical and moral tone which pervades it. Even in the Phigaleian marbles the face is left almost void of expression, while here it is made to reflect the most vivid emotions of the soul—wrath, fear, suppliant pathos, and compassion. The tendency of the age

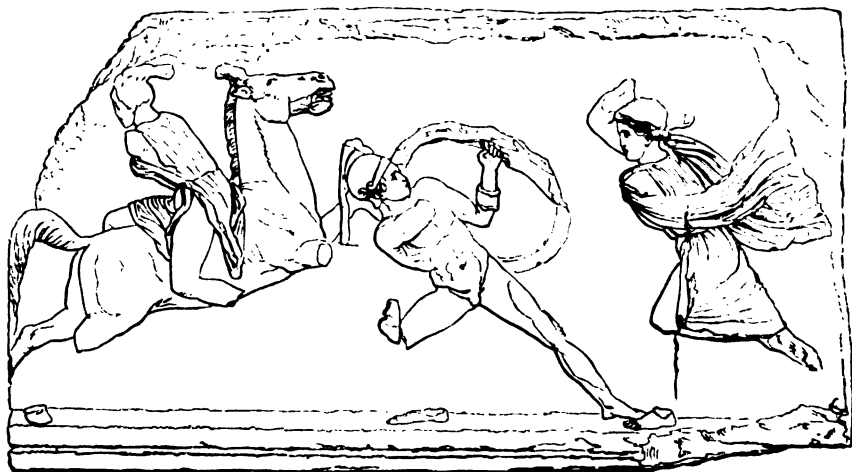
FIG. 175.



SLAB N, FROM MAUSOLEUM FRIEZE.

to sacrifice everything to beauty is shown too in the treatment of the Amazons. The female warrior, who in earlier art had thrown off the characteristic softness and weakness of the sex, becomes in the hands of Scopas and his associates the lovely, charming woman, against whom we wonder to see the manly warrior raise his sword. There is an evident desire to please the spectator by the display of the beautiful but very inappropriate forms of the Amazons, for which reason the slit chiton (σχιστὸς χιτῶν), an unusual and unfitting garment for an Amazon, is frequently used.

FIG. 176.



MOUNTED AMAZON.

The subject of the *second frieze*, of finer and whiter marble, bordered below with an ogee, seems to have been a *chariot race*, representing perhaps the *funeral games instituted in honour of Mausolus*. Among the few recognisable objects in these flatter reliefs (*mezzo rilievo*) are a *broken quadriga*, and a *female charioteer* with a fine expressive head, leaning forward in eager rivalry.

The *third frieze*, which is in higher relief, seems to have suffered greatly from the weather, and was therefore probably on the outside of the substructure of the Mausoleum. One of the slabs contains the figures of a *Centaur* and a *Lapith*, from which it is conjectured that the *Centauromachia* formed the subject of the whole composition.

Besides these remains of Ionic friezes, there are fragments of *square metope-like slabs* in a frame projecting about an inch. The relief on one of them is supposed to represent *Theseus dashing Skiron against a rock*. The others are so much defaced as to defy even an archæologist's microscopic eye and fertile imagination.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE NIOBE GROUP.¹

(Fig. 177.)

THE myth of Niobe and her children is familiar to much humbler individuals than Macaulay's 'odious 'fifth-form boy,'² and it would be impertinent to repeat in this place the incidents of their tragic fate.

The catastrophe of the once proud queen of Thebes, in which she retains nothing of her former nature but the sense of bereavement and

FIG. 177.



THE NIOBE GROUP.

the power of tears, had precisely the mingled elements of beauty, pathos, and thrilling tragic interest, which would draw the attention of the younger Attic school. We are not surprised therefore to find in Pliny a brief notice of *a group of Niobe and her children*, concerning which he adds that it was doubted whether it was the work of Praxiteles or Scopas.³ The question will in all probability never be

¹ The Niobe tragedy had been treated by art on the Throne of the Olymp. Zeus (Pausan. v. 11. 2; Brunn, *Künstl.-Gesch.* i. 174), where Pheidias brought it into connexion with the Theban story of the Sphinx. The miniature sketch of the group (fig. 177) does not give exactly the arrangement adopted in the Uffizi at Florence, but the one which seems to me most correct. A figure is missing between Niobe and the Pædagogus.

² Nam quis non Nioben numero funere mæstam Non cecinit?

Olymp. Nemesianus, in beginning of the *Cygenetica*. Conf. Soph. *Antigone*, 822; *Electra*, 147; Horat. *Od.* vi. 6. 1; Juvenal. *Sat.* vi. 71.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 28: 'Par hæsitatio est in templo Apollinis Sosiani Niobæ liberos morientis, Scopas an Praxiteles fecerit.' A

settled ; but we are inclined to trace in the *motif* and treatment of this beautiful work the pathetic and excitable temperament of Scopas. It is indeed attributed to Praxiteles in two epigrams,¹ but they are light in the balance against the doubts of Pliny. It stood, he says, in the Temple of Apollo,² which was erected, about 716 A.U.C. (B.C. 38), by Caius Sosius, who was Antony's legate in Syria and Cilicia. Hence it has been plausibly conjectured that Sosius brought it from Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia, and displayed it at his triumph for his victory over Judæa in 35 B.C.

A large number of statues, which evidently represented the same scene, were discovered in 1583 in a *vigna* near the Lateran at Rome, and after passing through various hands were acquired by Leopold Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1775, and have ever since been one of the chief glories of the Uffizi Palace at Florence.

The scene is one which irresistibly carries our thoughts to what has preceded and must follow it. It represents not so much an action as a state of feeling. A moment before all was peace, prosperity, and joy ; a moment after, and there will be peace again, but it will be the eternal peace of death. The noiseless arrows of the unseen deities are already flying from either side, and two of the children, a son and a daughter, lie prostrate on the ground in the agonies of death. Others, fatally wounded, are tottering to their fall ; and the rest are fleeing from the terror, like a frightened herd of deer. Yet fear is not the only emotion manifested. There are touching incidents of self-forgetfulness in the desire to help and save : a brother supporting the drooping form of a sister (177, *c*) ; the attendant slave (*pædagogus*) (177, *g*) busying himself less about his own safety than that of his tender charge. Above them all towers the grand figure

similar doubt prevailed concerning a figure of Janus Pater (i.e. Hermes Dikephalos) at Rome, and another of Cupid holding a thunderbolt. 'Item (par hæsitatio) *Janus Pater* in suo templo dicatus ab Augusto ex *Ægypto* advectus utrius manus sit. Similiter in curia Octaviæ quæritur de *Cupidine fulmen tenente*, id demum affirmatur Alcibiadem esse principem in ea ætate' (Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 28).

¹ *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 181. 298 (Planud. iv. 129):—

ἐκ ζωῆς μὲ θεοὶ τεύξαν λίθον, ἐκ δὲ λίθοιο
ζῶην Πραξιτέλης ἔμπαλιν εἰργάσατο.

Conf. Auson. *Epil.* 28 :—

Vivebam sum facta silex, quæ deindec polita
Praxitelis manibus vivo iterum Niobe.

² Outside the Porta Carmentalis, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. Vide Urlichs, *Skopas*.

of the mother (177, *f*), on whose devoted head these ruins fall, pre-eminent, not in stature and beauty alone (*digna deâ facies*), but in the dignity of her divine despair. Without any further attempt to flee or to save herself, she gazes upwards with a wistful but hopeless glance which stirs the inmost chords of the soul. With the maternal instinct still strong in her heart she folds the tender shrinking form of her *youngest daughter* (177, *f*) to her lap, and tries to shield her with her own person from the coming death.

On its first discovery the Florentine group was hailed without hesitation by the credulous enthusiasm of the age as the very work of Scopas or Praxiteles mentioned by Pliny.¹ Closer examination, however, gave rise to doubts, to which the acute and unsparing critic Mengs gave loud and decided utterance. He brought forward sufficient reason for declaring that not one of the figures could be regarded as the work of a great Greek master. This apparently hasty and harsh judgment was more generally acquiesced in after the great discoveries of the 19th century, which brought to light undoubted original works of Greek art in the sculptures of Ægina, Olympia, the Theseion and the Parthenon, and established a standard by which previously known works could be fairly tested. Still more important in the case before us was the discovery of duplicates of some of the principal Niobid statues at Florence. The famous *daughter of Niobe*² in the Chiaramonti Gallery in the Vatican is immeasurably superior to the corresponding figure in the Uffizi; and, indeed, as it is of Parian marble, some writers regard it as belonging to the original group. Canova discovered another fragmentary group in the Vatican of *a young girl wounded by an arrow in the left breast, and leaning against a youthful male figure*, which corresponds exactly with a portion of the Florentine group. Some writers would bestow the name of Niobid on the well-known and most beautiful figure of a kneeling youth, generally called *Ilioneus*, in the Glyptothek at Munich; and even Friederichs seems half inclined to the same opinion. *Ilioneus*, as the reader will remember, is the name given by Ovid to the

¹ Winckelmann, too, was deceived, and said that no one as yet had expressed a

doubt of their originality.

² A duplicate of *d* in the Florentine group.

youngest son of Niobe, who alone touched the heart of Phœbus by his prayers ; but all too late :—

Motus erat, cum jam revocabile telum
Non fuit, Arcitenens. Minimo tamen occidit ille
Vulnere, non alte percusso corde sagitta.¹

The best authorities, however, on the ground of the entire nudity of this figure, and for other weighty reasons, have finally decided against its claims² to be placed in the Florentine group, though all allow that it is an original Greek work of the highest merit.³

On the other hand, several of the figures found in the same place as the Niobids have been unanimously excluded from all connexion with them ; e.g. a *Discobolus* ; the well-known ' *Wrestlers* ' in the tribune at Florence ; a *Polyhymnia* ; and a *horse*.

It is generally assumed that the number of figures was originally seventeen—viz. Niobe herself, fourteen children, a Pædagogus, and, as a pendant to him, a Trophos (female nurse). Of these we possess twelve—*Niobe, six sons, four daughters, and the Pædagogue*. From the great superiority in the stature of the Queen herself, as central figure, and the difference in the height of the other figures, it was at first supposed that we had a pedimental group before us. It has, however, been found impossible to arrange them within a triangular gable in any intelligible order.⁴ Among the many theories which have been broached on the subject, the most plausible⁵ seems to be that they stood on an undulating rocky base, with a not too distant background, so as to produce the effect of a very high relief of a somewhat pictorial character. According to this view, Niobe would occupy the highest point, and the children from either side would be fleeing towards her for refuge.⁶ In any arrangement, of course, the godlike mother would occupy the centre, and her place is indicated by the fact that she alone is represented *en face*.

¹ Ovid, *Mét.* vi. 264.

² Brunn, Ulrichs, O. Jahn, &c.

³ E. Curtius now calls it *Ganymede* (*Arch. Zeit. N. F.* i. p. 42).

⁴ As Friederichs remarks, 'The difference in size between the figures is not greater than would be accounted for by the difference of age, and the representation of children is unknown at this period. In a pediment the

lying figures would leave an ugly gap in the angles, and, moreover, could not be seen from below' (*Niobe*, 81).

⁵ Friedr. Baust. p. 242. Conf. Bötticher (*Kön. Mus. Abgüsse, &c.* p. 460), who thinks that they were placed on a semicircular base.

⁶ Conf. Stark, *Niobe, &c.* p. 103.

The form, attitude, and countenance of Niobe afford one of the best examples in plastic art of the true Greek moderation (*σωφροσύνη*), (fig. 178). When we think of the suddenness with which the awful calamity had burst upon her, and all the horrors of her position, we might expect to see a face distorted by the violence of her emotions. We could have forgiven the artist had he veiled it, as the painter Timanthes did in the case of Agamemnon at the sacrifice of Iphigenia.¹ But no; in that acme of her sufferings, the form of Niobe has lost nothing of its majesty and high-born grace, and her

FIG. 178.



HEAD OF NIOBE.

face retains all its queenly beauty; and yet what a depth of hopeless sorrow does it reveal!² She falls, indeed, the victim of the Nemesis she had so wantonly provoked, but she falls like a queen and a heroine, carrying with her the sympathy of all beholders.

We are accustomed to see the plainest features illumined and transfigured by the noble soul; but in Niobe the indwelling spirit is allowed for once to take its own proper form, and to show incarnate nobleness.

Pride and despair are not the only feelings depicted in that upturned face. There is also a trace of the most touching pathos; the trembling of the lip, and the quivering of the lower eyelid, are harbingers of the tears which are to flow for ever. And the immediate cause of this emotion is before us. Very striking and beautiful is the contrast between the stately form of the proud strong woman who shows no fears for her own person, and the timid shrinking child who clings to her in an agony of fear, and thinks to find a refuge in her mother's lap even from the fury of the Gods (fig. 179). It is a natural and beautiful conception, that of all the frightened throng, the youngest and the tenderest should have reached the mother first, and should occupy her chief attention in virtue of her very insigni-

¹ Conf. vase in Brit. Museum, Table-case N, No. 1.

² 'For as virtue lies not in the absence of passion but in the mastery of the mind over

it, so beauty is not preserved by the removal or diminution of emotion, but by the power of beauty to overcome it' (Schelling).

ficance and helpless dependence. The poet surely must have looked on this touching group when he wrote the lines—

*Ultima restabat, quam toto corpore, mater
Tota veste tegens, unam minimamque relinque
De multis minimam posco, clamavit, et unam.*

In vain!

Dumque rogat, pro qua rogat, occidit.

FIG. 179.



NIOBE AND HER YOUNGEST DAUGHTER.

FIG. 180.



NIOBID.

The effect is greatly heightened by the contrast between the tight and closely fitting dress of the poor child, which shows the tender immaturity of its form as clearly as if it were nude, and the rich flowing masses of the mother's robes.¹

¹ There are replicas of the head of Niobe at Brockesley House and in Oxford; a relief representing the slaughter of the Niobids at

Rokeby; also an antique (and a modern) Niobid at Wilton House, and another in the possession of Lord Yarborough; the well-

The next figure on Niobe's right hand is the *first daughter* (fig. 180), who, like the mother, is in the act of drawing her garment over her head as if for defence. In the midst of her flight she is stopped short by an arrow which pierces her neck. The left arm is bent back to the wound, and the whole body seems paralysed by the

FIG. 181.



NIOBID.

FIG. 182.



BROTHER AND SISTER.

shock. The beautiful face of this simple and noble figure was a favourite model with the Italian masters, and especially with Guido Reni.

The *second daughter* (fig. 181), who is following the first in her flight towards the centre, is still unhurt. The left hand, which is rightly restored, is widely opened and raised in astonishment, while with her right she seems to be drawing her garment over her head. There is, as we have said, another, and far superior, copy of this statue

known Fagan Niobid, a daughter of Niobe, and a relief of Apollo and Artemis de-

stroying the Niobids, in the Brit. Museum. —*Specimens of Anc. Sculp.* i. 35, 37.

in the Vatican (Museo Chiaramonti). It is unfortunately without a head, but the treatment both of form and drapery is so masterly that it is chiefly owing to the nature of the ground—which is not uneven and rocky, as in the case of the other statues—that it cannot be regarded as the original work of the great Greek master.

Next to this incomparable daughter comes, in the Florentine group, the *eldest son*, whose left arm, and half the lower right arm with the drapery about it, have been restored, so as to efface the traces of the impact of another figure. It is plausibly conjectured that in its complete state it was an exact duplicate of the well-known *group in the Vatican* (fig. 182), which Canova first pointed out as a member of the Niobe composition. The Vatican work represents a *Young Girl with a wound in her left breast, leaning against her brother*, who has stopped in his flight to assist her, and is supporting her fainting and collapsing frame. Laying one hand affectionately on her shoulder, he raises his garment with the other, as if to protect himself and her. This is one of those touching examples of love and pity in conflict with mere selfish fear, which so greatly enhance the variety and interest of this noble composition.

Next to this group comes *another son* (fig. 183), whose raised left foot rests on a rock, as if he were mounting a height. He looks behind him towards the quarter from which the arrows fly, and at the same time raises his garment with his left hand, as if apprehensive of attack from the other side also.

The next place is properly occupied by a beautiful figure, formerly called '*Narcissus*,' which Thorwaldsen first recognised as a Niobid (fig. 184). He is wounded and has fallen on his knees, and is trying with his left hand to draw the deadly weapon from his back, while he throws up his right arm in an agony of pain.

In all probability the last figure on this side was a *Daughter stretched at full length upon the ground*, in responsion to the dying son at the other extremity of the group.

Passing to Niobe's left hand, we are obliged to leave the place nearest to her blank,¹ as we know of no figure or group which we could

¹ See miniature sketch of group, fig. 177, *, p. 414.

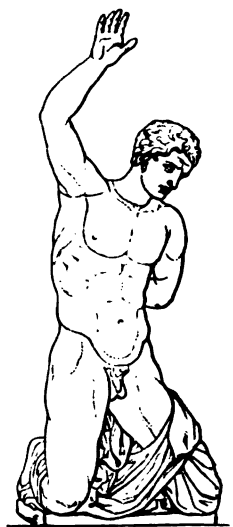
with any certainty place in the original composition. Ottfried Müller and others propose, indeed, to insert a group of *a sister coming to the aid of her brother*, which they have put together on the authority of a gem,¹ and regard as a pendant to the group above described (fig. 182). Next to this gap should come the *Pædagogus* with the *youngest son*, who are separated in the Florentine series. A nearer approach to the original design is found in a group discovered in 1836 at Soissons, and

FIG. 183.



NIOBID.

FIG. 184.



NIOBID.

now in the Louvre (fig. 185), in which the attendant slave is laying his right hand protectingly on the arm of the frightened boy, while he raises his left, as if in supplication, towards the height on which the divine archer stands. As a separate figure, concerned only about his own safety, he would have no *raison d'être*. The head of the *Pædagogus*, which, being that of a slave, was no doubt of a very different type from the Niobid '*Dis nati*,' is lost in both figures.

¹ Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* 142 B, d, e. Conf. Friederichs, *Baust.* p. 238.

The Pædagogus is followed by the statue of a *daughter*, fully robed in chiton and chlamys (fig. 186), who is cowering in an agony of fear, and wildly spreading out her arms in surprise or supplication. It was found with the rest of the group, but was for some time supposed to be a *Psyche*, because it very closely resembles a winged figure in the Capitol in an exactly similar position. But it is no

FIG. 185.



PÆDAGOGUE AND YOUNGEST SON.

FIG. 186.



NIOBID.

doubt a daughter of Niobe, and fits well into the place assigned to it.

Then follows a *wounded Niobid*, who has sunk on one knee, and though hardly able to support himself in an erect position, looks upwards towards the god who has slain him with an almost defiant gaze (fig. 187).

The last figure on this side, a *son*, lies stretched on his back in the agonies of death. His left hand covers the wound from which his

life is ebbing, while his right arm lies across his face as if he would fain protect himself from another fatal shaft¹ (fig. 188).

Pausanias mentions another representation of the tragedy of Niobe and her children which he saw at Athens. 'On the top of the theatre' (i.e. the part where the audience sat), he says, 'there is a cave among the rocks, under the Acropolis, in which are Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe.'² We are left to guess the value of this work, and whether it was in relief or consisted of round statues. Stark³ suggests that it may have been consecrated by Thrasyllus.

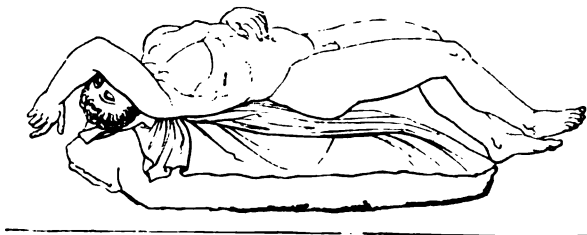


NIOBID.

A few years after the setting up of the marble group of Niobe and her children in the Sosian

temple, another representation of the same subject was placed in another sanctuary of Apollo, viz. the Memorial temple erected to him

FIG. 188.



DYING NIOBID.

in honour of the victory at Actium. This was a *relief in ivory upon the folding doors of the temple*. These doors were originally made

¹ There is a better duplicate of this statue in the Glyptothek (No. 141) at Munich, and

another of inferior merit at Dresden.

² Pausan. i. 21. 5.

³ *Niobe*, &c. 145.

for a temple of Apollo in the town of Cumæ on the coast of Asia Minor, and were removed to Rome in 28 B.C.¹ Propertius² mentions them among many other beautiful works in the 'golden portico of Phœbus.'

There is a *shield in the British Museum* on which Apollo, Artemis, and the Niobids are represented in relief.

The tragedy of Niobe was also made the subject of painting, to which it was especially adapted. Lactantius Placidus³ speaks of a picture of the Græco-Roman period in which Niobe, *conferta tot natis*, is trying to protect her offspring from the fury of the Gods. We know of no vases of the 'Severe' (or 'Rigid') style in which this theme is treated, but there are representations of it on two cups of the 'Perfect' style in red figures, found at Vulci.⁴

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STYLE OF SCOPAS.

In our endeavours to form an estimate of the comparative merits of Scopas we receive but little aid from ancient literature. Lucian only refers to him once; Cicero, Quintilian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Statius do not mention him at all. Horace, Juvenal, and Martial take but little notice of him, though their words imply his great reputation. Pausanias and Pliny speak of his works, but without describing their style or estimating their merits. All that we have of direct praise of his works is contained in the turgid descriptions of the orator Callistratus and a few epigrams which we have already quoted. Of his great technical skill it is impossible to doubt, but he is chiefly, we might almost say preeminently, remarkable for the far higher quality of creative genius. The fertility and boldness he displayed in an extraordinary variety of compositions are truly wonderful, and his skilful hand was able to carry out the most difficult and audacious of his original conceptions. To him we owe not only new types of the more ancient gods—as Apollo, Ares, Dionysos, and Aphrodite, whom he, not Praxiteles, first dared to show

¹ Stark, *Niobe*, p. 332.

² ii. 31.

³ *Ad Stat. Theb.* iii. 394.

⁴ Stark, *Niobe*, 150.

in the unveiled lustre of her beauty—but the subordinate deities who formed their train, the Bacchanalian Thiasos, the Satyrs, Sileni, and Wood Nymphs, and all the wild strange melancholy monsters who represent the changing moods of the restless and ever complaining ocean. The art of Scopas rings the changes on the whole scale of human emotions and desires, and ranges through the whole region of poetic inspiration, from the most tender love song and the holiest hymn to the wildest dithyramb. He embodies for us the rapture of the soul inspired, possessed, and enslaved, by music, in his Apollo Citharæus; the longing desire and the brooding regrets of love in his Himeros and Pothos; the phrensy of the religious devotee in his Bacchante; coarse, unbridled passion in his jovial half-bestial Satyr; the wild yearning of the mariner in his sad yet boisterous Tritons; the deep love of the mother in the broken-hearted Niobe; and the agonised fear of pain and death in her devoted children. He did more than any other artist to represent nature in her softest and tenderest as well as her wildest and most unconstrained manifestations, and conquered for Plastic art whole regions of passion and pathos which had hitherto lain outside its sphere.

The art of Scopas was essentially ideal, and in this respect he stands far above all other artists of his school. His was not, indeed, the ideality of Pheidias. He did not rise to the conception of the Olympian Zeus—it was only in the large calm soul of the greatest of artists that such a form could be reflected. But in each ripple of the agitated heart of Scopas, stirred by the breeze of passion, some lovely or interesting form was glassed.

He represented exclusively either Gods, or the embodiments of moods and feelings, and never condescended to pourtray a merely human individual, and only one hero, and that one Heracles. As might be expected too from the nature of his genius, he worked exclusively in marble, which is better fitted for the representation of soft elegance and beauty and passionate emotion than gold and ivory or bronze.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

PRAXITELES.

Ol. 104-110 (B.C. 364-340).

PRAXITELES, who is generally considered as the greatest in the second triumvirate of Greek sculpture, was in all probability the son of Cephisodotus, and born in the Attic Deme *Eresida*, at the end of the fifth century B.C.¹ Pausanias² says that he flourished in the third generation after Alcámenes, and Pliny places his prime in the years 364-360 B.C. We have, indeed, no fixed dates from any period of his life, but there is good reason for believing that his first works were executed about Ol. 100 (B.C. 380), and that he was therefore a younger contemporary of his chief rival in fame, Scopas, by about four Olympiads.³ His first teacher was his own father, Cephisodotus, who, as we have seen, was a worker in bronze; but he was early associated with Scopas, who exercised great influence over him, and drew him away from bronze to marble, in which material his greatest works were executed.

We had occasion to remark above how very little notice is taken of Scopas by ancient writers, considering the high merit of his works. The very opposite may be said of Praxiteles. His name

¹ Some German writers, on the rather slender ground of a passage in Pausanias (v. 20. 2), have endowed Praxiteles with a grandfather of the same name. The existence of a *younger* Praxiteles, a contemporary of Theocritus, is sufficiently attested by two inscriptions, and it is to him that the lately discovered 'Hermes with the infant Dionysos' in Olympia was by some erroneously referred. See W. Klein, *Archæol. epigr.*

Mittheil. aus Oesterreich, iv. p. 1. Conf. Brunn, *Sitzung d. Kön. bair. Acad.* Nov. 6, 1880.

² viii. 9. 1.

³ It seems probable that he lived to see Alexander on the throne of Macedon; for this artist's favourite, Phryne, offered to rebuild the walls of Thebes which Alexander had destroyed for the honour of placing her name upon them (Athenæus, xiii. p. 59).

is associated with those of Pheidias, Polycleitus and Myron, and Greek and Latin authors vie with one another in singing his praises in the highest strains of eulogy.

Phidiacus signo se Jupiter ornat eburno :
Praxitelen patria vindicat urbe lapis—

says Propertius.¹ Phædrus² declares that artists of his own time endeavoured to enhance the value of their own works by attributing them to Praxiteles or Myron ; and Varro is quoted as saying that Praxiteles was known for his surpassing skill 'to every man of any pretensions to a polite education.'³ Considering that both were thought capable of creating a Niobe, it is difficult to account for so marked a preference, unless we attribute it to the fact that Praxiteles was a native Athenian citizen, or to the refined sensuality of his style, which suited the character of the age, and made his works intelligible and irresistibly attractive to the great mass of the Athenian people. An appeal to the senses always meets with a louder response than an appeal to the intellect, although we must in all fairness allow that Praxiteles appealed to both.

But though Athens was the chief centre of his activity and fame, he by no means confined his operations to Attica or even to Greece. We are able to follow him by his works to Megara, through Bœotia to Delphi, and thence into the Peloponnesus—to Mantinea in Arcadia, and to Olympia in Elis. His name was equally well known among the Greeks of Asia Minor, in all parts of which his works were famed, principally in Caria (Alexandreia⁴ and Halicarnassus) and the neighbouring Cnidus and Cos, but also in Lydia (Ephesus), and in the extreme north at Parion on the Propontis. His productiveness, considering the great excellence of his works, is almost incredible. We have trustworthy notices of at least forty-seven groups, statues and reliefs, by his hand, and it is not likely that all his creations have been recorded in literature. It is on the ground of the extraordinary fertility of his genius that Praxiteles has been regarded by most writers as the head of the younger Attic school, and the at-

¹ iv. 9. 16.

² v. præf.

³ *paullum modo humaniori.*

⁴ Aulus Gellius, *N. Attica.* xiii. 16 :

⁴ Steph. Byzant. v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

tempt of Brunn¹ to place Scopas beside, or even above, him excited considerable wrath in the mind of Friederichs² and other warm partisans of the great Athenian. We have endeavoured in the preceding chapter to give to Scopas the due meed of praise which is sometimes denied him, but we have no wish to detract from the glory of Praxiteles, which has very recently been more firmly established by the discovery of his 'Hermes and the infant Dionysos' at Olympia, of which we shall speak more fully hereafter.

Among the earlier works of Praxiteles were those which he executed for several towns of Bœotia, and these may have been completed in Athens and sent to their destination. But about the year 378 B.C., after the liberation of Thebes from Spartan influence, he was employed in the plastic decoration of *the Temple of Heracles in Thebes*,³ and the nature of this work necessarily implies a long residence in the Bœotian capital. He must also have resided for a considerable part of his life in Asia Minor, and, amongst other places, in Ephesus, where he made *an altar of Artemis*, and adorned it with reliefs.⁴ According to a doubtful notice in Vitruvius,⁵ he was one of the many great artists whom Artemisia invited from Greece to erect the tomb of her husband, Mausolus.⁶ After the year 338 B.C. (Ol. 100. 3) we find him once more in the mother country employed on the colossal statue of Hera Teleia at Plataeæ.⁷

The very large number of works attributed to Praxiteles precludes the possibility of giving a detailed account of them in this place. Of those, therefore, concerning which little is known, I shall give a mere list; and as it is impossible to ascertain the exact chronological order in which they were executed, the arrangement will be in a great measure arbitrary. We begin with the larger groups.

1. *The Twelve Gods* (in the Temple of Artemis Soteira at Megara).⁸
2. *Hera, Athênê, and Hêbê*.⁹
3. *Demeter, Cora, and Iacchus*¹⁰ (in the Temple of Demeter at Athens).

¹ *Gesch. d. Künstler.*

² *Praxiteles und die Niobe-gruppe*.

³ Pausan. ix. 11. 6. Attributed by W. Klein (*op. cit.*) to the grandfather of Praxiteles.

⁴ Strabo, xiv. p. 641. ⁵ vii. Præfat.

⁶ Vide *supra*, p. 402. ⁷ Pausan. ix. 2. 7.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 40. 3. Both these groups are

attributed by W. Klein to Praxiteles the grandfather.

When the material is not mentioned, it may be assumed to have been marble.

⁹ Pausan. viii. 9. 3.

¹⁰ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 62. Cicero, in *Verrem*, iv. 60. 135. Compare the 'Eleusinian Relief,' p. 299, *supra*.

4. *Flora (Cora? Hora? ¹), Triptolemus, and Demeter ²* (in the Servilian Gardens at Rome).

5. *Rape and Restoration of Cora? (at Athens).* Pliny says, 'Fecit ex ære Praxiteles Proserpinæ raptum; item *Catagusam*.' The word *Καταγούσα*, which can only refer to *Demeter*, may either mean that she is represented as bringing her daughter back to the light of day after her sojourn in Hades, or as restoring her to her infernal spouse at the end of the period which she was allowed to spend with the Gods above.³

6. *Apollo, Leto, and Artemis ⁴* (at Megara).

7. *Leto, Apollo, and Artemis ⁵* (at Mantinea).

8. *Apollo and Poseidon.* Probably from Athens; but in the time of Pliny⁶ they formed part of the rich collection of Asinius Pollio.

9. *Dionysus with Staphylus ⁷ and Methê ⁸* (in bronze, at Rome⁹). This group, which no doubt came from Athens, contained the statue of the famous Satyr (Staphylus), which the Greeks called *περιβόητος* (famous).¹⁰ Of this new type, from which all bestial grossness is purged away, we have several copies, of which we shall speak hereafter.

10. *Mænads (Thyiads), Caryatides, and Sileni* (in Rome,¹¹ but originally in Athens). The Mænads and Thyiads denote respectively the Attic and Laconian female attendants of Dionysus. 'Sileni' is used here of Satyrs in general, both old and young. The whole *Thiasos* (Bacchic rout) is here represented indulging in frenzied revelry under the inspiration of the God.¹² 'By thy art, O Praxiteles,' says the epigram, 'the very stone learns to revel wildly, and old age is no longer feeble.'¹³

11. *Danae, Nymphs, and Pan.* A group highly praised in two

¹ Ulrichs, *Obs. de Arte Praxitelis*.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.

³ Compare a similar group on a vase from Southern Italy belonging to Mr. Hope. Dr. G. Loeschke (*Arch. Zeit.* ii. Heft. 1880, p. 102) maintains that the *Catagusa* was a distinct statue (like the *Pseliourmene* and *Stephanousa*, vide *infra*), and may have represented a spinning girl, like that in the Glyptothek (No. 314) at Munich.

⁴ Pausan. i. 44. 2.

⁵ Ibid. viii. 9. 1.

⁶ *N. H.* xxxvi. 23.

⁷ Name of a satyr, from *σταφύλη*, a bunch of grapes.

⁸ *Μέθη*, personified intoxication.

⁹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 69.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 23. Ulrichs, *Obs. de Arte Prax.* p. 14.

¹² Conf. Eurip. *Bac.* v. 380.

¹³ *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 251. 2.

epigrams.¹ "It is difficult to account for the association of Danae with Pan and the Nymphs.

12. *The Thespiadæ*. A group of five Thespian maidens,² in bronze, brought by Mummius from Greece, and set up before the Temple of Felicity.³ Varro⁴ relates that a Roman knight, Junius Pisciculus, became enamoured of one of these figures and slew himself in despair. Lucullus borrowed them to adorn his triumph, and by consecrating them in the Temple of Felicity rendered it impossible to the lender to recover them.⁵

13. *Agathodaimon and Agathe Tyche* (Success and Good Fortune), brought from Athens, where it stood near the Prytaneion, and placed on the Capitol at Rome. Ælian relates the same strange story of insane love and suicide in connexion with the figure of Agathe Tyche, as we have noticed above.⁶

14. *Hera Teleia* (Juno Pronuba⁷). A colossal temple-statue in the Temple of the Goddess at Plataæ. She is represented standing, and some writers conjecture that we have a copy of this work in the beautiful and well-known colossal figure called the *Juno Barberini* in the Rotonda of the Vatican.⁸

15. *Rhea*. At the entrance of the same Temple of Hêrê stood a statue of Rhea bringing a stone in swaddling clothes to Cronos (Saturn).⁹

16. *Leto*. A temple-statue at Argos, by the side of which stood an image of *Chloris*, whom the Argives regarded as the youngest daughter (Melibœa) of Niobe, who was saved from the massacre by Leto, and was surnamed Chloris because she turned *pale green* with terror.¹⁰

17. *Artemis Brauronia*.¹¹ A temple-statue on the Acropolis at Athens. When Iphigeneia and Orestes returned from Tauris (Crimea),

¹ *Anthol. Gr.* iii. 91. 4, and iv. 186. 315.

² *Ibid.* ii. 114. 70. Benndorf, *de Anthol. Gr.* p. 67.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 69. Cic. *in Verr.* iv. 2. 4.

⁴ apud Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 39.

⁵ Dio Cass. *fragm.* 76 (vol. i. p. 81, ed. Becker).

⁶ Claud. Ælian. *Var. Hist.* ix. 39.

⁷ Pausan. ix. 2. 7.

⁸ Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*, ii. 29. Bursian (*Allgem. Encycl.* i. 82, p. 457, note 91) thinks that we have the head of this statue on a coin of Plataæ given in O. Müller's *Denkm. d. a. K.* i. 134.

⁹ Pausan. ix. 2. 5. Both Hera Teleia and Rhea are attributed to the grandfather of Praxiteles by W. Klein (*op. cit.*).

¹⁰ Pausan. ii. 21. 8.

¹¹ *Ibid.* i. 23. 7.

they brought with them the image of a local goddess of Tauris, whom the Greeks identified with their Artemis. As they landed with it at *Brauron*, on the eastern coast of Attica, it took its name from that village, which was the scene of very curious rites.¹ Friederichs is inclined, without much reason, to see a copy of this work in the *Artemis Colonna*² at Berlin.

18. *Artemis in Anticyra* (in Phocis). Represented with a torch in her right hand, a quiver on her shoulders, and a dog by her side. Pretonius³ is supposed to refer to this statue in the words 'Et osculum quale Praxiteles habere Dianam credidit' (a little mouth, such as Praxiteles supposed Diana to have).

19. *Tyche* (Fortune), a temple-statue in the sanctuary of the Goddess which stood near the Temple of Aphrodite at Megara.⁴

20. *Trophonius*, a temple-statue in Lebadeia, which, according to Pausanias, resembled Asklepios.⁵ Erginus, the aged King of Orchomenos, married a young woman, in obedience to an oracle, and had two sons, Trophonius and Agamedes, though Trophonius was said to be the son of Apollo. On arriving at man's estate they distinguished themselves as architects, and built a Temple of Apollo at Delphi, and a Treasury for Hyrieus, in which latter building they secured an unseen entrance, and used it for the purpose of carrying off treasure from time to time. The theft was discovered, but Trophonius escaped by sacrificing his brother. He was subsequently swallowed by the earth in the grove of Lebadeia (in Bœotia), was worshipped as a God. He had an oracle in a cave, which enjoyed great celebrity, and was consulted by Cræsus when he grew apprehensive of the growing power of the Persians.⁶

21. *Apollo Sauroctonos* (the Lizard-slayer), a statue in bronze, representing a youthful Apollo with an arrow in his hand, watching a lizard as it creeps up the trunk of a tree.⁷ There is no doubt that we have two copies of this charming work; viz. *the small bronze figure*

¹ Suidas, s.v. Ἀρκτος. O. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. 9. 3.

² *Praxit. und die Niote-grufte*, p. 103.

³ *Satyr.* c. 126.

⁴ Pausan. i. 43. 6.

⁵ ix. 39. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* Conf. Herod. i. 46; Eurip. *Ion*,

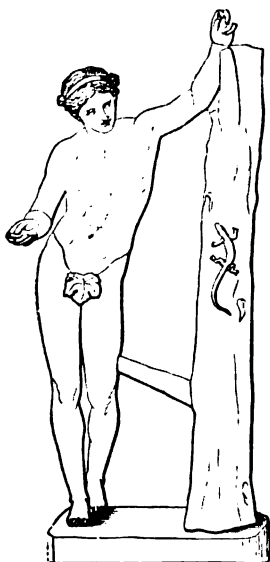
300; Aristoph. *Aves*, 502.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 70. The epigram of Martial (xiv. 172) appears to apply to this statue:—

Ad te reptanti, puer insidiosæ, lacertæ
Parce: cujus digitis illa perire tuis.

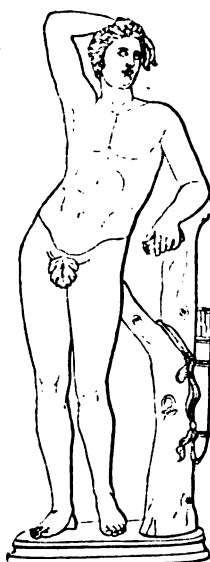
in the *Villa Albani*, and the more generally known *replica in marble* (fig. 189), in the *Galleria delle Statue* of the Vatican (No. 264). The connexion between the Sun-god and the lizard is not very apparent, except that this animal generally seeks the sunshine. It has been supposed, indeed, that the lizard was introduced as a symbol of the prophetic power of the God.¹ But the whole air and character of the work is opposed to such an interpretation. Apollo, if it be Apollo, is here represented, not in his graver and more dignified aspect, as the divine

FIG. 189.



APOLLO SAUROCTONOS.

FIG. 190.



THE APOLLINO.

Prophet, the Inspirer of oracles, but as the playful *Ephebos*, half hiding behind a tree, and trying his skill in transfixing the nimble animal by a rapid thrust. We are told that the same game is still played by boys in Italy. It may seem singular that a Greek artist should have chosen a deity for so trivial and playful an occupation, but this is only another instance of the familiarity with which the once dread forms of the Gods were treated by the younger Attic school. The marble copy in

¹ Welcker, *Acad. Kunstmus. zu Bonn*, p. 71. Feuerbach, *Vatican. Apollo*, 226.

the Vatican, which is of life-size, and certainly the most beautiful of the many repetitions of the work, is well calculated to give us an idea of the ineffable grace of Praxitelean art. The God is represented in the newly budding flower of youth, leaning with easy indolent grace against a tree, and seeking, boylike, for some easy pastime in his idle mood. The design, too, is interesting in the history of art, as an early, perhaps the earliest, instance of the *genre* style, which subsequently becomes so popular.¹

22. *Apollino* (fig. 190). Of a cognate style and character is the beautiful and well-known figure in the Tribune at Florence, appropriately named Apollino, for it is the idle, careless, dreaming God, the offspring of poetic fancy rather than of genuine faith. This figure illustrates what we said above of the effect of placing the hand on the head to denote rest from exertion, which is here combined with the resting of the elbow on the tree, by which the beautiful undulating flow is given to the lines of the graceful form.

23. *Dionysus*, in the Temple of the God at Elis, near the old Theatre, between the Agora and the Temple of Mene (Moon). Perhaps the same as the statue of the God described by Callistratus² as the work of Praxiteles, without any further indication of the place where it stood than that it was in a grove.

. The Dionysus of the younger Attic school is so greatly modified from the old type as to be almost a new creation. And the reason of the change is evident. The grand old faith of the early Greeks, which approached very nearly to Monotheism, had given place to Polytheism in the fullest sense of the term, which filled every part of nature and human life with a motley crowd of minor deities. Many of these are embodiments of the operations and enjoyments of rural life, and of the emotions excited by the contemplation of the features of the physical world—the grove, the vineyard, the cornfield, and the stream. We are surprised to find so few indications of what we call the love of nature in the literature of the Greeks.³ They knew

¹ For representations of the same subject on gems vid. Millin, *Pierres gravées*, pl. 5; and O. Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* 147 b.

² *Stat.* 8.

³ Schiller (*Ueber die nothwendigen Grenzen beim Gebrauch schöner Formen*) remarks that the Greek 'did not love external nature as we do; his impatient fancy led him

but little of that 'mingling of the soul with nature' which seems almost peculiar to our own age and race. All such feelings took in them a definite and plastic form, and lived before their eyes as the presiding deities of the all-supporting Corn—the joy-giving Wine—the restless, smiling, frowning Ocean—the dædal meadow—as Demeter, Dionysus, Flora, the Satyrs, Sileni, Nymphs, and Nereids.

Nothing brings more clearly before us the change of style which had taken place between the age of Pheidias and the age of Praxiteles than a comparison between the types of Dionysus in the two periods. Originally a mere phallic Herma, or even mask,¹ the God of Wine gradually assumed in art the grand and stately form of the old Dionysus. The well-known characteristics of this type, such as we see him in the so-called 'Sardanapalus' in the Vatican (Sala di Biga), and in a still finer example in the British Museum, and in the 'Visit of Dionysus to Icarius' (fig. 191) (Brit. Mus. and elsewhere), are the thick, redundant locks of hair, the soft, flowing beard, the full, good-humoured, cheerful face, the oriental, effeminate style of dress, and the carchesson (wine-cup) in one hand, and a bunch of grapes in the other.



FIG. 191.

DIONYSUS AND ICARIUS.

The Dionysus of Praxiteles is a beardless youth, the soft, rounded surfaces of whose tender form melt imperceptibly into one another in lines unbroken by the prominence of bone or muscle, and reveal the luxurious and half-feminine nature attributed to the God.² The head

away over it to the drama of human life. Only the living and free—only characters, actions, fates, and manners—satisfied him. *The want of nature in our life and circumstances makes us fly to Nature for relief.* There is a passage in the *Phædrus* of Plato which bears upon this point. Phædrus says to Socrates, 'I always wonder at you, O Socrates, for when you are in the country (this was only a mile or two from Athens!) you really are a stranger who is being led about by a guide. . . . I rather think that you never

venture outside the gates.' Socrates: 'Very true, my good friend; and I hope that you will excuse me when you hear the reason, which is that I am a lover of knowledge, and the *men* who dwell in the city are my teachers, and not the *trees* in the country' (Jowett's Translation).

¹ O. Müller, *H. d. a. K.* p. 506.

² Visconti, viii. 234. Lus. in *Priap.* xxxvi. v. 3: 'Trahitque Bacchus virginis tener formam.' Orpheus, *Hymn. Mises*, v. 4: 'Ἀρρενα καὶ θήλυν διφύη.

is adorned with the *mitra* (the Phrygian cap of cloth) and a garland of vine-leaves or ivy, from beneath which the hair flows down in long ringlets like that of a woman.¹ The tender body is mostly nude, or partially covered by the *nebris* (fawn's skin); on the feet are high and richly ornamented shoes—the Dionysian *cothurni*. As a sceptre, the God carries in his hand the *thyrsus* (narthex²), a light staff entwined with ivy, with the pine cone on its top.³ The Dionysus of the younger school is seldom represented enthroned, as in earlier art, but either indolently leaning against a tree or on a favourite Satyr, or lying down. But the difference between the earlier and later type of Dionysus is still more strikingly marked in the features and expression of the face. The older God is at once dignified and jovial, and above all contented and self-sufficing. The expression on the face of the Praxitelean Dionysus, as we have said, is one of vague longing; and the fire of the eyes, in which all the possibilities of Bacchanalian frenzy lurk, is shrouded beneath a veil of melancholy.⁴

Although of later date, we may refer here to the beautiful *bust of Dionysus in the Capitoline Museum*, so soft and feminine in form and expression that it long passed unchallenged under the name of Ariadne. The lovely head has lost much of its beauty from being deprived of the luxuriant hair which once shaded the face. It is of the true Praxitelean type, though it probably belongs to the Alexandrine age, which delighted in blending the forms and features of the two sexes.

The beautiful *Farnesian torso of Dionysus* at Naples, which Meyer, a friend of Göthe, praised as 'a noble combination of the grand with the soft and beautiful,' and the famous *statue of the God at Madrid*,⁵ in which he is represented as leaning idly against a Herma of the bearded Bacchus, are well calculated to give a clear idea of the Praxitelean type.

24. *Satyr*. In the street, says Pausanias,⁶ leading from the Prytan-

¹ Eurip. *Bacch.* 235:—

ξανθοῖσι βοστρύχοισιν, εὐκοσμος κόμην
οἰνωπός, ὅσσοις χάριτας Ἀφροδίτης ἔχων.

² *νάρθηξ*, a tall umbelliferous plant.

³ O. Müller, *Handb. d. Archæol.* p. 595.

⁴ Callistr. *Stat.* 8:—

ὄμμα δὲ ἦν πυρὶ διαυγές μακρὸν ἰδεῖν.

See the *Bust of Bacchus at Leyden* (*Archæol. Zeit.* 1862, p. 229; *Mon. d. Inst.* ii. 41. 1; *Denkm. d. a. K.* ii. 345).

⁵ I have not seen the original statue, but there is an excellent cast of it at Berlin.

⁶ i. 20. 1.

cion— called *Tripodes*, from the number of tripods set up in it—there was a statue of a Satyr, of which Praxiteles was said to be not a little proud. When Phryne asked him which was the most beautiful of his works he allowed her to choose one of them as a gift, but would not tell her which of them seemed to him the best. Phryne therefore ordered her servant to go hastily to Praxiteles and inform him that the greater number of his statues had been destroyed by fire, but not all. On hearing this Praxiteles rushed out of the house, crying out that all his labour had been lost if the flames had seized his Satyr and his Eros. Phryne then wisely chose the Eros, and dedicated it in the Temple at Thespia.¹

The transforming grace-giving power of art has seldom been more strikingly manifested than in the evolution of the Satyr of Praxiteles—of which the statue in the Capitol gives us an idea—from the semi-bestial ‘idle and worthless’² race who followed Dionysus in drunken revelry. In their original form the Satyrs were ignoble both in form and feature; their limbs, though strong, were without fair proportions, and either disfigured by coarse sinews or by the soft spongy flesh of the habitual drunkard; their legs were covered with hair and they were goat-footed; their heads were partly bald, their ears were pointed, and hard knots protruded from their neck; while a tail of bristling hair disgraced their backs. Their faces were rendered preternaturally ugly by low, mean foreheads, snub noses, and a lascivious leer; so that we are surprised and angry that they seem to find favour with the sprightly and charming nymphs. They are, however, favourite subjects of art, and seem chosen by the Greeks to express the less noble feelings, and the coarser, wilder passions of our human nature, which, while they could not altogether ignore, they shrank from incorporating in an entirely human form.³

In the Satyr of Praxiteles all that is coarse and ugly in form, all that is mean or revolting in expression, is purged away by the fire

¹ Athen. xiii. p. 591.

² Hesiod, *Fragm.* 13. 2.

³ The merry train of Dionysus is well described in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*:—

And all the way their merry pipes they sound
That all the woods with startled echo ring,
And with their horned feet doe wear the ground,
Leaping like wanton kids in merry Spring.

of genius. Of external marks of his lower nature nothing is left but *the pointed ears and the arrangement of the hair over the forehead*, which is a reminiscence of the budding horns of a goat. His identity is indeed not altogether lost. He is still redolent of the woods and fields, but he reminds us no longer of the rude manners and unbridled passions of uncivilised life, but of the more peaceful and romantic enjoyments of the country, of the *dolce far niente* in the shade on summer days, of the music of the groves, the shepherd's pipe, the rustic maiden's carol, and the mysterious whisperings of the breeze-stirred leaves.

FIG. 192.



SATYR AFTER PRAXITELES.

The best of the copies of the work of Praxiteles, of which Winckelmann knew as many as thirty, is the well-known *statue in the Capitol at Rome* (fig. 192). This Satyr, which some regard as *the Periboetos*, is represented in virtual nudity, with only the panther's skin slung loosely across his chest. In type he approaches very nearly to the Dionysus of the younger school, and to the Apollo Sauroctonos, although there is just the difference which separates the most human of Gods from the most refined of Satyrs. The Satyr is a satyr still; 'idle and unfit for work' or war, incapable of any greater exertion than that of strolling in the woods or piping to, and dancing with, the 'rosy-armed' Nymphs of the wood and mountain.

In connexion with this new creation of Praxiteles, archæologists have pointed out the further progress which it shows in the representation of easy negligence. The first step was to throw the weight of the body on one leg, and to leave the other at rest. Here we see the legs still further relieved of the burden of the body, by giving a support to the elbow. The tree on which the Satyr leans not only affords the necessary support, but the leaning attitude throws his form into an attitude of undulating grace than which nothing can be more charming to the eye.

Another example of the softening power of the new style of the younger Attic school is the beautiful group of

*Silenus carrying the infant Dionysus*¹ (fig. 193). In earlier art Silenus is a coarse drunken, amorous, but clever old beast. Here both figure and face are ennobled, yet not so as to destroy his identity. The expression with which he regards his nurseling is tender and pleasing. Although they do not belong to this period, we may refer here to some other interesting representations of the

FIG. 193.



SILENUS WITH THE INFANT.

FIG. 194.



FAUN IN THE CAPITOL.

Faun and Satyr tribe. The most remarkable of these are the celebrated statue called *the Barberini Faun* at Munich, one of the most powerful productions of the realistic post-Alexandrian school, which represents a youthful Faun of a coarse type, stretched on a rock, sleeping off a heavy fit of drunkenness; *the Dancing Faun* of the Villa Borghese² at Rome, which has been falsely restored by

¹ Silenus is referred to as male nurse of Dionysos in Diod. Sic. iv. 14. Conf. *Orphic. Hymn.* 53. 1; and Lucian, *Præfat.*

sen Bacchus, ii. 511.

² Vid. *Annal. d. Inst.* xv. p. 266: 'Il Fauno d. Villa Borghese.'

Thorwaldsen, who places cymbals in his hand, whereas he was no doubt really playing on the double flute. The effect of this fine statue is rendered in the highest degree comic as well as pleasing, by an affectation of dignity and solemnity, which is an utter failure, and contrasts most absurdly with his ridiculous figure and face; *the Faun treading the Scabellum*, in the Tribune at Florence, which is remarkable for the anatomical knowledge and technical skill evinced in the action of the raised foot on the high wooden shoe (κρούπεζα, κρούπαλα—scrupeda, scabellum) with which he is beating time; *the Faun of red marble (rosso antico)* in the Capitol (fig. 194), found with other statues of coloured stone in Hadrian's Villa. Some thirty other Fauns may be seen in Rome.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PRAXITELES

(CONTINUED).

25. APHRODITE OF CNIDOS.

ἄμαχος γὰρ ἐμπαίζει θεὸς Ἀφροδίτα.
ἡδίστη θεῶν πέφυκας ἀνθρώποισιν.

OF all the works of Greek plastic art which ancient writers have thought worthy of especial mention, none, except perhaps the Zeus and Parthenos of Pheidias, excited their interest and admiration in so high a degree as *the Aphrodite of Cnidos*. In speaking of this miracle of beauty, the wise grow foolish, and the foolish mad. Pliny¹ himself makes no exception: 'Above all the works not only of Praxiteles, but in the whole world, is the Venus, to see which many men made the voyage to Cnidos, which was fashioned, as is supposed, with the approbation of the Goddess herself.' 'What,' says Cicero,² 'do you suppose the Cnidians would have suffered rather than lose their marble Venus?' 'The Paphian Cytherea,' runs the epigram,³ 'went through the waves to Cnidos, desiring to behold her own image, and having beheld it, "Alas! alas!" she cried, "where did Praxiteles behold me thus? I thought only three persons—Paris, Anchises, and Adonis—had done so."' The same epigram says that 'when Pallas and the Consort of Zeus had seen the Cnidian Aphrodite, they said "We were wrong to blame the Phrygian (Paris)."'⁴ "Neither did Praxiteles fashion thee nor the chisel, but thus thou stoodest when judged by Paris."'⁵ As another proof of the value and celebrity of this

¹ xxxvi. 20.² *In Verrem*, 60.³ *Anthol. Gr.* i. 104. 9. Conf. iv. 168, 246.⁴ *Anthol. Gr.* i. 97. 8.⁵ *Ibid.* i. 104. 10.

work, we are told that Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, offered to buy it of the Cnidians by paying their whole national debt, which was very large ; but the Cnidians preferred 'to suffer anything' rather than give up their treasure ; 'and *with good reason*,' adds Pliny,¹ 'for by that statue Praxiteles made Cnidos famous.'

In this great work the art of the period and of Praxiteles, its foremost representative, appears to have culminated. It expresses, in a degree which no other statue can be said to do, the spirit of the New Attic School, and it could not have been created either in the preceding or following period of Hellenic art.

Praxiteles has been called *par excellence* the sculptor of women, and it required the great social changes produced by the Peloponnesian War to make him so. One of the most important of these changes was in the position and character of the Athenian women. The picture presented to us by the poets of the married state in the heroic age includes some of the noblest female forms which we can conceive in the heathen world, occupying a position of dignity and honour. The aristocratic bearing of many female statues proves the reality of this high position of women at an early period, and these have their parallels in the Calypsos and Circes of poetry. A great change for the worse, therefore, and one for which it is difficult to account, must have taken place between the heroic and historic ages. Solon had to forbid his countrymen to sell their daughters or sisters into slavery ; and at a later period, when art was making its greatest efforts, the women of Athens lived in a state of complete subordination, and in almost Oriental seclusion. 'The best woman,' says Thucydides, 'is she of whom least is said ;' and 'The greatest ornament to a woman is,' in the words of Sophocles, 'silence.' Xenophon represents Socrates asking Nicomachus about his domestic affairs, and we learn that his wife was fifteen years old when she married. Her husband explains her duties to her, which are, 'to keep indoors ; to send the outdoor labourers to their work ; to superintend the indoor servants ; to distribute what is brought into the house ; to look after the corn and wool.' Demosthenes ('pro Neæra') says : 'By our wives we become

¹ xxxvi. 21. What would Mr. Gladstone say to a similar offer?

fathers of legitimate children, and maintain faithful guardians for our houses; the Hetairai were meant to promote the enjoyment of life.'¹ Whether single or married, their whole lives were regulated by their male relatives, and no kind of attention was paid to their mental education. As a necessary consequence of such neglect and dishonour, the female citizens of Athens were in all respects inferior to their husbands. These, finding no charm in the society of their wives or sisters, sought refuge in the company of young women called *Hetairai* (companions), for the most part aliens, who lived a free life, and having no fixed duties or recognised social status, sought to maintain themselves in the favour of the men by cultivating every personal and mental gift. Many of them attached themselves as disciples to the great statesmen and philosophers of Greece, and Aspasia was the companion, on equal terms, of Pericles and Socrates. Lastheneia, the Mantineian, the disciple of Plato, and Leontion, the pupil and mistress of Epicurus, were more celebrated for their abilities and literary accomplishments than for their beauty.² No doubt the vast majority of these women were degraded both in character and position, as we learn from the pages of Lucian, Plautus, and Terence; and were for the most part slaves. If a freeborn woman adopted the same mode of life (and such cases were very rare), she lost all the privileges of her birth, was compelled to change her name, and sank into the class of aliens.

The Hetairai, as we see, were not unknown even in the best period of Greek art, but their influence did not make itself widely and deeply felt until after the Peloponnesian War. Such a scene as that recorded by Athenæus,³ who relates that Phryne, letting down her hair, descended into the sea before all the Greeks at the public festival at Eleusis, would have been impossible at any earlier period, and clearly shows to what an extent the worship of mere beauty had lowered the tone of the national morality.

Of this new Aphrodisian cult in its most refined and intellectual phase, Praxiteles was the most distinguished Hierophant. He has been called 'the sentimental adorer of the Hetairai;' and if we accept this designation for him, we must remember how great were the

¹ See an excellent article on this subject in the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 104.

² Diog. Laert. iii. 46; iv. 2. Athenæus, xiii. p. 588.

³ Athen. xiii. p. 590.

intellectual endowments, the refinement, and the elegance of many who were classed under this name. The aim of Praxiteles was the delineation of the most perfect beauty and grace in their tenderest and most attractive manifestations. As he had no higher aim than this, he found his natural field of observation and study in a class of women who were chiefly occupied in the cultivation of personal beauty and of those arts and graces which recommended them to the favour of the other sex. We are not surprised, therefore, when we read that it was from one of the most famous of these Hetairai, Phryne, from whom Apelles drew his *Venus Anadyomene*, that Praxiteles moulded his Cnidian Aphrodite.¹

Pliny² informs us that Praxiteles made two images of Venus, which he sold at the same time, the one clothed and the other entirely nude. They were first offered to the people of Cos, who, influenced by religious and moral scruples,³ chose the former; while the Cnidians,⁴ who, in spite of their Dorian descent, were more 'advanced,' bought the latter, which attained an immeasurably greater fame.⁵ The statue, which was of Parian marble, stood in the centre of a small temple in a grove of myrtle and other trees.⁶ It was approached by two paths, so that the figure might be seen from different sides; and it was equally admired from both points of view.

We have seen that Praxiteles was not the first who dared to represent the Goddess nude, and even now a sort of excuse for the daring innovation is sought in the situation, which is that of preparing for the bath. There is every reason to believe that the attitude of the Cnidian Aphrodite is given on a medal struck in honour of Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla⁷ (fig. 195). There is another medal, struck at Cnidos in the same reign, in which the Cnidian Venus is represented in company with Asklepios.⁸ The action of the Goddess is one which, after the universal practice of the higher Greek art, carries the

¹ The doubtful 'honour' has been claimed also for *Cratina* (Clem. Alexandr. *Protrept.* 53).

² *N. H.* xxxvi. 20-22.

³ 'Severum id ac pudicum arbitantes.'

⁴ It was, perhaps, their devotion to Aphrodite which made them so easy a prey to Harpagus, and so incapable of finishing the great work of making their isthmus into

an island by digging a canal only five stadia long (Herod. i. 174).

⁵ 'Immensâ famæ differentiâ.'

⁶ Lucian, *Amores*, c. 13.

⁷ Conf. a gem in Lippert's *Daktyliothek. Serin.* i. part 1, n. 80. Copied in O. Müller's *D. d. a. K.* 146 b.

⁸ Vid. Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Cl.* i. 113.

thoughts of the beholder both backwards and forwards. The last garment is just laid aside; in another moment the beautiful apparition will be lost to sight beneath the cooling wave.¹

The principal description of this wonderful work is contained in Lucian, to whose opinion, as that of a man of cultivated taste, great importance must be attached, although he is apt to be rhapsodical. 'The Goddess,' he says, 'was placed in the midst of the temple, a most beautiful and charming image of Parian marble,² of lofty bearing, with a gentle smile which just reveals the teeth. . . . And such was the demiurgic power of art that the hard and stubborn nature of the stone looked beautiful in every limb.' Lycinus in Lucian, when choosing single features from different statues for the composition of his pattern beauty Panthea,³ speaks with admiration of the hair of the Cnidian Aphrodite, and the forehead, and the pencilled eyebrows beautifully drawn, and 'the tender moisture' of the bright, joyous, and pleasant eyes.' The term *ὕγρον* seems here to denote the peculiar and charming expression given to the eye by the unusual raising of the lower lid, *which is characteristic of almost all the statues of Venus*.

It has been disputed, with a warmth becoming the subject of controversy, whether the Cnidian Aphrodite is to be regarded as a purely sensual image of physical beauty, or whether it was ennobled by an expression of unconscious innocence.⁵ According to Brunn,



PLAUTILLA AS APHRODITE.

¹ Ovid describes the position :—

*Ipsa Venus pubem, quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur læva semireducta manu.*

² Lucian, *Am.* 13: *Παπίας δὲ λίθου θαλάμα κάλλιστον.*

³ Lucian, *Imag.* 6. The statues laid under contribution were the Aphrodite of Alcámenes, the Sosandra of Calamis, the Lemnian Athene, the Amazon leaning on a spear, and the Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles. *Φέρε δὲ ἐξ ἅπασων ἤδη τούτων ὡς οἶον τε*

συναρμόσας μίαν σοι εἰκόνα ἐπιδείξω τὸ ἐξαίρετον παρ' ἐκάστης ἔχουσιν. An absurd idea!

⁴ Lucian, *Imagines*, 6: *Καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν δὲ τὸ ὕγρον ἔμα τῷ φαίδρῳ καὶ κεχαρισμένῳ.* Conf. Anacreon, *Od.* 28:—

*τὸ δὲ βλέμμα νῦν ἀληθῶς
ἀπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ποίησον
ἔμα γλαυκὸν ὡς Ἀθή-ας
ἔμα δ' ὕγρον ὡς Κυθήρης.*

⁵ Brunn, *K.-Gesch.* and Friederichs, *Praxiteles und die Niobe-Gruppe.*

it was the representation of a purely sensual form, 'intended to please solely by its personal beauty.' Others see in it 'a grand and pure ideal in striking contrast to the frivolous and sensual Venus types of later times,'¹ and reject with scorn the imputation cast on Praxiteles of pandering to the lower appetites of our nature. We cannot altogether coincide with either of these views. In the case before us it is evident that the form is not chosen as the vehicle of any high thought or interesting action, after the manner of Pheidias and Polycleitus. She stands before the mind's eye solely as the highest representation of the loveliness of woman, without any higher attribute of mind or character, and incapable of inspiring any sublime or heroic sentiment. All the notices and descriptions which we have of her point in the same direction. The epigram says that she was the Paphian Goddess 'such as Ares wished her to be.' Lucian is never tired of describing the paroxysms of passionate admiration into which the sight of her threw the entranced and stupefied beholder. A youth covered the walls and the bark of soft trees with the words 'Ἀφροδίτη καλή, and offered at the shrine of the Goddess all the beautiful things he possessed.'²

On the other hand, it would be unjust to Praxiteles, and contrary to the spirit of the period in which he lived, to class his works with the productions of a later age, or with such abominations as the *Venus Kallipygos* at Naples. The Venus of Praxiteles is at any rate free from, and unconscious of, the passion she excites. His aim was not a very high one, but he represented the youthful female form as the fairest flower of the human race, in its ideal perfection such as Nature herself had never framed; and from what we know of his other works we may feel sure that he would not mar its eternal truth and beauty by any meretricious gesture or expression. We may allow that the beauty of Phryne aided him in his work, but his Goddess was no Phryne. We may even allow that his chisel was guided by the hand of love, but certainly not to the detriment of his work, *teste* Tennyson :—

'Tis not your work but Love's, Love unperceived,
A more ideal artist he than all,
Came, drew your pencil from you, drew those eyes.

¹ Hettner.

² Lucian, *Amor*.

We have probably no exact copy of the Aphrodite of Cnidos ; the statues which most nearly resemble it are '*the Cnidian Venus*' of the Vatican, which has been disfigured by restored drapery ; the '*Venus of Cnidos*' at Munich (fig. 196), which, though a Roman work, is simple, pure, and graceful.¹ The '*Venus de' Medici*' and the '*Capitoline Venus*,' of which we shall speak below, must also be regarded as modifications of the same original type, of which Praxiteles was probably the creator. We may also mention here the *Towneley Venus* in the British Museum, *the well-known torso at Naples*, and *a much finer torso at Berlin*. A most beautiful example of the Praxitelean manner will be found in *a bronze statuette of Venus* in the British Museum. The Goddess is represented with one leg raised, and we may suppose, although the arms are wanting, that she is in the act of binding her sandal. It is a work of great purity and beauty. Mr. Newton speaks with very high praise of *a bust of Aphrodite* at Arles,² which in his judgment gives a good idea of the style of Praxiteles.

FIG. 196.

'THE VENUS OF CNIDOS'
AT MUNICH.

Other statues of Aphrodite by Praxiteles mentioned by ancient writers are *the Aphrodite of Cos*,³ a draped figure, praised by Cicero;⁴ *the Aphrodite of Thespiae*, by the side of which stood a portrait statue of *Phryne*;⁵ *the Aphrodite of Alexandria* (in Caria) in the Temple of Adonis ; and *an Aphrodite in bronze*, which was taken to Rome and set up before the Temple of Felicity. Pliny says, somewhat strangely, that it was 'equal to the master's marble figure (the Cnidian) renowned throughout the world.' It was destroyed by fire, together with the temple, in the reign of Claudius.

26. *Eros in Thespiae*. Eros, as an independent deity, appears some-

¹ 'The water-lily itself is not chaster,' says Friederichs.

² There is a good cast of this bust in the Slade School of University College, London.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 20.

⁴ *Orat.* 2. 5.

⁵ Pausan. ix. 27. 5. Alciphron. *Epist. fragm.* 3. Steph. Byzant. v. Ἀλεξάνδρεια.

what late in art, and even Pheidias is not known to have executed any *statue* of him, although he appears perhaps in the Parthenon frieze in attendance on his mother. It is remarkable that no mention is made of him in either Homer or Æschylus, and although he appears in the Cosmogony of Hesiod as one of the first and oldest of the Gods, it is only as the principle of union among the discordant elements from which the universe was formed. The God of Love, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, is a creation of the later poets, and the full and complete embodiment of this conception in sculpture must be chiefly attributed to Praxiteles. He executed *a statue of Eros*, as the artistic expression of his own love for Phryne, 'drawing the archetype from his own heart,'¹ and we have seen that he regarded it as his happiest effort. Phryne, having gained possession of it by the stratagem related above, or received it as a free gift of love, offered it in the Temple at Thespiæ in Bœotia, where it stood between a statue of Aphrodite and of Phryne herself.² The celebrity of this marvel of plastic art almost equalled that of the Cnidian Aphrodite herself. Cicero uses almost exactly the same words respecting these two statues. Thespiæ, he says, was visited solely for the sake of the Eros of Praxiteles, 'there being no other reason for going there.'³ Notwithstanding its formal consecration as an object of worship, Caius Cæsar (Caligula) sacrilegiously removed it to Rome. It was restored to the Thespians by Claudius, but was again carried off to Rome by Nero, where it perished in a conflagration in the reign of Titus.⁴ As some consolation for their irreparable loss, the Thespians set up a copy of the lost Eros of Praxiteles, by the hand of the Athenian Menodorus.

We know no particulars of the *motif* of this statue. We are only told that it was winged, and that some foolish admirer, probably an emperor, had covered its pinions with gold, 'by which,' says the Emperor Julian, 'the accuracy and finish of the work were destroyed.'⁵ We may even doubt whether he was represented with

¹ *Anthol. Gr.* i. 75. 84:—

ἐξ ἰδίας ἑλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης.

² *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 254. 1 (Planud. iv. 205):—

Ἀντί μ' ἔρωτος Ἐρωτα βροτῶ θεὸν ὥπασε Φρύνη
Πραξιτέλης, μισθὸν καὶ θεὸν εὐρόμενος.

Alciphron. *Epist. fragm.* 3.

³ *In Verrem.* iv. 2. 4. Conf. Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 22.

⁴ Pausan. ix. 27. 3.

⁵ Julian. *Imp. Orat.* ii. p. 54.

his usual attributes, the bow and quiver, for, according to the epigram, 'he infused his love charms not by his arrows but his eyes.'

The Eros of Praxiteles, like that of Scopas, was not the pert, mischievous, and merry little boy of later art, who could know nothing of the passion he so wantonly inspired ; but the tender youth, just rising into manhood, who broods over the new sensations which pervade his heart, but whose timid inexperience and self-distrust lead him to pine and dream rather than to woo or seize the object of his affections.

FIG. 197.

The exquisite *torso* of *Eros* discovered by Gavin Hamilton in Centocelle, near the Via Labicana, and now in the Vatican, may help us to realise the conception of Praxiteles. We have, indeed, no external grounds for assuming that it is a copy of the Thespian statue. Yet there is much in the Vatican torso, of which we give the head (fig. 197), which reminds us of the style of Praxiteles—the full



THE EROS OF CENTOCELLE.

rich locks of the hair, the dreamy melancholy inclination of the head, and the glance of the eye, from which the first rays of love seem to break through a cloud of sadness. That it is a copy of some great type is the more probable because the inferiority of the execution to the design forbids us to regard it as an original work. Traces of wings are found on the back, and attempts have been made to restore it by the aid of better preserved copies in the Vatican,¹ and in the Museum at Naples. The left hand, we are to suppose, held a bow,

¹ *Galeria de' Candelabri*. Conf. Gerhard, *Ant. Bildwerke*. 193. 2. *Anthol. Gr.* i. 75. 84:—

φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω
οὐκέτι δ' οἷστέων, ἀλλ' ἀτενιζόμενος.

and the right hand a torch which Eros is in the act of lowering on to a small altar, in performance of his functions as the *Genius of Death*. The design is familiar to us in the reliefs of Roman sarcophagi; and the Centocelle figure, as well as others similar to it, may have formed the ornament of a sepulchre.¹

The *Neapolitan statue*, just mentioned, is also a single figure, but may very likely have formed part of a group, like the corresponding one in the Louvre, where Psyche is kneeling by his side. There is a

FIG. 198.



EROS AND PSYCHE.

pretty statue of Eros in the *Villa Borghese* at Rome, also without wings, in which he is represented in chains, and crying.

The very beautiful *Eros in the British Museum*, discovered by Lord Elgin on the Acropolis at Athens, is without wings, and can therefore hardly be regarded as a copy of any work of Praxiteles. The universally popular group in which *Eros is embracing and kissing Psyche*, though purely Greek in the graceful flow of its outlines and the general tenderness and beauty of its design, is of inferior, and no doubt Roman, execution (fig. 198).

27. *Eros at Parion* (Propontis) is described by Pliny² as 'equal in celebrity to the Cnidian Venus.' He speaks of it as a nude figure, by which he means, perhaps, that it was without the distinguishing attributes of the God of love—the bow, the quiver, and the torch. Instead of these weapons of active warfare, he held in one hand a dolphin and in the other a flower, as signs of his universal sway over sea and land.³

28. *Eros* (of unknown provenance), in bronze, winged, and bearing a bow, which the orator Callistratus reckons among the '*sacred* works of art,'⁴ and extols with the same extravagant and turgid eloquence as the Bacchante of Scopas and the Dionysus of Praxiteles. We gather

¹ Friedr. Baust. p. 268.² *N. II.* xxxvi. 23.³ *Anthol.* iii. 133. 94: Οὐ γὰρ ἔχει τόξον καὶ πυρρῶντα βέλη, κ.τ.λ.⁴ Callistratus, *Stat.* 3.

thus much of fact from his high-flown panegyric that the god was represented standing in an easy attitude, with his right hand on his head, like the Apollo of the Gymnasia, the Barberini Faun, the 'Ariadne,' and some statues of Bacchus. In speaking of Apollo, Lucian¹ says, ἡ δεξιὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀνακεκλασμένη, ὥσπερ ἐκ καμάτου μακροῦ ἀναπαυόμενον δείκνυσι τὸν θεόν. The hand on the head is common in *sleepers*, and may have been an invention of Praxiteles.²

He wears a bright smile of conscious pride on his lips, and the glance of his eye is at once sweet and fiery.³ The orator tells us that 'as he gazed at this beautiful work he could believe that Dædalus made a choir of dancers in actual motion, and imparted feeling to the gold, since Praxiteles had almost inspired the image of his Eros with thought, and enabled him to cut the air with his pinions.' *The figure of Eros in Dresden* (fig. 199) would probably correspond very closely with the description of Callistratus but for the false restoration of the arms.

29. *Diadumenos* in Athens. Among the very few figures of human beings by Praxiteles was that of an Ephebos, binding his hair, not with a victor's wreath (the sinewy athlete was no subject for Praxiteles) but with a ribbon to keep off the long locks from his forehead. All that we know of this statue, too, is again derived from Callistratus, who describes it as 'a flower of youthful beauty, in whose eyes glow mingled desire and bashfulness,⁴ and whose face is full of loving grace. Though motionless, he seems to possess the power of motion, and to be preparing for the dance.'

FIG. 199.



STATUE OF EROS AT DRESDEN.

¹ *Anacharsis*, c. 7. ² Friedr. *Niobe*, p. 21.

³ Callistratus, *Stat.* 3: ἐγαυροῦτο δὲ εἰς γέλωτα, ἔμπυρόν τι καὶ μέλιχον ἐξ ὀμμάτων

διανύζων.

⁴ Callistratus, *Stat.* 11: ὕμμα δὲ ἱμερῶδες ἡναιδοῖ συμμιγές.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

OTHER WORKS OF PRAXITELES.

30. *PHRYNE* at Thespiæ.¹ We are told that the Cnidian Aphrodite was moulded by Praxiteles after the model of Phryne. But no mere portrait statue of Phryne could have moved so refined and critical a race as the Athenians to the unbounded admiration which his work excited; nor would they have received it as an adequate representation of a deity in whose existence they still believed, if it had not been an example of—

What mind can make when Nature's self would fail.

We could have no better proof of this than the fact that Praxiteles dared to place the statue of Phryne by the side of Aphrodite, without any fear that his countrymen would fail to recognise the immeasurable distance between a portrait and an ideal statue, between a lovely woman and the Goddess of love.

31. *Phryne* in Delphi. Praxiteles made another statue of Phryne in gilt bronze, which she herself offered at Delphi.² It was executed by order of her neighbours, and set up on a pillar between the statues of Archidamus, King of the Lacedæmonians, and of Philip, son of Amyntas, and it bore the inscription, Φρύνη Ἐπικλέους Θεσπιάκη.³

32. *The Weeping Wife and the Laughing Harlot.* Pliny⁴ mentions a curious group by Praxiteles, 'expressing the different feelings of a weeping matron and a laughing harlot,' and says that the latter was supposed to be Phryne herself, triumphing over her legitimate rival in the heart of the artist himself. But there is not the slightest

¹ Pausan. ix. 27. 5. Alciphron. *Epist.* frag. 3. Plut. *Amator.* ix. 10.

² Pausan. x. 15. 1.

³ Athen. xiii. p. 591.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 70.

reason to suspect Praxiteles of the bad taste, to say the least, of thus parading and immortalising his own intemperate folly. The figures were in all probability intended as ornaments of the theatre in which the weeping wife and laughing harlot were frequent subjects of representation.¹

33. *Pseliumene*, in bronze. This word occurs in Pliny, as denoting a statue of Praxiteles, to which Tatian also probably refers under the corrupted form *σπιλουμένον*. According to the amended readings —*Ψελιούμενον* (τι γύναιου) and *Ψελιουμένη*—they both refer to the statue of *a woman putting a bracelet on her arm*.

34. *Charioteer*. 'The kindness of Praxiteles, too, has its image,' says Pliny,² 'for he placed a charioteer of his own on the quadriga of Calamis, that the latter, so excellent in representing horses, might not seem to have failed in forming a man.' It is well known that Miltiades buried the horses with which the elder Cimon had gained three Olympian victories in the Ceramicus at Athens.³ Ulrichs⁴ conjectures with great probability that the younger Cimon, the great general, set up the chariot by Calamis over their graves; and that another descendant, perhaps the Miltiades who fought with Ephialtes, *ad Memnonem Persarum*, against the Persians, ordered the charioteer of Praxiteles to be added to the group. It is doubtful whether Calamis had made a charioteer or not.

35. *Warrior standing by his Horse*⁵ on a tomb in the Ceramicus at Athens, probably in relief.⁶ This juxtaposition of two of the most perfect forms in nature which so well exhibits the different proportions and peculiar beauties of each, was a favourite subject in Greek art. It is used with the greatest effect in the frieze of the Parthenon, and in *old Attic reliefs of the best period*, an example of which may be seen in the Torlonia collection in the Lungara at Rome (fig. 200). This very beautiful and singular relief, which

¹ Ulrichs, *Obseiv. de Arte Praxit.* p. 14.

² *N. H.* xxxiv. 71.

³ Ælian. *Nat. Anim.* xii. 40.

⁴ *l.c.*

⁵ Especially employed on tombs of deified heroes. See an Attic relief on the southern

slope of the Acropolis at Athens of the second century B.C. with the inscription *Θεόδωρος ἦρος*. The deceased was generally represented riding with a lance resting on his shoulder.

⁶ Pausan. i. 2. 3.

presents great difficulties to the interpreter, is said to have been found near the tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Appian Way, and must have belonged to some Roman connoisseur of Greek art. It is in the peculiar *flat* style of Attic relief of the best period. It represents the deceased youth in the light riding mantle, leading his horse and followed by his dog—the favourite companions of his life on earth. Above him is a niche which contained some divine figure, and on either side are the lower limbs of a god and goddess, on the left and right side respectively. Immediately in front of the horse is the Delphic *ὀμφαλός*, on the left side of which stands the typical figure of

FIG. 200.



ATTIC SEPULCHRAL RELIEF.

the *Offerer* of the *ἀνάθημα*, as usual, of very diminutive size and carelessly executed.¹ There is also a newly discovered *relief at Argos* with the same *motif*. On a beautiful vase from Southern Italy the youth is entirely nude.²

*Works in the Ceramicus at Athens.*³ Pliny says that works of art by the hand of Praxiteles existed in the Ceramicus at Athens, but he gives no further account of them. It is supposed by some writers⁴ that these are referred to by Pausanias,⁵ when he says that in the Temple of Demeter at Athens there were statues of the Goddess herself, and her daughter (Cora), and Iacchus bearing a torch; and 'that it was written on the wall in Attic characters that they were the

¹ Conf. *Harpy Mon.* p. 113, fig. 44.

² Schnaase, *Ges. d. bild. Künste*, ii. p. 287.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xvi. 20.

⁴ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. p. 344; and Ulrichs' *Chrest. Plin.* p. 380.

⁵ i. 2. 4. Conf. Clem. Alex. *Protreptr.* 62.

work of Praxiteles.' This conjecture is not wanting in plausibility, but as it is unsupported by any positive evidence, it must be received with caution.

36. *The Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton.* In another passage Pliny says that Praxiteles made a bronze group of the famous Tyrannicides, Harmodius and Aristogeiton, 'which,' he adds, 'were carried off by Xerxes,' and restored to the Athenians by Alexander the Great.¹ This is, of course, an egregious anachronism, but there is no reason to doubt that Praxiteles made a pair of bronze statues of these favourite heroes, and as they (or at any rate Aristogeiton) were buried in the Ceramicus,² it is not improbable that their statues stood above their tombs.³

37. *Hermes with the infant Dionysos.* We have hitherto been speaking of the works of Praxiteles described, or merely mentioned, by ancient authors, and of the more or less certain copies of such works. And we have been able even from these to form a tolerably distinct conception of the peculiarities of his style, and of the general characteristics of the art of the younger Attic school to which he belonged. We come now, in the last place, to the contemplation of that almost unique treasure so lately won—an undoubted original *statue* from the golden age of Attic art.

The brief notice of this work in Pausanias has become, through the discovery of the statue itself, of inestimable value; and it is not a little remarkable that out of the many thousand statues which adorned the Altis at Olympia, the only one by Praxiteles mentioned in ancient literature should have been preserved.

One of the principal temples in the Altis at Olympia was the Heraion (Temple of Juno), in which Pausanias saw a great number of statues by various artists. He describes them in the beginning of the seventeenth chapter of his fifth book, adding that they were all of gold and ivory. 'In after times,' he goes on to say, 'other statues were dedicated in the Héraion; viz. a *Hermes, of marble, carrying the infant Dionysus, the work (τέχνη) of Praxiteles*'⁴ (fig. 201). Hermes is

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 70.

² Pausan. i. 29. 15.

³ Ulrichs, *De Arte Prax.* p. 10.

⁴ Pausan. v. 17. 3.

here represented not, as elsewhere, in reliefs and gems, merely bearing the young god to Nysa or the Nymphs, but himself performing the functions of guardian and male-nurse. The design is not a new one. We have not only similar examples of what Brunn humorously calls the 'nursery-maid *motif*,' as the '*Eirene and Plutus*' at Munich,¹ the *Silenus and infant Dionysus* in the Louvre, and *the Satyr with the child* in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican; but the very same

FIG. 201.



HERMES AND DIONYSUS.

subject was treated, as we have seen above, by Cephisodotus,² the father of Praxiteles.

The Doric temple recently discovered by the German excavators in the Olympian Altis at the foot of Mount Cronion was immediately recognised as the *Heraion* mentioned by Pausanias; and this opinion was further confirmed by the subsequent discovery of the terrace, which is expressly mentioned by him as lying on the north of the temple. In the cella of this temple the statue of Hermes mentioned by Pausanias³ was discovered on May 7, 1877, just before the close of the season. It was found imbedded in a mass of potsherds, and near it lay a *square block*, which formed the lower part of the basis; *the tree covered with the drapery; the left forearm of Hermes*, and part

of *the body of the little Dionysus*; so that it seems never to have been moved from the spot where it fell.⁴ At the time of this im-

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 375.

² Vide p. 374.

³ Pausan. vi. 19. 1: "Ἔστι λίθου παρίνου κρηπίς ἐν τῇ Ἀλτεὶ πρὸς Ἀρκτον τοῦ Ἡραίου κατὰ νότον δὲ αὐτῆς παρήκει τὸ Κρόνιον.

G. Treu, *Hermes mit dem Dionysosknaben*, Berlin, 1878.

⁴ The foot of Hermes, with richly ornamented sandals, was subsequently found by Prof. Treu.

portant discovery Dr. Hirschfeld was the scientific chief of the operations at Olympia, and it is from him that the first account of it proceeded. From some cause or other, probably from the confusion attending his impending departure from Olympia, he seems to have formed a very inadequate idea of the value of his discovery, and in his first report claims no higher origin for it than the 'school' or 'manner' of Praxiteles, in which sense he understood τέχνη. He also laid great stress on the want of finish in the treatment of the hair, and some parts of the back of the figure. The hasty views of the first discoverer may account for the comparative coolness with which the announcement of one of the most important events in the history of art was received in the archæological world. This feeling was changed into enthusiasm as soon as the work was made more generally known by photographs, casts, and the reports of the present director of the excavations at Olympia, Professor Treu,¹ with whom I had the advantage of examining the Hermes, and to whom I am indebted for many of the following details. It is indeed inconceivable that any one who has been fortunate enough to see this marvel of grace and beauty could for one moment doubt that it is an original work of Praxiteles, and one of the happiest efforts of human genius and skill.

The Hermes of Praxiteles, which is somewhat above life-size, brings the God before us in a somewhat unusual character. He is not here the swift and ever-ready messenger of Zeus, still less the stern driver of the dusky herd of hapless ghosts,

Non lenis precibus fata recludere,

but a charming youth,

Superis Deorum
Gratus et imis,

in the very springtide of his beauty,² engaged in a task which makes

¹ See his treatise, *Hermes mit dem Dionysosknaben*, Berlin, 1878, with a photograph and several wood engravings.

² Hom. *Od.* x. 277 (Butcher and Lang's translation):—

ἴδθα μοι Ἑρμείας χρυσοῦρραπτε ἀντεβόλησεν
ἐρχομένη πρὸς δῶμα, νεότης ἀνδρὶ δοικῶς
πρῶτον ὑπὸ νήπι, τοῦπερ χαριεστάτη ἦβη.

(Then did Hermes of the golden wand meet me as I approached the house, in the likeness of a young man, with the first down on his lip, when youth is most graceful.)

the grimmest of warriors mild and gentle—that of attending on a little child. His attitude is not unlike that of other works which have been traced to Praxiteles, as the Apollo Sauroctonos, the Satyr, and the Apollino in the Uffizi at Florence. He is leaning with his arm on the stump of a tree, a new *motif* of the younger Attic school, which gives to the form a graceful undulating flow, and an easy negligence. His whole air denotes perfect repose, undisturbed by thoughts of past or future; and the expression on his beautiful face as he looks at his precious nurseling is ineffably sweet and sunny.¹ The main figure in the group, the Hermes, is in a wonderful state of preservation. Yet we cannot but deplore the loss of the lower part of the legs from the knee, and still more that of the right forearm, which is so important to the full understanding of the artist's meaning. Hermes probably held a bronze sceptre in his left hand, the fingers of which are broken off, as if what they held had been forcibly torn away. The position of the upper part of the arm hardly allows of the supposition that his right hand rested on his head, nor can we think, with Dr. Hirschfeld, that it held a branch of grapes, at which neither Hermes nor Dionysus can be looking. Of the many suggestions, we are inclined to adopt that of Prof. Treu, that the outstretched right arm was supported by the thyrsos, which would afford the needed counterpoise on the right side to the infant Dionysus and the sceptre, and is eminently suited to the guardian of the Wine God. The short hair, which is separated into small clusters, was encircled with a garland of the wild olive (*κότινος*), for the reception of which there is a circular incision round the head.

On the first discovery of this group nothing was found of the little God but the lower limbs, the mantle in which they are wrapped, and a fragment of the little hand on the shoulder of Hermes. Subsequently *the upper part of the body, the head, and one foot* have been discovered. The easy, self-reliant repose of the little Dionysus reveals the conscious deity and reminds us—

Insidat quantus . . . Deus!

¹ He has the true 'Ἀπτικὸν βλέπωσ' of Aristophanes.

The beauty of the design is equalled by the perfection of the execution, which the entirely uninjured surface of the marble enables us to follow in its minutest details. The more closely we examine it, the more deeply are we moved to admiration by the combination of truth and beauty in the moulding of the forms. The myriad risings and depressions of the surface of the tender and elastic skin, which require the hand as well as the eye to appreciate, show a knowledge of nature, and a skill in reproducing her effects, beyond the reach of any but the greatest sculptors of the highest period of plastic art. 'When we compare such a work,' says Prof. Treu, 'with the piecework (*Kopisten-mache*) of a copyist like the *Belvedere Mercury* of the Vatican, we might undertake to prove the originality of every inch of the Olympian statue from a mere comparison of the two figures.'

The figure, as we see, is in heroic nudity, but the agreeable contrast between the smooth and glossy skin, and the coarser texture of the dress, is secured by the chlamys, which he has thrown loosely over the tree on which he rests, as if to leave his limbs in perfect ease and freedom.

The Hermes at Olympia offers many points of comparison and resemblance with the Belvedere Mercury mentioned above, on the one hand, and the Apoxyomenos after Lysippus, on the other. It is not so broad and solid as the former, nor so long and slim as the latter, but forms as it were a transition from the canon of Polycleitus to the canon of Lysippus. The similarity to the Belvedere Hermes is in the general outline and *pose*, and in the arched hip and position of the legs; while in some parts, especially the neck and breast, it is wonderfully like the Apoxyomenos. The beautiful *Meleager* of the Vatican, too, has been referred to a Praxitelean original, and is certainly related in style to the younger Attic school.

We may notice, in conclusion, that on its first discovery traces of a reddish-brown colour were found in the hair of Hermes which even now shows darkly against the brilliant surface of the nude. If colour was really used, we shall be the less surprised at the want of care and finish observable in the treatment of the hair.

¹ Treu, *Hermes*, &c. p. 10.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STYLE OF PRAXITELES.

A very warm controversy has been carried on respecting the characteristics of the style of Praxiteles and the place which should be assigned to him in the Pantheon of artists. Many eminent writers, and amongst them Brunn, regard him as eminently a sensual artist; and he is often spoken of with contempt as 'the sentimental adorer and sculptor of Hetairai.'¹ Respecting the majority of works, the design or execution of which is ascribed to him, the imputation of sensuality cannot be maintained. In some of the most celebrated—the Hermes and Dionysus, the Apollo Sauroctonos, and the Eros—there is everything to gratify, and nothing to offend the purest taste; and if the Niobe group or the Demeter of Cnidos be ascribed to him, our estimate of him will be high indeed. The unfavourable judgment of his character then must be founded on the effect which, according to writers of erotic tendencies like Lucian, and turgid rhetoricians and epigrammatists, his Cnidian Aphrodite produced on the beholder. This is evidently the chief reason for Brunn's disparaging estimate of his genius and character. The weight of such testimony may easily be exaggerated. 'To the impure all things are impure.' A Comus sees nothing in 'the Lady' but

The vermeil-tinctured lip,
Love-darting eyes, and tresses like the morn.

The 'angel's face' of Una, 'the flower of faith and chastity,' only roused to greater violence the wild passion of the foul Paynim Sansloi.

Can it be (asks Angelo)
That modesty may more betray our sense
Than woman's lightness?

The insanity of Pisciculus, the suicide of the Athenian youth, are proofs of the beauty but not of the sensuality of Praxiteles' works; and it would be hard indeed if we must exclude from the range of

¹ Stahr, *Torso*, p. 382. Bötticher (*Andeutungen*, 176) says, 'Hetärenkreis das Kunstgebiet des Praxiteles.'

art 'the last best work' of God, because base natures can see nothing in the most ideal form of loveliness but the toy of passion.

It is true, indeed, that the whole spirit and tendency of his works are too exclusively dominated and determined by his love of beauty. But the beauty which he aimed at was not merely corporeal ; it was the beauty of tender, loving, or pathetic emotions, expressed in graceful forms and lovely features. He must, therefore, be classed among ideal artists, because he did not rest in beauty as a sufficient end in itself, but employed it for the representation of thought and feeling. As a lover of beauty, and artist of the emotions, he naturally chose the female form as the principal vehicle for the expression of his ideas ; and even the majority of his male figures have something of the grace and delicacy of woman. Now, it is this exclusive attachment to the beautiful which forms the chief difference between him and Scopas, and confined him within a narrower range of subjects. Scopas delighted in the expression of the wildest excitement and passion, while Praxiteles confined himself to the representation of the gentler feelings which can be expressed without those contortions of limb or face which disturb the lines of perfect beauty.¹ In daring flights of original genius he could not follow Scopas ; but in the beauty, grace, and tenderness, in the exquisite refinement and winning charm, with which he endows the creations of his genius, he has no equal.

¹ Praxiteles occasionally makes us feel the truth of Pindar's words : —

κόρον δ' ἔχει
καὶ μέλι καὶ τὰ τέρπν' αἰθε' Ἀφροδίσεια.
(One may have too much even of honey and the
pleasant flowers of Aphrodite.)

CHAPTER XXXIX.

LEOCHARES OF ATHENS (OL. 111, B.C. 372), AND
OTHER ARTISTS.¹

LEOCHARES has been already mentioned as one of the rising young artists who were associated with Scopas in the plastic decoration of the Mausoleum.² He is mentioned by Plato (Pseudo-Plato) in his epistles as a new and excellent artist of whom he had bought an Apollo and other works for the tyrant Dionysius.³ The favourite subjects of this artist appear to have been chiefly sublime and ideal, for we find mention of no less than *three statues of Zeus* by his hand, in which probably the form of the great king of Gods and men was remodelled in accordance with the ideas of the modern school. One of these, which Pliny⁴ describes as 'ante cuncta laudabilem,' was removed to Rome and placed in the Capitol under the name of *Jupiter Tonans*.

Another was set up in the Acropolis at Athens by the side of Zeus Polieus,⁵ and a third formed part of the group of *Zeus and the Demos of Peiræus*, which stood behind a stoa on the shore of the harbour of Peiræus.⁶

He also executed *three statues of Apollo*, one of which stood in the *Ceramicus* at Athens, in front of the Temple of Apollo Alexikakos,⁷ in which was a temple-image of the God by Calamis; another, the *Apollo of Syracuse*, was sent from Athens to the tyrant Dionysius; and a third, *Apollo with the tænia*, is perhaps that to which Pausanias⁸

¹ We have no direct evidence that Leochares was an Athenian. The inscription on the Ganymede group at Florence has been shown to be spurious (Brunn, *A.-G.* 385).

² Vide *supra*, p. 402.

³ Plato, *Ep.* xiii. p. 361.

⁴ *N. H.* xxxiv. 79. ⁵ Pausan. i. 24. 4.

⁶ *Ibid.* i. 1. 3; i. 3. 4.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.

⁸ i. 8. 4.

refers as 'Apollo Anadumenos,' standing by the side of Heracles and Theseus, near the Temple of Ares at Athens.

Leochares also made *the statue of Ares at Halicarnassus*, a colossal *acrolith*, which stood in the Acropolis of that city. By some it was ascribed to Timotheus.

But the most celebrated work of this artist, and the only one of which we have any certain copies, is the group of *Ganymede and the Eagle of Zeus*, which bears testimony at once to the extraordinary skill with which the artist dealt with a most difficult subject, and to the rapid progress of that corruption of taste to which the principles and tendencies of the new Attic school inevitably led.¹

In speaking of this remarkable group, in which the upward flight of the mighty bird is represented with marvellous power and skill, Pliny² remarks that the Eagle appears 'sensible of *what* he was carrying, and to *whom* he was bearing it,' and therefore holds the boy tenderly as if fearful of injuring him with his claws even through his garment. Martial speaks of the eagle's 'timid claws,' in imitation of the Greek epigrams³ on the same subject.

We have many undoubted copies, more or less modified, of this group. The best of them (in the Galleria dei Candelabri at the Vatican) (fig. 202) corresponds most nearly with the description of Pliny, which represents the boy as wearing a garment. The introduction of the tree under which the young shepherd has been resting adds greatly to the effect of upward motion. The eagle

FIG. 202.



GANYMEDE AFTER LEOCHARES.

¹ Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* xx. 6.

² *N. H.* xxxiv. 79.

³ *φειδω δ' ἀμαξαι* (*Gr. Anthol.* iii. 82. 68).

is bearing his prey past the tree from which he had descended; while the dog is gazing upwards, and howling at the gradual disappearance of his master. The drapery is gently stirred, and the closed feet seem to lighten the burden, and facilitate the upward movement.

Hinauf! hinauf! strebt's!
Es schweben die Wolken
Abwärts.¹

There is another class of copies, probably of a later date, and certainly of inferior conception, represented by the *Venetian group*, in which the eagle is no other than Zeus himself.²

The Family of Alexander the Great. In the N.W. of the Altis at Olympia, between the Heraion and the Gymnasium, stood a circular building of brick, surrounded by pillars, called the *Philippeion*, the foundations of which, thanks to the German excavators, may now be clearly seen. It was erected in honour of the Macedonian victory at Chæroneia³ (Ol. 110. 3, B.C. 338). Athenian artists, we see, were not unwilling to adorn by their works the memorial of their own defeat and subjugation. The chief figures in the group, which stood within this building, were *Philip*, *Alexander*, and *Amyntas*, the father of Philip, executed in gold and ivory, the materials reserved by earlier art for the images of the greater Gods. Near these were portrait statues of *Olympias* and *Eurydice*, also of gold and ivory. All these figures, according to Pausanias, were the work of Leochares.

Among other works of this artist mentioned in literature are a group at Delphi, said to be the joint work of Leochares and Lysippus,⁴ representing *Alexander the Great at a lion hunt*, surrounded by his dogs, and standing by a lion which he has just slain; a *portrait statue of Isocrates* in bronze, dedicated at Eleusis by Timotheus, son of Conon;⁵ a *statue of Lyciscus Mango*, in which Lyciscus, the slave dealer, is offering a lively, cunning, and saucy slave-boy for sale.⁶ Some writers suppose that Martial refers to the last group, and compares his

¹ Goethe, '*Ganymed*.'

² Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, 407, No.

702. ³ Pausan. v. 20. 10.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Plut. *Alex.*

Mag. 40.

⁵ Plut. *Vita X. Orat.*, '*Isocrat.*' 27.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 79: '*Mangonem puerum subdolæ ac fucatæ vernilitatis.*'

own epigrams to it, as being lively though not grand.¹ The Relief of *Leda and the Swan* in the Brit. Museum has been attributed to Leochares, and is not unworthy to class with the sculptures of the Mausoleum.²

BRYAXIS OF ATHENS,

Ol. 117. 1 (B.C. 312),

was a younger coadjutor of Scopas in Halicarnassus, who chose his subjects almost exclusively from among the Olympian Deities. He made *five of the hundred colossal statues of Gods*³ which existed in the Island of Rhodes, without reckoning 'the Colossus,' the image of the Sun-god. He also executed a group of *Zeus, Apollo and Lions* for Patara⁴ (in Lycia); a statue of *Dionysus* for Cnidos;⁵ a group of *Asklepios and Hygieia* for Megara.⁶ But the most beautiful and most celebrated of his works was the colossal statue of

Apollo in Daphne, which appears to have been constructed of wood and overlaid with gold; it stood in a magnificent temple reared by the Macedonian kings of Syria in a beautiful grove of cypress and laurel trees called Daphne, about five miles from Antioch. Historians speak of this work as 'admirable and inimitable,'⁷ and the orator Libanius⁸ made it the subject of a special panegyric. Apollo was here represented as a Citharædus,⁹ in long flowing robes of gold, chanting a hymn in praise of Mother Earth, and at the same time pouring a libation from a golden œnochoe.

But Bryaxis' place in the history of art is determined by another work, the image of the God

Sarapis, of which composite Deity he is considered to have created the type.¹⁰ Sarapis, or Pluto-Sarapis, a figure well known in later Greek and Roman art, proceeds from a mingling of the forms and attributes of Hades or Pluto with the Egyptian God. This statue, which was constructed—in rivalry with the most magnificent works of earlier

¹ Martial, ix. 51. 5.

² Newton, *op. cit.* p. 258. O. Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, 6, 7 and 12, 41, Berlin, 1847.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 42.

⁴ Clem. Alexandr. *Protr.* iv. 47, p. 41 (ed. Pott).

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 22.

⁶ Pausan. i. 40. 6.

⁷ Cedren. *Comp. Hist.* p. 306 B. Conf. Newton's *Discov. in Cnidos*.

⁸ Liban. *Orat.* 61, vol. iii. p. 334 (ed. Reiske).

⁹ Vide *supra*, p. 385.

¹⁰ Vide Brunn, *K.-G.* p. 334.

times—of the most precious woods and metals, and adorned with costly precious stones, was presented by the inhabitants of Sinope to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had supplied them with corn during a famine.¹ It was dedicated by the king on the promontory of Rhacotis, where there was a famous sanctuary of the God Sarapis. An idea of this Alexandrian deity may be gained from a bust in the Vatican² (fig. 203). In this head, as in all the images of Pluto, we recognise the features of

FIG. 203.



SARAPIS IN THE VATICAN.

Zeus veiled in an expression of gloom, enhanced by the arrangement of the hair which covers the forehead. Sarapis, like all the Chthonic deities, is generally represented with the *modius*, or fruit measure, on his head, as master of the treasures of the earth. The Pluto-Sarapis of Bryaxis is said to have been coloured with some inky substance to heighten the expression of mystery and gloom.

Of human beings Bryaxis executed only two statues, one of which was the mythological figure of *Pasiphae*,³ and the other a portrait statue of *Seleucus Nicator*,⁴ who became king of Syria in Ol. 117. 1 (B.C. 312).

TIMOTHEUS,

Ol. 107 (B.C. 352),

whose country is unknown, was employed in executing the reliefs for the south side of the Mausoleum. He made a statue of *Artemis*, which was removed to Rome and placed in the Temple of the Palatine Apollo. Propertius⁵ probably refers to this work as standing by the side of the Pythian Apollo of Scopas, and the Leto of Praxiteles. Avianus Evander is said to have restored the head.

Timotheus also made statues of *Athletes, Warriors, Hunters, and*

¹ Clemens Alex. *Protrept.* iv. 48, p. 42 (ed. Pott). Clemens quotes Athenodorus, who brings the statue into connexion with Sesostris. Conf. Pausan. i. 18.

² Visconti, *Mus. Pio Cl.* vi. 15. Conf.

bronze statues from Epirus (*Spec. of Anc. Sculpt. in Brit. M.* pl. 63).

³ Tatian, c. *Græcos*, liv. p. 117.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 73.

⁵ ii. 31. Vide *supra*, p. 386, note 1.

Priests;¹ and a statue of *Asklepios in Træzen*, to which the Træzenians, in the time of Pausanias,² gave the name of Hippolytus.

PUPILS OF PRAXITELES.

Among the foremost of these were his sons,

CEPHISODOTUS II. AND TIMARCHUS,

OL. 121 (B.C. 296),

who made a group of portrait statues in wood of

Lycurgus the Orator and his sons, Hebron, Lycurgus and Lycophron.³ They also made statues of their uncle *Theoxenidas*;⁴ of the goddess *Enyo* (Bellona) for the Temple of Arès in Athens; of *Cadmus* in Thebes; and a *portrait statue of Menander* for the theatre at Athens,⁵ which some writers suppose that we still possess in the interesting statue of this poet in the Vatican.⁶

Of the two brothers, Cephisodotus appears to have been the more eminent, since Pliny calls him the inheritor of his father's art, and mentions with high praise works executed by him alone. Among these was the '*Symplegma in Pergamus*,' which he calls 'a noble work, in which the fingers of one of the group seem to be impressed on flesh rather than on marble.'⁷ As the word *symplegma* ('a close embrace') is somewhat indefinite, it was supposed that we had the work of Cephisodotus, or a copy of it, in the famous '*Group of Wrestlers*' in the Tribune at Florence. Welcker⁸ has, however, shown good reason for believing that the *symplegma* of Cephisodotus II. was of an erotic character, and remarks that 'it is a striking but natural instance of degeneration from the art of Praxiteles.' Another group by Cephisodotus II. alone was that of *Leto, Aphrodite, Asklepios, and Artemis*. Of these Leto originally stood with the Artemis of Timotheus and the Apollo Citharædus of Scopas in the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, and subsequently in that of

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 91.

² ii. 32. 4.

³ *Gall. d. Statue.* Vid. Overbeck, *G. d.*

⁴ Plutarch, *Vit. X. Orat.*, 'Lycurgus,' 38.

Pl. ii. 77.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 24.

⁵ Attic Inscr. Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* p. 173, note 33.

⁶ Pausan. i. 21.

⁸ Welcker, *All. Denkm.* i. 317. Conf. Martial, *Epigr.* xii. 43. 9.

the Palatine Apollo at Rome. The Aphrodite formed part of the magnificent collection of Asinius Pollio, and the two others, Asklepios and Artemis, adorned the temple of Juno in the Portico of Octavia.¹

He also executed two portrait statues of the poetesses *Myro of Byzantium* and *Anyte of Tegea* in bronze, probably about Ol. 124, B.C. 284, when Myro was at the height of her fame.

Another pupil of Praxiteles was PAPYLOS, who made a statue of *Zeus Xenios*, which Pliny saw in the collection of Asinius Pollio.²

OTHER ATTIC SCULPTORS OF THIS PERIOD.

Between the end of the Peloponnesian war and the subjugation of Greece by the Macedonians, a great number of artists lived and worked in Athens of whom we know little more than the names. The more considerable of these are

STHENNIS OF OLYNTHUS,

OL. 113 (B.C. 328),

whose group of *Démèter, Zeus, and Athéné*³ was carried to Rome, as was also his portrait statue of *Autolykus*, the founder of Sinope, which formed part of the booty taken by Lucullus from that city.⁴ By him was also a group of *weeping matrons, suppliants, and sacrificers*,⁵ in which Ulrichs⁶ sees Hecuba and Trojan women; and statues of the Olympian victors, *Pyttalus and Chærilus*. Of much greater importance as an artist was

SILANION OF ATHENS,

OL. 113 (B.C. 328),

chiefly a sculptor of portrait statues, 'to be admired especially for this,' says Pliny, 'that he gained renown without ever having had a teacher.' He appears to have executed no images of Gods, and of mythical personages only three—*Theseus*,⁷ *Focasta*, and *Achilles*.⁸ The most celebrated of his works are

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 24.

² *Ibid.* 33.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 90.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxxiv. 90.

⁵ Chrestom. *Plin.* 331.

⁶ Strabo, xii. p. 546. Plutarch, *Lucull.* 23.

⁷ Plut. *Theseus*, 4. ⁸ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 81.

The dying Focasta, in whose face we are told the artist mingled silver with the bronze to imitate the pallor of approaching death. If this strange story is true, it is another proof of the increasing superficiality and trickiness of the art of this period.

Sappho in Syracuse, mentioned by Cicero¹ as a work of Silanion, which Verres abstracted from the Prytaneum at Athens—a work ‘so perfectly elegant and exquisitely wrought, that it was almost pardonable to commit a crime for its possession.’ He adds that it was the more valued and regretted because it bore on its base a famous Greek epigram. Tatian,² who mentions this work, calls the poetess ‘*the Hetaira*.’ Neither this statue, nor that of *Corinna*, to which Tatian refers, can claim to be a portrait, since Sappho flourished about 620 B.C. and Corinna only eighty years after her.

Plato, a portrait statue, which the Persian Mithridates set up in the Academy at Athens with the inscription, ‘Mithridates, son of Rodobates, offered to the Muses the image of Plato which Silanion made.’³

Apollodorus, a portrait of a brother sculptor of the artist, remarkable for his diligence and painful self-criticism, which led him to dash his finished works in pieces in the madness of an unsatisfied yearning after unattainable perfection. Silanion brought out the characteristic features of the man so prominently in his portrait, that it was said ‘to represent in bronze not so much an angry man as anger itself.’⁴

Although Silanion had no teacher he seems to have had several pupils, one of whom, ZEUXIADES, is mentioned by Pliny.⁵ He also wrote a work on the principles of symmetry.⁶

POLYEUCTUS OF ATHENS

interests us chiefly on account of the subject which he chose for the display of his art, for he made a portrait in bronze of

¹ *In Verr.* iv. 57. 125.

² *c. Græc.* 52, p. 114 (ed. Worth): Σαπφῶ τὴν ἑταῖραν.

³ E. Braun, *Annal. d. Inst.* xi. 207.

Conf. Mon. d. Inst. iii. Tav. 7.

⁴ *Plin. N. H.* xxxiv. 81. O. Jahn, *Ber. d. sächs. Ges.* 1850, p. 118.

⁵ xxxiv. 51.

⁶ Vitruv. vii. *Pref.* 12.

Demosthenes. This statue was erected by the Athenians in Ol. 125, 1 (B.C. 280), on the motion of the great patriot's nephew Demochares, near the altar of the twelve Gods; and on the base of it were the following verses, said to be by the illustrious orator himself:—

εἴπερ ἴσῃν ῥώμην γνώμῃ, Δημόσθενης, ἔσῃς
οὐποτ' ἂν Ἑλλήνων ἤρξεν Ἀρης Μακεδῶν.¹

Had thy strength, O Demosthenes, been equal to thy will, the Macedonian Mars would never have ruled the Greeks.

The well-known statue of the orator in the Vatican is supposed by many writers to be a copy of the work of Polyeuctus.²

EUPHRANOR OF THE ISTHMUS OF CORINTH,

Ol. 104^a–112. 3 (B.C. 364–330)?

Euphranor occupies an honourable place both among sculptors and painters, and was known also as a writer on the principles and practice of his art. As a painter he belonged to the school of Aristides of Thebes, of whom Pliny⁴ says that 'he was the first to paint the heart (*animus*) and senses of man, which the Greeks call *ῥῆθῃ*, and likewise the *perturbations* of the human mind.' As an example, he mentions a picture of his in which a child during the sacking of a city is represented as endeavouring to draw nourishment from the breast of its wounded and dying mother, who is seen to be apprehensive lest the poor infant should suck blood instead of milk.⁵

He is spoken of with high praise by many ancient writers, both as a painter and a sculptor.⁶ Lucian⁷ mentions him as

¹ Plut. *Vit. X. Orat.*, 'Dem.' 44. Conf. Plut. *Dem.* 30; Pausan. i. 8. 2; *Anthol. Gr.* iii. 162.

² Wagner, *Annal. d. I.* viii. 159. On the other side vid. Michaelis, *Archaeol. Zeit.* 1862, 239.

³ Brunn (*K.-G.* p. 314) says from soon after Ol. 100 to beginning of Alexander's reign. 'Euphranor stands in close relation to the great school of Aristides the painter, who is called the Scopas of painting. The "tendency" of Aristides was based on learned observation guided by the finest feeling for nature, which contains the germs of naturalism. This must have led Euphranor to a treatment different to that of Pheidias and Polycleitus.

In symmetry he held a middle course between Polycleitus and Lysippus.' The *quadrata* forms no longer suited the Athenian character.

⁴ *N. H.* xxxv. 98.

⁵ Plin. *l.c.*: 'Oppido capto ad matris morientis ex vulnere mammam adrepens infans, intelligiturque sentire mater et timere ne, emortuo lacte, sanguinem lambat.'

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 128: 'Post eum (Pausan) eminuit longe ante omnes Euphranor Isthmii Olympiade cxiii. . . docilis ac laboriosus et in quocumque genere excellens ac sibi æqualis.' Quintil. *Inst. Orat.* xii. 10. 6.

⁷ *Imag.* 7.

'that Euphranor,' and classes him with Polygnotus, Apelles and Action; and in Juvenal¹ he appears in company with Polycleitus. He worked both in bronze and marble, executed reliefs as well as round figures, chased goblets, and wrote books on symmetry. On account of his extraordinary diligence and manysidedness, he is compared by Quintilian² to Cicero.

Notwithstanding his tendency to represent vivid emotions, he made statues of deities, among which were an *Athênê* afterwards removed to Rome and dedicated on the Capitol by Quintus Lutatius Catulus,³ and hence called *Minerva Catuliana*. We can hardly imagine that he would venture to represent the Goddess of Wisdom under the influence of any strong feeling or 'perturbation' of mind, but his *Leto with her children, Apollo and Artemis* in her arms, may have expressed in her face the grief and anxiety to which she was subjected by the persecutions of the jealous Hérê. This group too was removed to Rome, and placed in the Temple of Concord.⁴

The most celebrated work of Euphranor, and that in which his peculiar powers would find the most fitting field for their display, was his

Paris, of which the interest was chiefly psychological. 'It was praised,' we are told, 'because it represented at the same time the Judge of the Goddesses, the Lover of Helen, and the Slayer of Achilles.' Probably there is a reminiscence of the work of Euphranor in the *Paris Giustiniani* of the Vatican,⁵ in which the soft Trojan appears much more manly than usual, and has just the slender body and disproportionately large limbs which are characteristic of Euphranor's style.

Several other works by Euphranor are mentioned in ancient writers, but without any description or criticism which could render them interesting to us.⁶ These are an *Apollo Patroos*,⁷ which stood near the stoa in the Ceramicus at Athens; an *Agathodaimon* (Bonus eventus) with a goblet in one hand, poppies and ears of corn in the

¹ *Sat.* iii. 217: 'Hic aliquid præclarum Euphranoris et Polycliti.'

² xii. 10. 12.

³ *Plin. N. H.* xxxiv. 77.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Like countless other works in the Vatican,

this fine statue has been greatly injured by being scraped and 'improved.' The havoc which restorers have made with the statues in Rome is enough to exasperate a saint.

⁶ *Plin. N. H.* xxxiv. 77.

⁷ *Pausan.* i. 3. 3.

other ; colossal figures of *Aretê* (valour) *crowning Hellas* ; a *Kleidouchos* (keybearer), a Priestess holding the key of a temple ; a *Woman admiring and adoring* ; *Philip and Alexander* on a Quadriga ; *Dionysus*, afterwards on the Aventine at Rome ;¹ and lastly

Hephæstus, in which, if we may judge from the expression (*ἀπρίπου*, sound of foot), the characteristic lameness of the God was not indicated.²

The beautiful statue, called *the Warrior resting*, in the Villa Ludovisi, in Rome, is thought by some to represent the style of Euphranor. The head does not belong to the figure, and the fingers of the right hand with the sword are restored, so that we cannot be sure of the intention of the artist. In all probability it formed part of a group of combatants.³ The relative proportions of the body and the limbs are in the manner of Euphranor, for Pliny says that he made the trunk of his figures slighter, and the head and limbs larger, than his predecessors, from which we may gather that he prepared the way for a change from the canon of Polycleitus to the canon of Lysippus.⁴

Euphranor, although as a painter too fond of what are now called 'sensational' subjects—in which the pathetic and the horrible are mingled as in an ordinary French novel—appears to have been entirely free from the sensuality into which many of his contemporaries had fallen. This sense of the serious dignity of his art was the more important, as he seems to have formed a school of which CHARMANTIDES,⁵ LEONIDAS,⁶ and ANTIDOTUS⁷ are mentioned as distinguished members.

¹ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 315.

² Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* 37. 43.

³ Friederichs, *Baust.* p. 405 ; but conf. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 315.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 128.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxxiv. 146.

⁶ Steph. *Byzant.* v. Ἀνθηδών.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 130.

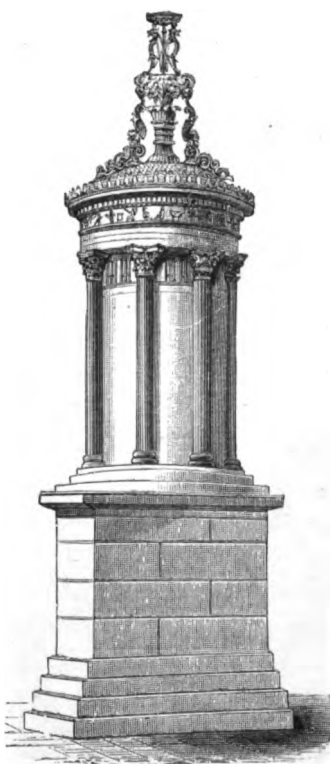
CHAPTER XL.

EXTANT WORKS OF THIS PERIOD BY
UNKNOWN AUTHORS.

WE have already noticed the chief works of this period, the actual execution or design of which could be attributed to the greatest artists—such as the Hermes with the infant Dionysos, the Dêmêter of Cnidos, the Niobe group, the Sculptures of the Mausoleum, the Marriage of Poseidon and Amphitrite, &c. There are, however, other remains evidently belonging to this period, to which we can assign the name of no author. A work of this kind bearing clear traces of the school of Scopas is

The frieze of the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates (fig. 204) ('the Lantern of Demosthenes') in Athens. The Chorêgos, or trainer of a musical choir, received a prize, generally a tripod, when the musicians whom he had trained were successful in a competition. The tripods thus acquired were generally placed on the top of a small temple or monument on the eastern slope of the Acropolis, and hence the name 'tripod street' in this quarter of

FIG. 204.

MONUMENT OF LYSICRATES IN
ATHENS.

ΑΥΤΕΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΑΥΣΙΦΕΙΔΟΥ ΚΙΚΥΝΕΥΙ ΕΧΘΡΗΓΕΙ
 ΑΚΑΜΑΝΤΙΣ ΠΑΙΔΝΕΝΙΚΑΘΕΛΜΗΥΑΙ
 ΑΥΤΕΙΔΗΣ ΑΦΗΛΑΙΟΣ ΕΔΙΔΑΧΕΥΑΙΝΕΤΟ ΕΝ ΡΗΚΕ

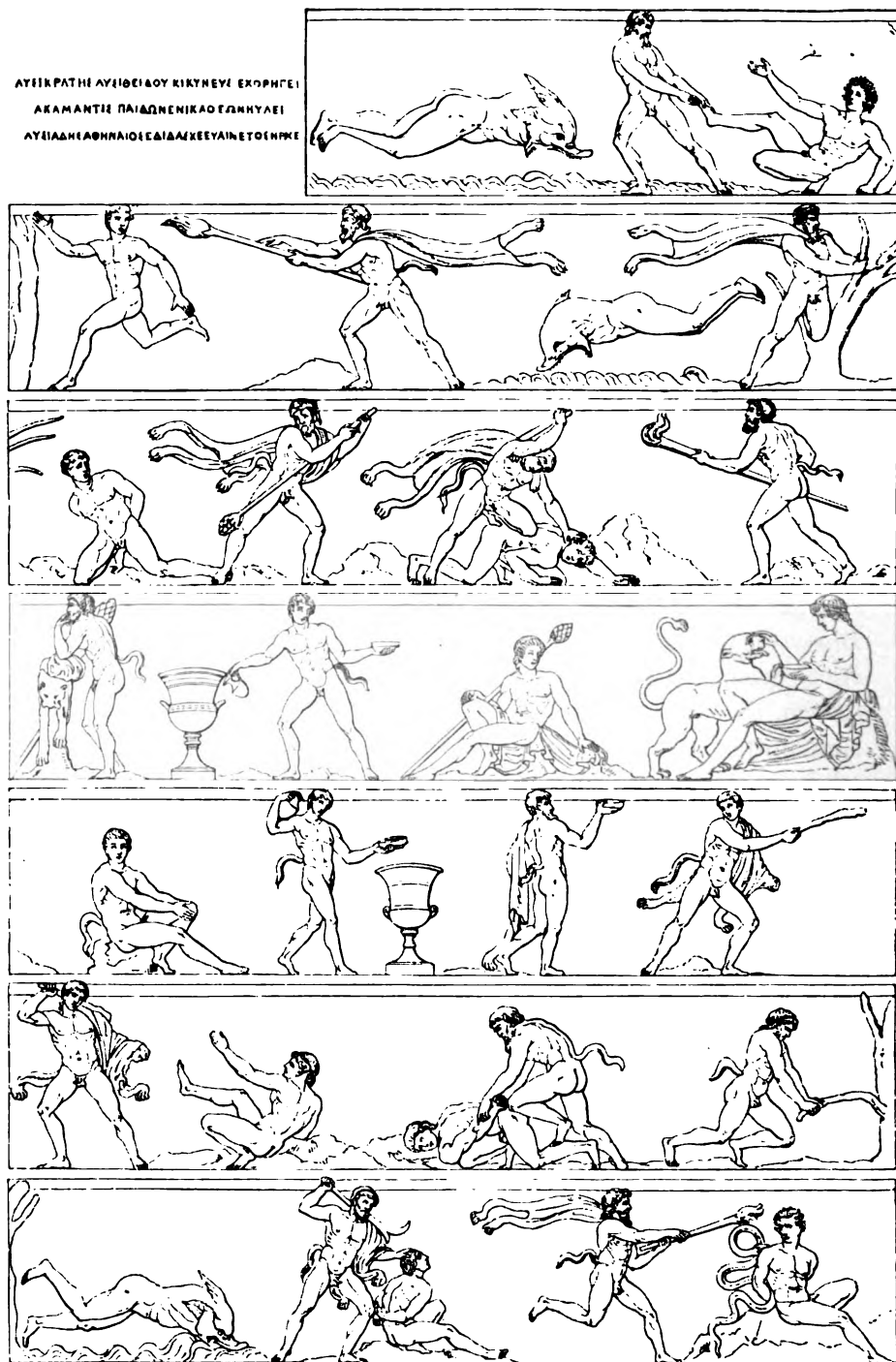


FIG. 205. DIONYSUS AND TYRRHENIAN PIRATES.

the city. Such a building of the Corinthian order was erected by Lysicrates in the archonship of Euamelus for a victory at a festival of Dionysus, and still stands in its original place. The subject of the narrow frieze which runs round the top of this monument was appropriately chosen from the Sixth Homeric Hymn to Dionysus (fig. 205). The legend is well known. Tyrrhenian robbers seized the God of wine as he was reclining in youthful beauty on the strand of the sea, and bore him off in chains to their ship. No sooner, however, had they set sail than mighty waves of wine washed over the deck, the masts were entwined with vines, and the God himself, from whom the fetters had fallen of themselves, assumed the shape of a lion, at whose angry roar the pirates leaped into the sea, and were changed into dolphins. The relief could not adhere strictly to the circumstances related in the poem. The scene is transferred to the shores of Naxos, and Dionysus is not alone, as in the hymn, but surrounded by the familiar train of Satyrs and Sileni, who work his will upon the robbers. The God himself meanwhile reclines in careless majesty and ease upon the rock, fondling his favourite panther, and is tended by the more refined and human of his rude followers, whose graceful forms attest the influence of the younger Attic school. The whole scene strongly reminds us of the sudden transformations wrought by the wand of enchanters of the middle ages. Nor is it wanting in a comic element. The attendant satyrs, with sticks hastily torn from trees, or with the torches used in their revels, pursue and chastise the robbers with a boyish boisterous delight. For the latter there is no escape. Even those whom the Satyrs cannot overtake are subject to the magic influence of the God, and we see them, in the process of transformation into dolphins, leaping with a desperate eagerness into the new element which is to be their future home. The inevitable serpent too, the constant attendant at Dionysiac festivals, is biting a terrified pirate in the shoulder. The composition is admirable, and well worthy of the school of Scopas and Praxiteles. The execution is very unequal in merit, and sometimes careless, which can hardly be wondered at when we remember that the cost of the work was defrayed by a private citizen.

We may mention in this place, although it properly belongs to the

beginning of the next period, *the statue of Dionysus* in the Brit. Mus., which was taken from a similar building, called

The Monument of Thrasyllus. This Choragic monument, only lately destroyed, formed the façade of a large cavern in which the prize tripods were kept, above the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. It was erected, Ol. 115. 1 (B.C. 320), by Thrasyllus.

In this statue, which was brought to England by Lord Elgin, Dionysus is represented sitting, robed in long and flowing garments. A chiton of a fine material reaches to his feet, above which he wears a panther's skin confined by a broad girdle, and an ample himation covers the lower part of his body and his legs.¹ The figure is grandly conceived in the soft full forms appropriate to the God of wine represented as a youth. The broad masses of the drapery, too, are treated in a manner worthy of the best period of art, and, were it not for the loss of the head, we should possess in this statue a noble representative work of the younger Attic school, still free from sensuality. A hole in the thigh served probably to fix some musical instrument of bronze.

¹ *Anc. Marbles of B. M.* ix. pl. 1.

FIFTH PERIOD.

*FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER THE
GREAT TO THE FALL OF CORINTH.*

CHAPTER. XLI.

OL. 111 (B.C. 336)—OL. 158. 2. (B.C. 146).

PELOPONNESIAN SCHOOL.

WE have already pointed out the characteristic features of the Attic and Peloponnesian schools of sculpture respectively, and the essential difference between them—a difference which maintains itself during the whole existence of Greek art. The chief aim of the former, in the period of which we are now speaking, was to express the emotions of the heart by the gestures of elegant and graceful forms, and in the features of young and beautiful faces. The Peloponnesian (Sicyonic Argive) school, on the contrary, aimed chiefly at the representation of the manly form as developed into harmony and strength by athletic exercises, and paid less attention to the face, as an index of the passions. This wide diversity of scope led to a corresponding difference in the choice both of subjects and materials. The tendencies of the younger Attic school led them to choose women and youths for their models, and marble as their material. The chiefs of the Peloponnesian school, on the contrary, delighted in the delineation of the sturdy frames of victors and heroes in the fullness of health and strength, for which bronze was at all times considered the most appropriate material. The style and manner of this school will be better understood after a review of the exclusively bronze works of its renowned chief,

LYSIPPUS.¹

Ol. 102. 1-116. 1 (B.C. 372-316)? Ol. 103-114 (O. Müller).

The first of these dates is fixed by that of the victory of Troilus at Olympia, whose statue was made by Lysippus. If it seems too improbable that he should have been actively engaged in his art for fifty-six years, we may suppose that the statue was made some years after the contest.² We learn from Pliny that Lysippus, like Silanion, was an autodidact, and that he began his career as a mere artisan in bronze.³ He appears, notwithstanding, to have attracted very early in life the attention of Alexander the Great, who, it is said, would allow no one but Lysippus to make a statue of him. His industry must have been extraordinary. In order to keep a record of the number of his works, he put away one gold coin from the price of every statue, and at his death his heirs are said to have found 1,500 such pieces. The independence and fertility of his genius may be partly owing to the fact that while he 'took the oath to no one master,' he sought inspiration from the works of all. It is this originality which makes him so prominent and important a figure in the history of art, for it enabled him to adapt himself to the requirements of the new era which began in Greece and the world at the accession of Alexander. 'He contributed greatly,' says Pliny, 'to the advancement of statuary, by a more careful treatment of the hair, and by making the head smaller than former artists had done, and the body slimmer and *dryer*, on which account the height of his figures appeared greater. He diligently attended to symmetry, for which there is no Latin name, by altering, after a new and untried method, the *quadratas staturas* (square types) of the ancient sculptors, who, as he was accustomed to say, "made men as they actually were, while he himself made them as they seemed to be." It was also peculiar to him to attend to the niceties of his art even in the most trifling *minutiæ*.'

The meaning of the somewhat obscure saying that the ancient sculptors made their statues such as men actually were, while he himself made them as they seemed to be ('*quales viderentur esse*'),

¹ Sicyon, which had been surpassed by Argos, now recovers its supremacy.

² Pausan. vi. 1 2, and Brunn, *A. G.* p. 359

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 61: '*ærarium fabrum*.'

has been disputed. Ottfried Müller translated the words 'as they ought to be,' which interpretation neither agrees with the Latin nor gives an intelligible sense. The words, as Brunn¹ points out, must be taken in their literal sense. He did not mould his statues according to any fixed mathematical *norm*, but determined the relative proportion of the different parts by the judgment of the eye alone. He cared less for their *being* right according to measurement, than for their *looking* right. We have seen the same principle carried out by the Greeks in architecture, when they made the corner pillar of a temple larger than the others in the same row that it might *look* to be of the same size.

We proceed to speak of such of his numerous works, all in bronze, as are mentioned by ancient writers. These are

Zeus at Tarentum,² a colossal bronze statue, sixty feet in height, which ranked in size next to the Colossus of Rhodes. Its enormous weight seems to have protected it from the rapacity of Fabius Maximus in 209 B.C., who left the Zeus when he removed the Heracles and placed it in the Capitol at Rome.³

Zeus in Sicyon, of bronze, by the side of which was a statue of *Artemis* in gilt bronze, which *may* also have been the work of Lysippus.⁴

Zeus Nemesis in Argos, a temple statue.⁵

Zeus in Megara surrounded by the Muses.⁶

Poseidon in Corinth, mentioned by Lucian.⁷

Dionysus on Mount Helicon.⁸

Helios on a Quadriga,⁹ in Rhodes, afterwards in Rome, which Nero disfigured by gilding.

Eros in Thespiæ. Lysippus was bold enough to set up a bronze statue of Eros in the same temple at Thespiæ in which the renowned marble image of the God by Praxiteles already stood.¹⁰ The well-known *Cupid with the bow of Heracles* in the Capitol at Rome has been, rather arbitrarily, referred to this work of Lysippus.¹¹ The idea of the strongest of demigods yielding up his weapons to the wan-

¹ *Künstler Gesch.* i. 378.

² Strabo, vi. 278. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 40.

³ He is reported to have said, when it was proposed to carry off the tutelary deities of the Tarentines, 'let us leave them their angry gods' (Liv. xxii. 16). Plut. *Fab.* 22.

⁴ Pausan. ii. 9. 6.

⁵ Ibid. i. 43. 6.

⁶ Pausan. ix. 30. 1.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 63: 'Cum pretio perisset gratia artis.'

⁸ Pausan. ix. 27. 3.

⁹ Ibid. ii. 20. 3.

¹⁰ Jup. *Frag.* 9.

ton playful child-god was indeed well suited by its piquancy and humour to the Alexandrian age, and Lysippus did represent the invincible hero stripped of his arms by the God of love. But we know nothing of the *motif* of the Thespian statue of Lysippus, and as it seems to have been an object of worship, it is hardly likely that the God would be represented in so amusing a light.

A Satyr in Athens, of which we have no details.

Kairos (the favourable moment). Few of Lysippus' works have attracted so much notice from ancient writers as this, which is perhaps the earliest purely allegorical figure in Greek art.¹ According to the orators Kairos was represented as a tender youth of the Dionysus' type, beautiful and modest, with a lively blush in his cheeks.² His feet were winged, and he stood on the tips of his toes upon a sphere, to indicate the evanescent nature of opportunity. In his right hand was a sword, and in his left the beam of a balance (?). The hair was long over the forehead, but the back of the head was bald,³ signifying that an opportunity once allowed to pass could never be recovered. This statue was removed from Sicyon to Constantinople, and stood in the Lauseion.

From the near relation in which Lysippus stood to Alexander the Great, he was naturally led to the contemplation and plastic representation of gigantic power and romantic adventure. The nearest representative of these ideas in the mythical world was Heracles, and we are not surprised that the invincible hero, as the prototype of the all-conquering monarch, was the favourite subject of Lysippus' art.⁴ We find mention in ancient literature of no less than four statues of Heracles by his hand ; viz. a

Colossal Heracles in Tarentum,⁵ which represented the hero sitting

¹ There was an altar of Kairos at the entrance of the Stadion in Olympia (Pausan. v. 14. 9). In the contests of the palaestra, everything depended on seizing the right moment for action.

² χαλκὸς μὲν γὰρ ὦν ἠρυσθαίνετο (Callistr. Stat. 6). Conf. Himeros, *Ecl.* xiv. 1, p. 240 (ed. Wernsa): δεινὸς δὲ ἦν ἔρα οὐ χεῖρα μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ γνώμην ὁ Δύσιππος.

³ ὤπιθεν μὲν φαλακρόν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κομῶντα. Cedren. *Comp. Inst.* p. 332 C. Conf. Phædr. fab. v. 8 :—

Calvus, comosa fronte, nudo corpore
Quem si occuparis, teneas, elapsum semel
Non ipse possit Jupiter reprehendere
Occasionem rerum significat brevem.

Vid. a very interesting treatise by E. Curtius, *Arch. Zeit.* 1871, p. 1.

⁴ Yet he was not the first to represent Heracles. Laphaes of Sicyon made a wooden statue of the hero (Pausan. ii. 10. 1), and Ageladas made two (Pausan. vii. 24. 2).

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 40.

on the basket used in cleansing the Augæan stables, on which a lion's skin was spread. His attitude denotes mingled dejection and indignation. His look is terrible, and he seems on the point of uttering an angry roar. He is without his usual attributes of bow and club; the right leg and arm are stretched out, the left knee is bent, and on it rests the left elbow, and the open palm of the left hand supports the drooping and dejected head. The broad breast, the mighty arms¹ and thighs, the sinewy bull neck, the short thick hair,² all speak of matchless strength; but now this has been overtaken, and the hero appears exhausted by past labours, and depressed by the prospect of future, never-ending, unrequited toils. This is the statue which Fabius Maximus removed to Rome, whence it was taken in the reign of Constantine to Byzantium.³ *The Tarentine Heracles* is copied on several gems, which give the best idea of the *motif* of this celebrated work.⁴

Heracles in Sicyon, which stood in the Agora.⁵ We have no description of this statue.

Heracles disarmed by Love. Only known from the epigrams of Tullius Geminus and Philippus, who tauntingly apostrophise the downcast hero, and ask him what has become of his club, his quiver, and the hide of the Nemean Lion. 'Who has thus ruined thee, O Heracles? The winged Eros, who is really an oppressive burden.'⁶ 'Nor is it strange that he who changed a Zeus into a swan should strip a Herakles of his arms.'⁷ In the gems in which the same subject is treated, the hero retains his club, but Eros is riding on his shoulders.⁸

*Heracles Epitrapezios*⁹ (reclining at table). A small bronze figure about a foot in height, but of grand design and exquisite workmanship, executed probably for Alexander the Great, who took it with him on his expeditions. It is said to have passed successively through the hands of Hannibal, Sylla, and Novius Vindex (?)¹⁰ In contrast to

¹ *Βραχίς*. Nicet. Choniât. *De Signis Constantinop.* 5 (p. 859, ed. Boun).

² *ὄφλος*. ³ Suidas, v. *Βασιλική*.

⁴ Lippert, *Dact.* i. 285-87; ii. 231. O. Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* i. 156.

The marble statue in the Pitti Palace at Florence with the forged inscription, *Λυσικλίου ἔργον*, is a rude copy of the Heracles Farnese at Naples.

⁵ Pausan. ii. 9. 8.

⁶ *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 255. 4.

⁷ *Ibid.* ii. 209. 52.

⁸ O. Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* i. 157. Lippert, *Dact.* i. 280, 281.

⁹ Stat. *Silv.* iv. 6: 'Castæ genius tutelaque mensæ.'

¹⁰ Martial, ix. 44: 'Hoc habuit numen Pellæi mensa tyranni.'

the Tarentine Heracles, the hero is here reclining on his lion's skin at the table of the Gods, with a cheerful upward look, holding a bowl in one hand, and his club in the other. The poets speak of this statue in the highest terms of praise, contrasting its small size with the grand impression which it makes on the beholder,¹ and declaring that were it not for the inscription on the base, it might be taken for the work of Pheidias.²

The splendid *Torso of Heracles* in the Vatican is supposed to be reclining in the same attitude,³ and the *gilt bronze Heracles* in the Capitol has been referred to some other original work of Lysippus. The slim proportions of the latter work give some colour to this supposition, but the copyist has introduced so much offensive mannerism of his own, that it would be unfair to Lysippus to regard it as a representative of his style.

The Labours of Heracles, probably a series of groups in bronze, in Alyzia, a town of Acarnania, which were taken from the sacred enclosure in that place by some Roman general and brought to Rome.⁴ It is conjectured that these works of Lysippus may be the prototypes of the many similar representations, mostly reliefs, existing in different parts of the world; e.g. *Heracles' fight with the Nemean Lion* at Oxford and Florence—with the *Hydra* in the Capitoline Museum—with *Cerberus* in the Vatican—with *Geryon* in the Vatican—the *Capture of the Ceryneian Stag* from Pompeii, now in Palermo (?)—the *Wrestle with Antæus* in England⁵ and Florence.

A beautiful bronze statuette of Heracles was found a few years ago by the English Consul Calvert near the village of Leknut, forty miles from Monastir in Macedonia.⁶

The transition from Heracles to Alexander was easy to the artist, for the latter loved to regard himself as the modern Heracles. There was really enough in the remarkable personality and fabulous exploits of the Macedonian hero to rouse the imagination of Ly-

¹ Stat. *Silv.*: 'parvusque videri sentiri que ingens.'

² Martial, *l.c.*: 'Αυτοπρεπον lego, Phidiae putavi.'

³ O. Müller, *Handb. d. Arch.* p. 132.

⁴ Strabo, x. p. 459.

Many of the heads of Heracles have the broken ears characteristic of the athlete (ἄποκτάσις, Plato, *Gorgias*, 515 E; and ἄποθλαβίας, Diog. L. 5. 67).

⁵ In the possession of Mr. Smith-Barry.

⁶ Ercole di Bronzo, *Annal. d. I.* 1877.

sippus, and draw away his attention from mythology to the marvellous events of his own times. We have already noticed as a joint work of Leochares and Lysippos,

Alexander at a Lion hunt, in the execution of which Lysippos probably took the leading part.¹ Another celebrated bronze group by Lysippos, on a very large scale, consisted of portrait statues of

Alexander and his followers,² thirty-five (or thirty-four) in number, mostly horsemen, who fell in the front rank at the battle of the Granicus. This work, originally at Dion, was brought to Rome by Metellus Macedonicus, and placed in the portico of Octavia. There is a *bronze figure from Herculaneum* in Naples, in which Alexander is represented cutting at a foe on the ground, the *motif* of which may have been taken from this group. But the principal statue of the king by Lysippos was

Alexander with the spear, in which he is looking upwards, after his wont, with his head a little on one side. Alexander, we are told, decreed that no sculptor should take his portrait but Lysippos, because he alone could stamp his character on the bronze; for other artists, when they tried to give the *διάχυσιν* ('melting and moisture') of the eyes, did not preserve the general manliness and lion-like expression of his face.⁴ Lysippos and Apelles, it was said, contended with one another in their different arts 'in interpreting the nature of the king.'⁵ But the sculptor blamed the painter for placing a thunderbolt in the hand of Alexander instead of the spear, 'of the true and appropriate glory of which no one could deprive him.'⁶

Of existing heads of Alexander perhaps the best is the bust in the Capitol at Rome, generally called *Helios*. It has marked, though idealised, individuality; and though the execution is in most respects far inferior to the grand design, the hair is treated with great skill, as we might expect from Lysippos. Alexander is here represented as the Sun-God, with metal rays fastened to the head. The wild Dionysiac character of the king is admirably given; the hair is

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 465.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 64. Conf. Arrian, *Anab.* i. 16. 7. Velleius, *Paterc.* i. 11. 3.

³ τῶν ὀμμάτων τὴν διάχυσιν καὶ ὑγρότητα.

⁴ τὸ ἀρρύνων καὶ λεορῶδες.—Plut. *de Alex. M. seu virt. seu fortit.* ii. 2.

⁵ Himer. *Ecl.* xxxi. 2.

⁶ Plut. *de Isid. et Osirid.* 24.

thrown back like the mane of a lion, as if he had shaken it in his excitement, and the peculiarity of the neck is cleverly concealed by the sudden energetic motion of the head. Alexander was considered in most points the handsomest man of his age, but he had a peculiarity in the form of his eyes, and a wry neck,¹ defects which the courtly artist strove, not unsuccessfully, to change into beauties.

A Herma-bust of Alexander, found in 1779, by Azara at Tivoli, and given to Napoleon I., who placed it in the Louvre. Like almost all Herma-busts, it is a realistic portrait in which the ugly peculiarities,

FIG. 206.



'THE DYING ALEXANDER.'

even to the faulty muscle of the neck and the greater fullness of the left cheek, are faithfully given. The rising hair,² above the brow—which Winckelmann regarded as an invention of the artist to indicate the monarch's descent from Zeus—was a natural feature of Alexander. There can be no doubt that this bust, which was probably executed in the reign of Augustus, is a copy of a portrait taken from life; though it does not answer exactly to the description of any of the works of Lysippus.³

'*The Dying Alexander*,' at Florence (fig. 206). This well-known, beautiful, and deeply affecting head, which bears a strong resemblance to the Alexander Helios of the Capitol—especially in the treatment of the hair—has been called by Ottfried Müller a riddle of archæology. It is no doubt a Greek original, and one of the most interesting remains of ancient art, but we cannot take it for granted that it is intended for Alexander, and still less that it is the work of Lysippus. It is difficult to imagine that the favoured and devoted artist of the mighty conqueror would choose to portray his great master in a painful and impotent struggle with disease and death. This consideration makes it extremely improbable that it was executed during

¹ Tzetx, *Chil.* xi. 100:—

ἦν δὲ καὶ σιμοτράχλος καὶ παρατραχηλὸν δι
ὥστε δοκεῖν πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατενίζειν τοῦτον.

² ἀναστολή τῆς κομῆς, relicina frons.

³ There is an interesting alto rilievo in Mantua representing Aristotle in life-size, wearing the garb of a philosopher with the upper part of the body nude, leading the little Alexander by the hand.

the lifetime of Alexander, and the whole character of the work, in which free pathos is the prevailing element, and its close resemblance in style to the heads on coins of the period of the Diadochi, point to a later age than that of Lysippus.¹

We read of other portrait statues by Lysippus, viz. of *Hephæstion*,² the friend and favourite of Alexander, the Patroclus of the new Achilles; of *Praxilla*,³ the lyric poetess of Sicyon, a country-woman of Lysippus, who flourished about Ol. 82. 2 (B.C. 450), and gave her name to a new metre called after her the *Πραξιλλεῖον*; of *Socrates*,⁴ which was set up in the 'Pompeion' (arsenal) at Athens by his ungrateful, but repentant, countrymen immediately after his martyrdom; also of

Æsop and the Seven Wise Men, of which we wish to speak more particularly. The epigrammatist Agathias⁵ mentions a statue of Æsop made by the 'old man' Lysippus, whom he praises for placing the persuasive fabulist above the wise men. Phædrus,⁶ too, states that the Athenians erected a statue in honour of the Samian fabulist as a tribute 'not to his nationality, but his glory.' This work, which Tatian says was as well known as the fables of Æsop, is a remarkable example of what we may call ideal portraiture. The very existence of Æsop has been called in question; but if he lived, as is most probable, he flourished in the beginning of the sixth century B.C., nearly 300 years before the time of Lysippus. The great artist, therefore, in undertaking to make a portrait statue of Æsop had a new and difficult problem to solve. He knew nothing of his personality, except that he was deformed. He had therefore to incorporate in a person essentially unfitted for plastic representation the spirit of Greek fable. It was not a philosopher or a poet whom he had to portray; and neither the clear open brow, the calm and thoughtful dignity of the former, nor the wrapt and joyous enthusiasm of the latter, would have suited the representative of the sly, secretive, suggestive, roguish spirit of fable. The expression of Æsop's face must be that of a weak cripple, who, unable to meet his adversary face to face, has recourse to

¹ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 438.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 64.

³ Tatian, *c. Græc.* 52, p. 113 (ed. Worth).

⁴ Diog. Laert. ii. 43.

⁵ *Anthol. Gr.* iv. 16. 35.

⁶ Fab. ii. *Epil.* i.

cunning and *finesse*; who propounds his doctrines, not by direct teaching, but by insinuating them in disguise, and as it were un-awares, into the heart of the listener. That it is possible not only to represent these comparatively mean and unlovely qualities in the face and form, but to give an interest and sympathetic charm to such a representation, will be acknowledged by all who have studied the famous *figure of Æsop in the Villa Albani* at Rome. The refinement and acuteness of feature and expression so common to cripples are there, and the qualities of the mind which are stamped on the face are actually brought into harmony with the natural physical defects.

We cannot, of course, assume that we have before us a copy of the work of Lysippus, for Aristodemus¹ also executed a statue of Æsop about the same time; but the extraordinary power of endowing an abstract conception with individual personality, displayed in the Albani figure, inclines us to see in it the work of the greatest portrait sculptor of Greece, Lysippus.²

The notices of statues of victors in the games have become rarer in the period which we are now considering, but we read of five by the hand of Lysippus; viz.—

Polydamas of Scotusa?³ who conquered in the Pancration in Ol. 93 (B.C. 408), and is said to have been the biggest of men, 'next to the heroes'; *Troilos* the Eleian;⁴ *Callicrates* the Magnesian;⁵ *Xenarches* the Acarnanian;⁶ and *Cheilos*, a man happy beyond measure, both in his life and in his death. He conquered twice at Olympia, three times at Nemeia, four times in the Isthmos, and then died fighting for his country, and received a public burial!

But the most interesting to us of all the works attributed to Lysippus is the figure of a young athlete, called

The Apoxyomenos (fig. 207), i.e. 'scraping himself' with the *στλεγγίς* or strigil, after a contest in the arena. Of this work we have a splendid copy found by Canina in 1849 in the Trastevere at Rome, and now in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican. The bronze original

¹ Tatian, *c. Græc.* 55, p. 119.

² Vide *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. pl. 14. Other representations of Æsop are a *statuette of marble* del Caffè di Pirro Ligorio nel Giardino del Vaticano; also on a *Lucerna de terra cotta* described *Ann. d. Inst.* xii. p. 94.

³ Pausan. vi. 5. 1. Vide *supra*, p. 478, n. 1. If Lysippus really made this statue, it must have been a long time after the victory!

⁴ Pausan. vi. 1. 4.

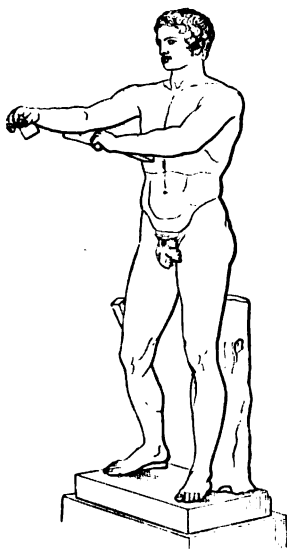
⁵ Ibid. vi. 17. 3.

⁶ Ibid. vi. 2. 1.

was greatly admired in Rome. Agrippa, who probably brought it from Greece, placed it in front of his public baths, and Tiberius was so charmed with it that he had it removed by an arbitrary act of power to his own house, and substituted another statue; whereupon the people in the theatre demanded it back with so much persistence and audacity that the wily emperor yielded to the storm, and restored it to its former place.¹ The Vatican copy of this magnificent work is well preserved, and has all the characteristics of the style of Lysippus. The head is small, the figure slim and tall, and the face is of the new North-Grecian (Macedonian) type, which Lysippus chose as better suited for the expression of individual feelings than the pure Greek ideal. The difference is seen particularly in the nose, which rises a little at the end, and resembles that of the busts of Alexander himself. The style of this beautiful work, which is perfectly free from all archaic conventionality and restraint, shows that the artist has copied nature alone; the hair especially is thrown about in a very easy and natural manner. The very nature of his occupation implies a continual change of posture, and we see from the position of the feet that the attitude is accidental and momentary, and one of a series of graceful movements. The face, which is simple and agreeable, wears an expression of gentle satisfaction, arising from the contemplation of past labour successfully accomplished. The Apoxyomenos is a grand example of the *genre* style in its highest form.

The *Hermes Enagonios* ('Belvedere Mercury'), formerly known under the name of the '*Belvedere Antinous*,' in the Vatican, bears a strong family likeness to the Apoxyomenos. Beautiful as it is, it is not an original Greek work, as we might conclude from its polished surface alone, which materially detracts from its effect, and speaks of the decline

FIG. 207.

THE APOXYOMENOS OF
LYSIPPUS.

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 62.

of taste ; but that it is a copy of some celebrated Greek original is rendered in the highest degree probable by its close resemblance to a statue of Hermes of the same type, but of an earlier period, found in the theatre at Melos, and now in the Theseion at Athens.

Kindred in their *motif* and in their Lysippic style are several *statues of Hermes* in the National Museum at Athens.¹ They belong to a whole series of figures, whose similarity implies that they are all copies of some celebrated original, probably of the end of the fourth century B.C. The best of these is *from Andros*, where it was found with the statue of a woman in the same style, in 1833. Another statue of the god, *found in Aigion*, in Achaia,² is of very inferior execution, and is probably Roman.

We find short notices in Pliny of other works by Lysippus of a more trivial nature. Among these are

*A Female flute player*³ in a state of intoxication ('*temulenta tibicina*').

- We are not informed whether this statue was a comic representation of the effects of drunkenness, or conceived in the more exalted spirit of Scopas' *mænads*, frenzied at once by wine and the divine afflatus.

A Train of hunters with dogs,⁴ of which we have no description ; *a fallen Lion*,⁵ in Lampsacus on the Hellespont, which Agrippa carried off ; *Quadrigæ* 'of many kinds ;'⁶ '*an unbridled horse*,' which, says the Epigrammatist, '*breathes by the power of art*,' and '*if only bridled and spurred would begin to run*' ;⁷ and a '*Bitch licking its wounds*.'⁸

STYLE OF LYSIPPUS.

In trying to form an idea of the peculiar style of our artist, we must look to the main object which he proposed to himself in the exercise of his art. We saw that Pheidias sought to give visible form to his highest conception of the Godhead, and that the lovely forms of Scopas and Praxiteles are permeated and coloured by ideal tendencies—by tender sentiment, gentle pathos or wild enthusiasm. The less exalted aim of Lysippus was to pourtray in its highest physical per-

¹ Newton, *Antiq. of Athens*, p. 23.

² *Mit. d. deutsch. Inst. in Athen*, 1878.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Strabo, xiii. 590.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 64.

⁷ *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 229. 1, and iv. 97.

⁸ Plin. xxxiv. 38. Conf. Brunn, *A.-G.* i. 368.

fection the manly form, not as the fittest abode of high thoughts or tender emotions ; not as the visible representation of spiritual conceptions ; but as the final object of art, worthy in itself of the highest admiration. The chief characteristics of his style and scope are found in the Apoxyomenos, which is more exclusively a representation of mere physical beauty than the Aphrodite of Cnidos, or, to give an existing parallel, the Venus de' Medici, for these are at any rate the expression of woman's love. The Apoxyomenos is nothing more than the noblest animal in creation in the highest perfection.

Greatly then as we must admire and value the works of Lysippus, even seen through the veil of copies, we must acknowledge that he has descended one stage downwards, not only from the empyrean summit on which Pheidias stood in solitary grandeur, but even from the sunlit heights on which Scopas and Praxiteles sported with Love and Beauty. His art is less spiritual than that of the former, less æsthetic than that of the latter ; but it is still manly, pure, and noble, entirely free from the meanness and vulgarity of the succeeding period. His chief fault, like that of Praxiteles, was the too exclusive worship of external form, and we shall see that, as the great Athenian's passionate admiration for female beauty degenerated in his followers into a tasteless sensuality, so the healthy and dignified *naturalism* of the Peloponnesian Lysippus was quickly succeeded by a degrading *realism*.

LYSISTRATUS,

a brother of Lysippus, flourished, according to Pliny,¹ in Ol. 113 (B.C. 328). The tendency towards the free delineation of nature, and the close observation of individual characteristics which we have noted in Lysippus, but which in him stopped short at beauty, is carried to its extreme by his brother Lysistratus. This artist, in his eagerness to give *every* characteristic of his model, had recourse to mechanical means, which are alien to the very nature of true art. He was the first, says Pliny, to form moulds in wax from the life ; from these he took a plaster cast, which he then 'touched up' ('emendare').

¹ xxxiv. 51.

He set the fashion of giving exact 'likenesses,' whereas the artists before him tried to make the face as beautiful as possible.¹

We only find mention of one work by Lysistratus, a portrait statue of *Melanippe*,² perhaps a noted Hetaira of his time, to whom the term σοφή is applied, ironically as is generally supposed; but in the face of so many clever, and even learned, examples of this class of women, we see no reason for the conclusion.

SCHOOL OF LYSIPPUS.

Among the pupils of Lysippus were his three sons, Daippus,³ Boedas,⁴ and Euthycrates,⁵ Eutyichides⁶ the Sikyonian, and Chares of Lindos.⁷ Of the two first-mentioned sons but little is known. Daippus made statues of



BOY PRAYING
AT BERLIN.

athletes and a figure called *Perixyomenos*, which means probably the same as Apoxyomenos. Boedas executed a *genre* statue of a *worshipper* ('adorantem') which some would see in the exquisite Greek original bronze figure called the *Praying Boy*⁸ (fig. 208) at Berlin. The most considerable artist of the three sons was

EUTHYCRATES,

who followed the severer side of his father's art, and chose the higher class of his father's subjects.⁹ Among these were a *Heracles* at Delphi; a portrait statue of *Alexander hunting*¹⁰ at Thespiæ; a *Cavalry battle*; an *Image of Trophonius*; ¹¹ *several Quadrigæ*; a *Horse 'cum fuscinis'*

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 153.

² Tatian, *c. Græc.* 54, p. 117. Brunp, *K.-G.* p. 402.

³ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 51. Pausan. vi. 12. 6; vi. 16. 5. ⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 73.

⁵ Ibid. 66. ⁶ Pausan. vi. 2. 6.

⁷ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 41.

⁸ Bursian (*Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* 1856, i. p. 513) thinks it more in the style of Polycleitus. Schnaase (243) considers that it wants the severity of the style of Lysippus, though in simplicity and freedom from aiming at effect it is worthy of the best time.

⁹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 66: 'Constantiam

potius imitatus patris quam elegantiam austero maluit genere quam jucundo placere.'

¹⁰ The subject of this statue reminds us of the well-known beautiful figure in the Vatican called *Meleager*, which is evidently a copy of a bronze original. The pose is new, and very un-Greek in the elaborate finish lavished on a subordinate attribute. The turn of the head and the *throw* of the chlamys well express the hasty passionate character of the hero, which led him to destruction.

¹¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 66: 'Simulacrum ipsum Trophonii ad oraculum.' The seat of

(either forked poles for hunting nets, or three-pronged hunting spears); *Hunting dogs*; *Statues of the famous Hetairai*—*Anyte, Mnesarchis, Thaliarchis, and Panteuchis*¹ (Παννυχίς?).

The powerful influence of Lysippus is seen in the fact that his pupils choose the very same subjects as their master, and this influence descends through several generations. We read of *Tisicrates*, the Sicyonian, as a pupil of Euthykrates, who followed so closely the school of Lysippus, that several of his statues could scarcely be distinguished from those of the great master;² such as his *Theban old man*, his *King Demetrius*, and his *Peucestes*, who saved the life of Alexander the Great during the storming of a city of the Malli (in the Punjaub), and was appointed his *σωματοφύλαξ* or special guardian of the royal person. Tisicrates, again, had a pupil called *Xenocrates*, who, according to Pliny, outdid both his teacher and Tisicrates in the number of his works, and wrote treatises on the plastic art.

Another distinguished pupil of Lysippus was

EUTYCHIDES,

the Sicyonian, Ol. 121 (B.C. 296), who executed an allegorical figure of *Tyche* for the Syrian dwellers on the Orontes at Antioch, which was regarded by them as a tutelary Goddess. Of

The Tyche of Antioch, the only *marble* work of the Sicyonian school, we have a copy in the Vatican and on several coins of Antioch. The figure by Eutychides was a richly draped woman wearing a mural crown, sitting in an easy posture on a rock of Mount Silpion. In her hand she held ears of corn or a palm branch, and before her feet was the river Orontes, represented, contrary to the usual practice, as a *beardless* youth, half emerging from the water.³ On either side of her stood Seleucus and Antiochus placing a crown upon her head.

the *Oracle* was in a cavern in a mountain at Lebadæa in Boeotia, in front of the Temple of Trophonius, in which a statue by Dædalos was concealed, and another by Praxiteles exhibited. The cavern had an upper and lower chamber, which are still visible. See the curious description of the eye-witness Pausanias, ix. 27. 3, and ix. 29. 3; also Jahn, *N. Rhein. Mus.* ix. 1855, p. 318.

¹ Tatian, *con. Græc.* sec. 33: καὶ Παν-

τευχίδα συλλαμβανούσαν ἐκ φθορέως Εὐθυκράτης ἐχαλκούργησεν.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 67. A marble pedestal was discovered in 1879 near the portico of Octavia in Rome with the inscription, 'Opus Tisicratis Cornelia Africanis Gracchorum.'

³ Visconti, *Mus. Pio Clem.* iii. 224. Brunn, *A.-G.* i. 412.

The group stood inside a small open temple with four pillars. The well-known copy of this statue in the Vatican, though poor in execution, is full of human grace and charm ; but it is entirely devoid of the peculiar sanctity, the *ἐνθρον τι*, which the older artists drew from their own hearts and breathed like a glory over even their rudest works. We see before us a graceful woman, but she is no more a Goddess than the 'Villes de France' in the Place de la Concorde.¹ Another noted work by Eutychides was his statue of the

River Eurotas, in which Pliny,² borrowing from an epigram,³ as he so often does, says that 'art was more liquid than the river itself.' The fluidity was expressed, as in the divine Ilissus of the Parthenon, by the easy flow of the limbs, in which every sinew and fibre is relaxed, and the whole frame dissolved in a luxurious panther-like repose, which borders on the self-forgetfulness of sleep.⁴

CANTHARUS OF SICYON,

son of Alexis, who made

A statue of Cratinus, a young wrestler, said to be the most beautiful boy of his time.

Of the immediate pupils of Lysippus by far the most important in every way was

CHARES OF LINDOS,

sculptor of the Sun-god, known as the *Colossus of Rhodes*, one of the 'seven wonders of the world.'⁵ He followed the direction of his great master in the endeavour to work upon men's minds by the stupendous size of his works. The numerous accounts of the Colossus in ancient history are for the most part vague and often contradictory.

¹ The practice of representing towns becomes very common after this period. In the Temple of Homer, built by Ptolemy IV., the seven towns which claimed the honour of his birth stood round the poet (Ælian, *V. H.* xiii. 21).

² *N. H.* xxxiv. 78.

³ *Anthol. Palat.* ix. 709: ἃ δὲ τέχνα ποταμῶ συνεπήρικεν· ἃ τίς ὁ πείσας χαλκὸν κομᾶν ὕδατος ὑγρότερον.

⁴ The statue of *Liber Pater*, mentioned by Pliny among the possessions of Asinius Pollio as a work of Eutychides *in marble*, is ascribed by Brunn (*Ber. d. Kön. bayer. Acad.*, Nov. 6, 1880, p. 486) to an Athenian artist of the same name, who is mentioned in an inscription (Hirschfeld, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872, p. 25).

⁵ Philo Byzant, *De Septem Mirac. Mundi*, p. 14 ; a fabulous account.

Pliny¹ tells us that it took twelve years to build, and that the cost, which is variously stated at 300 and 1,300 talents (70,500*l.* and 375,000*l.*), was defrayed by the sale of the warlike machines left behind him by Demetrius Poliorketes when he raised the siege of Rhodes in Ol. 119. 2 (B.C. 303). The height of the statue was seventy cubits (105 feet), and few men could encircle the thumb with their arms. The fingers were as big as most statues, and when it was thrown down deep caverns yawned in the broken limbs, inside which great blocks of stone had been inserted by the artist to give steadiness to his work. After standing only fifty-six (or sixty-six²) years, it was thrown down by an earthquake,³ and the fragments remained on the ground for nearly a thousand years. There is no foundation whatever for the story, so familiar to our childhood, that the Colossus bestrode the entrance to the harbour of Rhodes, after the manner depicted in many an old print.

Pliny⁴ also mentions with approbation a *Colossal head* by Chares, which was brought to Rome and placed on the Capitol by P. Lentulus.

Chares owes his chief importance in the history of art to the fact that he introduced Sicyonian art into Rhodes, and founded a famous school of sculpture there the productions of which we shall have to consider hereafter. Peloponnesian, or rather Sicyonian, art *in the Peloponnesus itself* seems to have come to rather an abrupt end with the school of Lysippus. Among the works in which it is considered that the style of Lysippus may be traced is the exquisite bronze statue called *Hermes reposing* (fig. 209) in the Museo Nazionale at Naples.

FIG. 209.



HERMES REPOSING.

¹ *N. H.* xxxiv. 41.

² Scaliger on Eusebius, p. 137, says sixty-six years, agreeing with Suidas, s. v. Κολοσσίδειν, who states that the statue was set up

in the reign of Seleucus Nikanor.

³ Eustath. *ad Dionys. Perieg.* 504.

⁴ *N. H.* xxxiv. 44.

CHAPTER XLII.

*ARTISTS AND WORKS OF ART OF THIS PERIOD
IN OTHER PARTS OF GREECE.*

THE germs of art which Nature scattered with so lavish a hand in the minds and hearts of the ancient Greeks were ever ready to spring up in luxuriant abundance whenever the sun of prosperity shone upon them. In the period now under review many states of Greece, hitherto occupying a subordinate position—as Messene, Arcadia, Achaia, and Bœotia—came suddenly to the front and obtained independence and political importance; and, as a natural consequence, the names of artists belonging to these countries begin to appear in the pages of history.

MESSENE.

DAMOPHON of Messene flourished Ol. 102 (B.C. 372), and was therefore contemporary with Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus. Pausanias,¹ who alone makes mention of him, says that he was the only Messenian who produced works worthy of notice. We have already referred to him in connexion with the Olympian Zeus which he restored in a masterly way when the ivory had started. He chose his subjects exclusively from the circle of the Gods, and his style was probably in accordance with the serious cast of mind thus indicated. He evidently enjoyed celebrity, and his works were set up in Messene, Aigion (Achaia), and Megalopolis, the new metropolis of Arcadia.

¹ Pausan. iv. 31. 10.

As Pausanias, in mentioning the very numerous works of Damophon, says nothing of the characteristics of his style, we can spare the reader the bare enumeration of the subjects which he treated. Although, as a Messenian, he was also a Peloponnesian, he appears to have stood in no connexion with Peloponnesian art. His works were all of a religious character, and it seems to have been his aim to raise art into a higher sphere than that into which it had fallen. They were executed not in bronze, but either in marble, or in marble and wood, as acroliths, in which marble took the place of ivory, and the wood was gilded to resemble the chryselephantine statues of earlier times. He seems to have studied the best models from earlier periods, and, as has been suggested, he may, out of hatred to the Spartans, have purposely sought his chief inspiration and instruction in Athens.¹

PYRILAMPES of Messene, after Ol. 102 (B.C. 372), made a statue of a namesake, Pyrilampes of Ephesus, who carried off the prize in the *δολίχος* (long race), and of other athletes.²

THEBES,

which the victories of the illustrious Epaminondas brought from obscurity into the foremost rank of Grecian states, appears in the present period to have had schools both of painting and sculpture. An inscription is extant in which no less than fifteen Theban statuaries are mentioned together, probably associated in some common work.³ The best known are HYPATODORUS and ARISTOGEITON,⁴ who jointly executed a group of '*the Seven against Thebes*,' which stood at Delphi, near the wooden horse of Aristophanes, and was an offering of the Thebans for their victory over the Lacedæmonians at Oenoe in Ol. 96. 3-98. 2 (B.C. 393-387).⁵ Hypatodorus alone⁶ made a statue of *Athene at Aliptera* in Arcadia, celebrated for its size as well as beauty, and re-

¹ Brunn, *K.-G.* 291. For a description of his works see Pausan. iv. 31. 6; vii. 23. 5; viii. 31. 1; viii. 37. 1.

² Pausan. vi. 3. 13; vi. 15. 1; vi. 16. 5.

³ *Corp. Insc. Gr.* 1578. Conf. *Annal. d. Inst.* 1848, p. 48.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 50.

⁵ Pausan. x. 10. 4.

⁶ Or jointly with Sostratus, *Polybius* iv. 78. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 51. Conf. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 295.

garded as 'one of the grandest and most skilful works of art.'¹ Many other Theban artists are mentioned by Pausanias, Pliny, Diogenes Laertius, and Tatian, and in inscriptions. Among them are *Hypatodorus*, *Aristogeiton*, *Andron*, *Callistonicus*, *Caphisias*, *Theron*, *Timon*, *Xenocritus*, *Eubius*, *Theodorus*, *Onasimedes*, *Aristoneidas*, *Alcon*, *Boiscus*,² &c.

ARGOS, formerly so important in the history of art, is represented by a few unimportant names, *Theodorus*, *Phileas* and *Zeuxippus*, *Xenophilus* and *Straton* and *Andreas*.

ARCADIA is represented by *Aristoteles* of *Cleitore*.³

OLYNTHEUS by *Herodotus*, who made portraits of *Phryne*⁴ and *Glycera*.

HERACLEIA by *Baton*, whose statues of *Apollo* and *Hêrê*⁵ came afterwards into the Temple of Concord at Rome.

Other artists of this period, whose nationality is not recorded, are mentioned by eminent writers, but as they have little known connexion with the history of art, we can do little more than give their names.

*Aristodemus*⁶ made a statue of *Æsop*, and it is, of course, possible, as some maintain, that the well-known statue of the fabulist in the Villa Albani may be a copy of his work.⁷

*Piston*⁸ made statues of *Hermes* and *Arês*, which were considerable enough to be thought worthy of a place in the Temple of Concord at Rome.

Thrason,⁹ several of whose statues were placed in the Temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and among them one of *Penelope*¹⁰ and her nurse *Eurycleia*.

*Menestratus*¹¹ was also employed in the decoration of the Artemision at Ephesus, for which he furnished statues of Heracles and Hecate. Pliny speaks of these with great admiration, and adds that the vergers of the temple warned the spectators 'to spare their eyes

¹ Pausan. viii. 29. 5.

² Brunn, *l. c.*

³ Vid. *Epigr. Anall.* i. p. 197, n. 2, ap. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. p. 420.

⁴ Tatian, *con. Græcos*, liii. p. 115.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 73 and 91.

⁶ *Ibid.* 86. Tatian, *con. Græc.* lv. p. 119.

⁷ Vide *supra*, p. 486.

⁸ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 89.

⁹ *Ibid.* xxxiv. 91.

¹⁰ Brunn, *K.-G.* 422.

¹¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 32.

on account of the radiation of light from the marble,' which seems to indicate that the detestable practice of polishing the surface had already begun.

Gryllion. The name of this artist occurs in the last will of Aristotle, who directs that the statues ordered of him should be dedicated as soon as they were finished.¹

Amphistratus. Pliny² saw a portrait statue of *the historian Callisthenes* by this artist in the Servilian gardens at Rome. Amphistratus also made an iconic statue of *Cleito*,³ an otherwise unknown priestess or hetaira.

WORKS OF THIS PERIOD THE AUTHORS OF WHICH ARE NOT KNOWN.

We have been speaking lately of artists of whose works we know little more than the name. We have now to consider many important and interesting works to which we cannot attach the name of any sculptor. Among these are statues of

Aristomenes,⁴ the romantic hero of Messene, to whom the Thebans set up a statue in the Stadion of Messene after the battle of Leuctra (B.C. 371). The well-known and beautiful statue of '*Phocion*,' in the Sala della Biga, of the Vatican, has been supposed by some to be a copy of this work.

Epaminondas (died Ol. 104. 3, B.C. 362), of whom there were statues not only in Thebes,⁵ but in the Hierothusion (temple of sacrifice) in Messene, where he was held in as great honour as in his own city, both as second ækist (founder) of Messene, and restorer of Grecian freedom.⁶

Eunomus of Locri, a famous harper of Magna Græcia, represented sitting with a *cicada* on his lyre. Timæus relates that Eunomus contended for a prize with Ariston of Rhegium at the Pythian games,

¹ Diog. Laert. v. 15. Aristotle died Ol. 114. 3 (B.C. 322).

² *N. H.* xxxvi. 36. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 423.

³ Tatian, *c. Græc.* lii. p. 114.

⁴ Pausan. iv. 32. 6.

⁵ *Ibid.* ix. 15. 6.

⁶ *Ibid.* iv. 32. 1.

and came off victor by the help of a cicada, who, when one of his chords broke while he was playing, supplied the missing note !¹

Diogenes the Cynic († Ol. 114. 2, B.C. 320), represented in the form of a dog, in Parian marble, on the top of a pillar. At a later period the Corinthians honoured him with twenty bronze statues, with the inscription—

Γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου· ἀλλὰ σὸν οὔτι
κῦδος ὁ πᾶς αἰὼν Διόγενες καθελεί
μοῦνος γὰρ βιοτῆς αὐτάρκεια δόξαν ἔδειξας
θνητοῖς καὶ ζῶῃς οἶμον ἐλαφροτάτην.²

To one of these may perhaps be referred the excellent *statue of the Cynic* in the Villa Albani.³

Aristotle († Ol. 114. 3, B.C. 321). This statue was offered at Olympia 'by some disciple, or some general, on account of the influence exercised by the Stagyrte philosopher over Antipater, and previously over Alexander the Great.'⁴ The seated figure of a *philosopher in the Villa Spada at Rome* is supposed to be a copy of this work.⁵

Anacreon. The very striking and interesting statue known under this name *in the Villa Borghese* at Rome probably belongs to this period, although we find no mention of it in ancient literature. It was found on Monte Calvo, in the Sabine land, in the year 1835. The name of Anacreon is, of course, arbitrarily given, but with the consent of all who have made it the subject of careful study, and its similarity to the figure on a coin of Teos tends to justify this appellation. The poet, somewhat corpulent in figure, as becomes his character of *bon vivant*, is comfortably seated in an armchair with his feet crossed. He is dressed in a mantle of thick and soft material, and wears richly ornamented sandals, all of which contribute to the general effect of graceful luxurious *abandon*. The eyes, which were probably of precious stone, are wanting, and only the movement of the upper part of the body, and the position of the right arm, show the passionate excitement of which the poet is capable. The artist has

¹ Strabo, vi. 260. Casaubon. *ad loc.*
Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* i. and *Ælian, Hist.*
An. v. 9. Conf. *Anth. Græc.* iv. 48, 57.

² Diog. Laert. vi. 78.

³ Clarac. *Mus. d. Sc.* v. pl. 842, No. 2111.

⁴ Pausan. vi. 4. 8.

⁵ Clarac. 843, 848, No. 2139.

wisely avoided giving great prominence to the erotic character of the man, which is only ridiculous or offensive in age. Nor was Anacreon a weak and vulgar sensualist; he was a poet and a man of taste, whose intellect was not altogether engulfed in the storm of passion; and as such he is represented here.¹ Brunn² ascribes this statue to Cresilas, the contemporary of Pheidias, partly on the ground that Pausanias³ saw a statue of Anacreon in the Acropolis of Athens; but this is described as the figure of a man singing in a state of intoxication, which hardly suits the Borghese figure.

Tyrtæus. Another statue of a poet in the Villa Borghese, known under the name of Tyrtæus, was discovered at the same place and time as the 'Anacreon.' The arms were missing, but the restorers were probably right in placing a lyre in the left hand, and the pléktron in the right, with which he is on the point of striking the chords. The figure is nearly nude, and the end of the mantle is thrown back over the shoulder so as to leave the right arm free. The whole air of the poet is serious and even solemn, and were it not for the nudity we might think with Brunn that Pindar and not Tyrtæus was meant. The work is probably a Roman copy of a Greek original of this age.

The Lion at Chæroneia. It was customary in ancient times to place the image of a lion over the grave of fallen warriors. The lion in question was set up by the Thebans over the grave of Grecian liberty at Chæroneia. The figure of the noble beast is grandly conceived and skilfully executed. The head, which is expressive of suppressed wrath, is especially fine. The fragments are still *in situ*, and there is every prospect that this interesting work will soon be completely restored.⁴

The Lion of Cnidos brought by Mr. Newton from Cnidos in Caria, and now in the Brit. Mus. It is generally allowed to be the finest representation of the king of beasts in the whole range of plastic art, and is considered by some writers to be connected with the naval victory of Conon over Pisander at Cnidos.⁵

The Demeter of Cnidos (fig. 210). The statue of a female with

¹ Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 297.

⁴ Welcker, *Alle Denkm.* v. 62, Taf. 4.

² *Annal. d. Inst.* 1859, p. 155.

⁵ Newton, *Cnidos and Branchidae*, pl. 61.

³ i. 25. 2, 1.

veiled head, seated in a chair, was discovered by Mr. Newton¹ in the *temenos* of a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Cnidos in 1850, and immediately recognised as the great Goddess herself.² The chief beauty of this work is a comparatively rare one in Greek plastic art, viz. beauty of expression in the face, in which it is only surpassed by the Niobe. We see in it the deep and settled melancholy caused by the absence of a beloved object—the sweet sad yearning

FIG. 210.



DEMETER OF CNIDOS.

look of the bereaved mother. The paroxysm of grief, the loud cry pressed from the heart by the sudden weighty calamity, has died away, and is succeeded by an expression of submissive, hopeless, sadness far more pathetic than the loudest expression of grief. It is in this face, still beautiful, though no longer young, that, as Brunn remarks, 'Classic and Christian art, the central female figures of Greek mythology and Christianity, the Demeter and the Madonna, meet.'³ The figure of the Goddess, and her drapery, which consists of the peplos over the talaric chiton, are so inferior to the face in style that we can hardly believe them to be by the same hand. The head-dress is plain and simple, as best suits the self-forgetfulness of grief.⁴

¹ *Discov. in Halicarn. &c.* vol. ii. part 2, p. 377.

² Demeter, says Clemens Alex. (*Cohort ad Gentes*, i. p. 50, ed. Potter), may be recognised ἀπὸ τῆς συμφορᾶς. Conf. Preller, *Demeter*, p. 91.

³ Our cut gives no idea of the touching beauty of the face. The original in the Brit. Mus. must be seen.

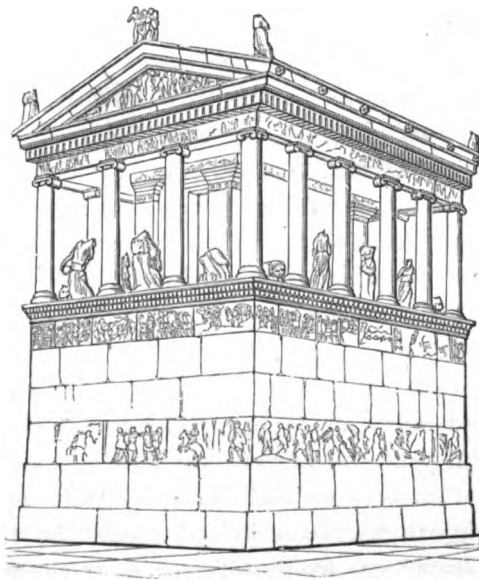
⁴ Vid. Brunn, 'Demeter of Cnidos,' in *Transactions of Royal Soc. of Literature*, vol. xi. new series.

CHAPTER XLIII.

LYCIAN ART. THE NEREID MONUMENT OF XANTHOS.

IN the year 1838 Sir Charles Fellows discovered, about half a mile to the east of the Acropolis of Xanthos, in Lycia, a very remarkable structure 33 feet long by 22 feet broad, composed of massive blocks of *scaglia*, the stone of the country. In the immediate neighbourhood of this solid basis, which resembles other buildings found in Lycia, lay the architectural members of a small Greek temple, and fragments of statues and reliefs with which it had been ornamented. From these *débris*, mingled in utter confusion, Fellows reconstructed an elegant Ionic temple or heroon, surrounded on all sides by pillars, of which the above-mentioned substructure formed the lofty basis.¹ The architect Falkener also made a reconstruction based on very accurate measurements, which differs in some respects from that of Sir Charles Fellows,

FIG. 211.



NEREID MONUMENT RESTORED.

¹ Fellows, '*Ionic trophy monument of Xanthos.*'

and is, on the whole, to be preferred.¹ Both the material of this interesting structure (probably Parian marble) and the art by which it is adorned are foreign to the soil of Lycia, and its plastic ornament, especially, offers many singular and difficult problems to the antiquary and the artist. The sculptures with which the Xanthian heroön, or sepulchre, was so lavishly ornamented are for the most part in the British Museum, and consist of :

I. *Fragments of two Pedimental groups in alto rilievo. The eastern pediment*, of which more than half is preserved, contained *figures of Zeus* with a long sceptre, *and Hêrê*,—lifting her veil, as usual,—sitting on their thrones and surrounded by other Gods. The latter, probably *Athênê*, *Apollo*, *Hêbê*, *Hephæstus*, are standing, and before them are *youths and maidens*, in decreasing size to fit the triangular frame, who approach with prayers and offerings. In the corner is the figure of *a crouching dog*.

The subject of *the western pediment*, of which we have also only half, seems to have been *a battle in which both infantry and cavalry were engaged*, judging from the remains of the foreleg of a horse which crosses the shield of a kneeling foot soldier ;

II. Of *ten draped female statues*, smaller than life, purely Greek in conception and execution ; several fragments of figures similar to the ten, and of others of a smaller size. As the heads have been purposely and utterly destroyed by Christian Iconoclasts,² we derive no aid in the interpretation of these beautiful statues from the expression of their faces ; but their attitudes plainly indicate the extremity of wild hurry and alarm. The name of *Nereids* has been given them with almost universal consent on account of the fish, crab, mussel, and seabird between their feet, and their moist clinging garments. The original discoverer indeed, relying on the opinion of Mr. Benjamin Gibson,³ was inclined to see in them repetitions of the same person, perhaps Aphrodite, representing the ten cities, Cos, Cnidos, Miletus, &c., which he thinks are indicated by the marine animals, since the same emblems are seen on coins of these countries ;

¹ Falkener, '*The Ionic Heroön of Xanthos*,' *Class. Mus. of Antiq.* 1851, p. 256.

² Sir C. Fellows says that in 1846 more

than thirty heads of statues were found in a well near Smyrna.

³ Paper read before Royal Soc. of Antiq. 1848.

III. Of *six smaller figures*, which Fellows places on the top of the pediment because they are equally weather-beaten on all sides ;

IV. Of *fragments of two* (or as some think four) *Friezes*, one of which, 3 feet 4 inches in height, was just above the plinth, or slightly projecting base, of the substructure ; and the other, 1 foot 3 inches in height, at its upper edge, just under the cornice. The third and fourth friezes, if they really belonged to the building, would be in the architrave—just above the pillars of the little temple, or heroon—and on the wall of the cella respectively. Besides these were found

V. *Four or five Lions*, of excellent workmanship, crouching for a spring ;

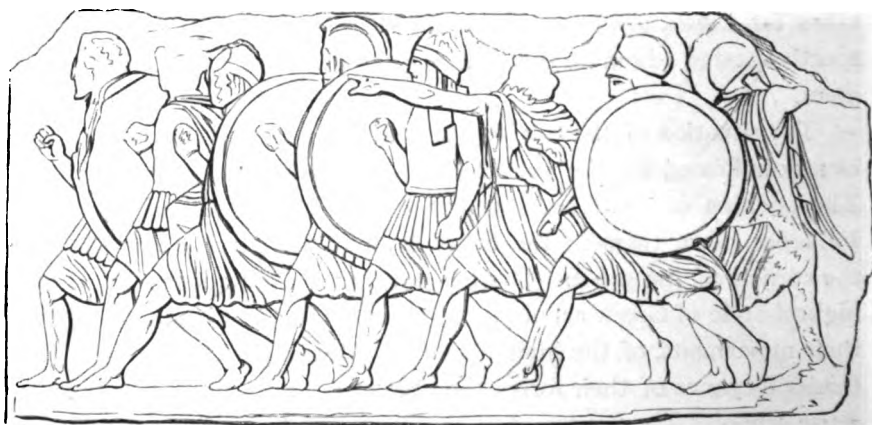
VI. *Three figures of boys*, which Fellows, somewhat fancifully, takes for *Carus*, *Lydus*, and *Mysus*, legendary founders of their respective states, whom he places as a group on the apex of the pediment.

The situation of the two friezes which adorned the basement is clearly indicated by the vacant places in which they were inserted. The position of the Nereids is less easily determined. Fellows and Falkener place them in the intercolumnia, and as Akroteria above the corners of the gable. These figures, as we have said, are in the highest style of Greek art, and remind us, in the passionate energy of their movements, of the Mænads and Niobids (?) of Scopas. In the tender elegance of their forms they breathe the spirit of the younger Attic school. The treatment of the drapery, which clings so closely to the figure as to conceal nothing of its fair proportions, is in the characteristic style of the best period, and makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that they were imported direct from Athens itself. Ulrichs goes still farther, and assigns them, not only to the Attic school, but to a particular artist—Bryaxis. The same genial writer explains the presence of these sea nymphs by supposing that they have been roused from the 'sacred groves' and grottoes in the depths of ocean by the din and tumult of the fight. Many objections¹ may be made to this theory, but no better has as yet been broached. The essentially and exclusively Greek character of these statues is

¹ Overbeck, *Ges. d. Plastik*, ii. 132.

the more remarkable because the Xanthian sculptures generally, and even the friezes of this very monument, show a large admixture of a foreign element. *The broader frieze* over the plinth represents *a battle of infantry*, in which a few horsemen appear, probably as leaders. From the length of the under garment we see that they are Ionian Greeks, though their equipment is in other respects like that of the hoplites of the mother country. There are also a few Persians in sleeved tunics and Phrygian caps. The fight is waged with all the movement and fire which we have seen in the Phigaleian friezes, but with this important difference, that it is a real battle of disciplined

FIG. 212.



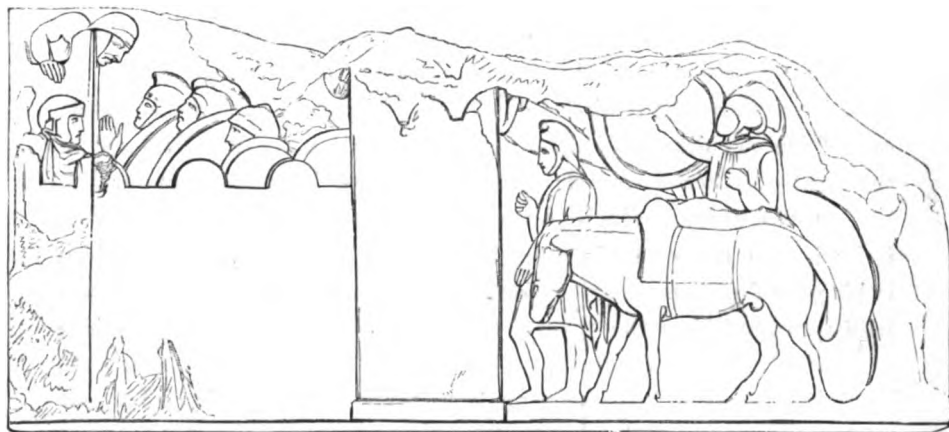
NEREID MONUMENT. FRIEZE NO. 1.

soldiers clad in the costume of the day, and has more of a military than a heroic character (fig. 212). Yet though the prosaic details detract considerably from its ideality, the whole tone and feeling of the work—the noble and graceful proportions of the figures—the rhythm and balance of the groups—the faithful adherence to the laws of the relief style—the sharply cut folds and flowing lines of the drapery—all breathe the purest spirit of Greek art. The situations are conceived and executed with extraordinary boldness and skill. There are horsemen and horses which can vie in grace and beauty with those of the Parthenon frieze, while such difficult subjects as *a fallen horse*, and *a rider stretched on the back of his charger*, are handled with

a mastery surpassing that which we have admired in the Phigaleian marbles. It contains, too, many very interesting groups; many faces in which the strongest passions and feelings are depicted—anger, pain, despair, and even sympathy and pity.

The *narrower frieze* at the upper edge of the basis is almost entirely preserved, and is far less Greek in spirit than the one just noticed. In some parts it descends to a very low degree of prosaic realism, as in the slab on which troops are represented *in perspective* marching as if on parade, and evidently *keeping step*! We have here a reminiscence of Assyrian formalism, and an anticipation of the

FIG. 213.



NEREID MONUMENT. FRIEZE NO. 2.

prosaic emptiness and dreariness of Roman art. Each side of this lower frieze seems to contain an independent picture, though they all stand, of course, in general connexion with one another. *On the N. side a battle is raging between similarly armed Ionian troops*, who stand in close ranks towards the corners, while they break up into single combats in the centre. Even here pathetic situations are not wanting, but as a whole the *motif* is dry, prosaic, and Roman. *On the opposite or south side of the frieze the composition is still more offensively realistic. A battle is going on before the town*, and in a space of about one foot in height we have a triple wall, the towers of which rise one above another, and between which appear *the helmeted*

heads of the defenders, or the faces of wailing women, nearly as big as the towers themselves (fig. 213). On the other side of the town another action is going on, and a fragment from the extreme end of the frieze shows a man with a sack on his shoulders. In front of the town is a donkey with its driver. In another part a parley is being carried on between a troop of soldiers and the defenders on the walls, who bend down to listen to what the soldiers say. It would seem that auxiliaries and stragglers are seeking admittance within the walls.

The frieze at the E. end of the building represents the storming of the gate by the help of ladders, which the soldiers are ascending with naked feet. In another part of the relief a number of men in loose robes, bearded and bareheaded, are led bound into captivity.

The frieze on the W. side is half filled by a town, apparently deserted and desolate, behind the wall of which rises a sepulchral stèle, of a form peculiar to Xanthos, crowned by a Sphinx and a Lion. In the centre is the victorious Persian general, in whose honour the heroon was erected, seated on a throne. Above his head a parasol is held as a mark of his rank, as in Assyrian reliefs. Behind him is his guard of honour, and before him are two old men, who are probably surrendering the town; towards the extremity of the frieze prisoners are being led away.

Many attempts have been made to connect the Nereid monument with a definite historic event. The earliest theory of Fellows and others referring it to the taking of Xanthos by Harpagus, about 547 B.C., may be dismissed as untenable, for the scenes on the friezes correspond in hardly any respect with the relation of Herodotus.¹ Welcker² thinks that it commemorates the rising of the Cilicians against the Persians under Evagoras, who was defeated by the Persian Commissary residing at Xanthos, in Ol. 98. 2 (B.C. 387). Urlichs,³ on far better grounds, sees in it the incidents of a war carried on in Ol. 102 (B.C. 372) by the Xanthians, under a Persian leader, against Telmessos, a Lycian town on the sea coast, north-west of Xanthos. This

¹ i. 176.

² In O. Müller's *Handb. d. Arch.* p. 129.

³ *Verh. d. XIX. Philologen Versammlung*, Braunschweig.

expedition is described by the Chian historian Theopompus in words which suit admirably with the scenes of the friezes.

The so-called *Pillar frieze* of the heroon, which is also in the British Museum, represents *the offering of gifts—clothes, horses, &c.—to a satrap*; and in other parts *a Bear and Boar hunt* (fig. 214), and *a Battle between cavalry and infantry*.

The subject of the *Cella frieze* is a *Funeral feast*, at which the guests are seen reclining on couches, regaling themselves with wine and music; while in another part *a Sacrifice of rams and goats* is being performed. The composition of these reliefs is poor and empty, and the figures so ignoble, as compared with those of the other friezes, that we feel the greatest repugnance to placing them in the same building.

The chief difficulty in the interpretation of this interesting monument is to find the connexion between the Nereid figures and the Reliefs, from which they differ so widely, especially in the nature of the subjects portrayed. We must remember, however, that we are no longer on Grecian soil, but in Asia, in a province in which Greek and Oriental elements either mingled, or maintained themselves side by side in complete independence. In the purely Greek ideal character of the Nereids

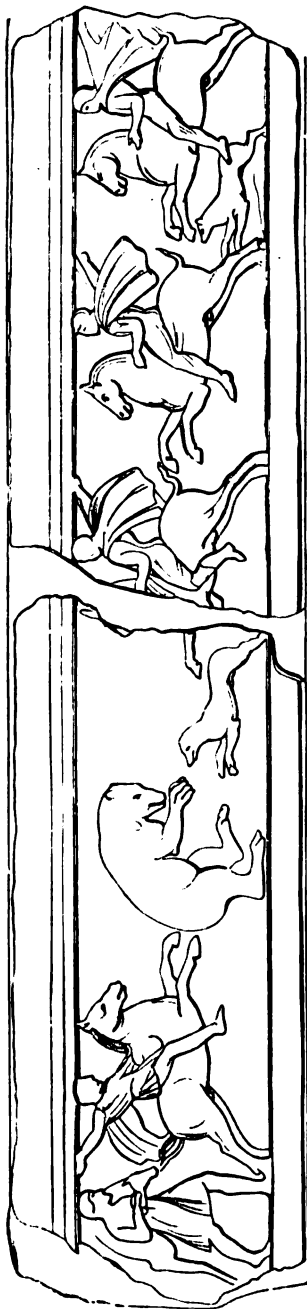


FIG. 214. NEREID MONUMENT. FRIEZE NO. 3.

we see the Attic artist following the guidance of his own fertile genius, and embodying his ideas in absolute freedom from all foreign influences. In the friezes, or at least the broader lower frieze, of the basis, we see the same magic Ariel spirit, not sporting at its own sweet will in the realms of fancy, but performing piecework in bitter bondage, constrained 'to the strong bidding task,' stooping to portray the common deeds of men in common guise.

The discoverer of this very interesting monument of Greek art modified by Asiatic influences dates the sculptures as early as 500 B.C., and thinks that the sculptors of the Parthenon and Phigaleian reliefs are '*convicted of plagiarism*,' and that Pericles, wishing to adorn Athens, sent to Asia Minor for workmen. '*This monument*,' he adds, '*would indicate the employment of Ionians as designers of the finest of Attic works!*'¹

We can only account for an opinion so little in accordance with history by regarding it as one of the many instances in past and present times of the exaggerated value attached by discoverers to their own discoveries.

¹ Fellows' 'Account of the Ionic Trophy Monument.'

CHAPTER XLIV.

ART UNDER THE DIADOCHI (SUCCESSORS OF
ALEXANDER).

PLINY makes the somewhat startling observation that Greek art ceased about Ol. 120 (B.C. 300), and revived again in Ol. 156 (B.C. 156). He is probably speaking more particularly of casting in bronze; but in no sense can we look on this positive statement as literally correct. It is quite true that little was done in this interval in Athens or Sicyon of sufficient importance to attract the notice of historians; but the sons of Praxiteles, and the younger associates of Scopas, must have lived and worked on, though in comparative obscurity and 'without the sacred bard.' The date fixed for the revival of art may be accounted for by the fact that *writing* on this subject began again in the last century of the Roman Republic, at the very time when Greek art attained complete ascendancy in Rome. We know but little of the state of art under the Diadochi, because the Roman writers found no Greek sources for this period, as they had for earlier ones. Instead of directing their attention to the artists of the immediately preceding generation, they preferred to connect the Renaissance of sculpture with the brightest days of Greek art, and passed over the mediocrities of the period of the Diadochi in silence.¹

Yet in one very real, and very sad, sense Greek art *did* cease at the period fixed by Pliny, inasmuch as it ceased to *grow*—ceased, that is, to invent and originate. With Lysippus and his school it had

¹ Brunn, *K.-G.* 504. 'The Romans found no Greek sources to draw from respecting this period of art-history.'

attained its full development in every direction, and could henceforth only slowly decline and die.

The majestic figure and brilliant exploits of Alexander the Great are apt to conceal from us the disastrous change which was wrought on Greece by its subjugation to the Macedonians. It is true that Alexander was a lavish patron of art, and it may seem strange at first sight that the patronage of an Alexander should not have the same effect upon its character as the patronage of a Pericles. But the reason soon appears. The requirements which a despot makes on the artist are essentially different from those of the most powerful citizen of a free and independent state. Pericles, we know, was prosecuted for allowing his portrait to be secretly introduced into the relief on the shield of the Parthenon; Alexander from his very childhood was the subject of Lysippus' chisel, and claimed to be himself a God. Yet during the short life of Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, and in the hands of Lysippus, who drew his inspiration from pure Greek sources, plastic art retained something of its former dignity. The early death of Alexander led, as we know, to a long and internecine conflict among his generals, during which the artist appears to have had no higher function than that of setting up statues to the latest victor. Thus Athens, in its degraded state, erected 360 statues of Demetrius Phalereus, which soon gave place to golden images of his conqueror, Demetrius Poliorcetes. It is by reading the history of this extraordinary man that we learn to fathom the depth of meanness and servility into which the Athenians had sunk. After driving out Demetrius Phalereus, who had for many years ruled Athens with moderation as satrap of Cassander, Poliorcetes proclaimed the freedom and autonomy of Athens. Whereupon he was received into the city with the most extravagant manifestations of joy by the vile herd who dared to call themselves Athenians. They hailed him and his father Antigonos, not only as kings, but as Gods and Saviours. *Their names and exploits were woven with those of Zeus and Athênê into the peplos offered to the Virgin Goddess at the Panathenaic festival.* A decree was passed that whenever Poliorcetes visited Athens he should receive the same honours as Dêmêtêr and Dionysus. Nay, so lost were they to all national pride, to all sense of

religion and morality, that they introduced this rude, licentious free-booter into their holy of holies—the cella of the Parthenon—and allowed him to hold his beastly revels in the very innermost chamber of the Virgin Goddess. It is impossible, even at this distance of time, to read these records of shame without a blush of indignation. There is no part of the religion of ancient Greece which more deserves our reverence than the Eleusinian mysteries,¹ of which Æschylus² prayed to Dêmêtêr ‘to be made worthy ;’ into which even a Cicero thought it an honour to be initiated ; and yet the Athenians were base enough to pass a special law to enable Demetrius to receive the initiation into these sacred rites at an unusual time of the year. And this was done only some thirty years after the battle of Chæronæa ! For the wretched slaves who had crouched before the frown of a dozen masters since their sires had fallen with their faces to the foe there was no God but force. There is, in the whole range of literature, no more pitiable expression of blank infidelity, of mean and cowardly and self-despairing feebleness and imbecility, than the Ithyphallic hymn which they addressed to Demetrius, on his entrance into Athens in 302 B.C., at the time of the Eleusinian mysteries :—

ὦ τοῦ κρατίστου παῖ Ποσειδῶνος θεοῦ
χαῖρε κ' Ἀφροδίτης,
ἄλλοι μὲν ἢ μακρὰν γὰρ ἀπέχουσιν θεοὶ
ἢ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὦτα
ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν, ἢ οὐ προσέχουσιν ἡμῖν οὐδὲ ἔν·
σὲ δὲ παρόντ' ὀρώμεν
οὐ ξύλινον, οὐδὲ λίθινον, ἀλλ' ἀληθινόν
εὐχόμεσθα δὴ σοί.³

To thee we pray !
Hail O son of the most powerful God Poseidon
And of Aphrodite,
For other Gods are afar off
Or have no ears
Or do not exist, or care nothing for us ;
But thee we see in person,
Not made of wood or marble, but in real existence.

‘Thus sang,’ adds Athenæus, ‘not only in public, but at home in

¹ See Lenormant in *Contemporary Review*, May 1880.

² Aristoph. *Ran.* v. 837.

³ Quoted by Athenæus, vi. 2, 54.

private, the warriors of Marathon, who had put to death him who made obeisance to the king of the Persians.¹ When we read that such things were done in the city of Pericles, can we wonder that in the city of Pheidias not a single sculptor arose in this shameful period who is thought worthy of mention?

But the tumult, strife, and disorder which followed immediately on the death of Alexander were at last succeeded by the reign of order under Antigonus, Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, who divided the vast unwieldy empire of their master into Græco-oriental monarchies. Most of them favoured the arts—that is, they took them into their service, and employed them to adorn their regal state, and blazon their deeds to an admiring world. But the lavish patronage of these monarchs produced no good or permanent results. The resources of art were wasted on the production of works which were at once colossal and costly, ephemeral and worthless. Alexander himself—who, though a Greek in intellect and force of character, was a barbarian in disposition and taste—set the worst example, in the splendid *Funeral pyre and bier of Hephæstion*, by the adornment of which he sought to express his grief at the death of the chosen companion and friend of his youth. By this extraordinary structure he determined to throw all preceding works of the same kind into the shade, and to leave to posterity no possibility of surpassing it. It was adorned with chyselephantine statues five cubits high, golden lions and bulls, and a *golden Centauromachy*, probably in relief, at a cost of 12,000 talents, and then burned!

Of the same nature was *the Funeral Car of Alexander* himself, which Arrhidæus resolved should surpass all others, not only in cost, but ‘in the excellence of the art’ employed in its decoration.²

Of the same merely decorative character were the gigantic and gorgeous *Ship of Hiero II.* of Syracuse, Ol. 137 (B.C. 232), in the construction of which the great Archimedes took part, and which contained a splendid mosaic floor, on which the story of the Iliad was

¹ This was in Athens, which the Pythian Apollo called *ἑστία τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, and Theopompus *Πρυτανεῖον Ἑλλάδος*!

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 48. Ulrichs, *Chrestom. Plin.* p. 315.

depicted ;¹ the *Ship of Ptolemy IV.*² (B.C. 224–204, Ol. 139–144), 303 feet in length, the chief cabin of which was adorned with pillars of cypress wood with Corinthian capitals of ivory and gold, and a frieze of ivory with figures a cubit in height ‘of moderate workmanship but enormous costliness ;’ the *Tychaion of Alexandria*,³ in which Tyche, the Goddess of Fortune, the most popular divinity in these times of chance and change, was represented standing in the midst of the Gods and crowning Ge (Earth) and Alexander ; the *Homereion*, or Temple of Homer, built by Ptolemy Philopater, in which stood a statue of the poet surrounded by figures of the cities which claimed his birth. In this heroon was the notorious picture of Galaton, who ridiculed the plagiarism of Alexandrine poets by representing Homer vomiting, and his imitators drinking up what fell from him ;⁴ the *Festival of Adonis*,⁵ celebrated by Arsinoe II., wife of Ptolemy II. (Ol. 124–133, B.C. 284–248). In honour of Aphrodite’s favourite the queen erected a *gorgeous Bower*, in which the statues of the Cyprian Goddess and Adonis were laid on splendid couches, and automatic Erotes hovered round them ‘like young nightingales,’ the whole work being of ivory and gold.

But all these glories of an insane and childish art were surpassed by the *Pompa of Ptolemy II.* himself, which he offered to all the Gods, but especially to Dionysus, the deity to whom he paid his most heartfelt homage, as his consort Arsinoe did to Aphrodite. We have no space for the description of this procession, the gorgeous magnificence of which it is difficult to believe in. It will be found in the pages of Athenæus, and will reward attentive study by the givers of brilliant fêtes in the present day.

Of all the dynasties established by the successors of Alexander (Diadochi) the most respectable were the Ptolemies in Egypt. All the monarchs of this family down to *Ptolemy Physcon* (fat paunch) (B.C. 170) were patrons of the arts, and their capital city Alexandria,

¹ Athen. v. p. 206.

² Ibid. v. 203.

³ Libanius, vol. iv. p. 113, ed. Reiske.

⁴ Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xiii. 21.

⁵ Theocrit. *Id.* xv. 110 :—

Οἱ δὲ τὰ κῆποι ὑπερπῶνται Ἐρωτες
οἷσι ἀηδοειδῆτες ἀέζομενάν ἐνι δένδρων
πῶνται πτερύγων περῶμενοι ὅσον ἂν ὄζυ.

‘And children flit overhead, the little Loves, as the young nightingales perched upon the trees fly forth and try their wings from bough to bough.’—Lang’s translation.

the only one founded by Alexander which attained greatness, became the chief centre of the learning and civilisation of the Græco-Asiatic world.

But the extraordinary mental activity and literary industry which distinguish the reign of the Ptolemies in Egypt, and to which all succeeding ages are deeply indebted, was of an essentially different character from the free spontaneous life and movement of Grecian intellect and fancy in the golden age of Pericles. Greece had become what it was in the most brilliant period of its history by its very division into little states, which could only hold their ground in the hot rivalry which existed among them by cultivating to the utmost every bodily and mental power, and by giving to the energies of every individual citizen the utmost freedom of development and display. Alexander, and still more his successors, used Hellas as a leaven to hellenize the East, and in its wide diffusion the leaven lost both strength and flavour. Literature and art were again protected and patronised, especially at the court of the Ptolemies in Egypt, but no patronage, however generous, could rekindle the flame of genius which had burned so brightly on the altars of free Greece. The spontaneous productiveness of the Greek intellect which manifested itself in a thousand majestic and beautiful forms had died out. The season of growth was past, but industry and taste might gather in the rich fruits which had germinated in the genial spring and ripened in the golden summer of the most glorious year in the annals of the heathen world. Literature and art were torn away from their connexion with the popular life, and made the exclusive property of the learned. The Poet and the Artist no longer sought inspiration in their own bosoms, or in the religious and political instincts and practices of the people around them, but in the literary and artistic remains of happier ages, which they were satisfied to understand and to imitate. 'The critics,' we know, 'are those who have failed in literature and art,' and the Alexandrine age which could no longer produce was content to criticise. Instead of the art faculty we find elaborate theories of art; and instead of poetry we meet with philosophy or reflexion, foreign to its very nature, dressed up in metrical forms. This is the age of pointed epi-

gram, bitter satire, and didactic syllogism ; learning succeeds to free thought and creative fancy, Alexandria to Athens. In the best period of Greece there was no such thing as learning, or learned men, but only thinkers and actors, whose minds developed themselves in their natural shape unshackled by the galling and distorting bands of authority and tradition.

The task of decorating the public buildings in so magnificent a city as Alexandria would no doubt afford an opportunity to the painter and the sculptor of displaying their powers ; but we read of no plastic works of any considerable merit as being executed at this period. *The busts of Ptolemy and Bernice*,¹ and the magnificent *cameos of Ptolemy II. and Arsinoe I. and II.*,² show nothing beyond technical skill, the mere perfection of handicraft, which when uninspired by genius is misleading and futile.

The kings of Syria—the Seleuci I. and II. and the Antiochi III. and IV.—also gave their countenance to the showy courtly art of the period. The foundation of Antioch, on the Orontes—began in Ol. 119. 4 (B.C. 300), and finished by Antiochus IV. about Ol. 151 (B.C. 176)—and of other Greek cities in Asia also gave an impulse to sculpture. We read of many new images prepared for the temples of the Gods, and for places like *the Groves of Daphne*,³ in which religion and pleasure went hand in hand.⁴ These were probably mere imitations of ancient statues, like *the statue of Zeus offered at Daphne* by Antiochus IV., which was a copy of the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias, modified—as we see in coins—to suit the tawdry theatrical and meretricious taste of the Daphneans.

EXTANT WORKS.

Among the few works which we can with considerable probability assign to this period, we may mention

The Metope of Ilium. This fine metope was discovered in the supposed ruins of Troy by Dr. Schliemann, and is now in his garden at Athens. It represents Phœbus Apollo, whose head is crowned with

¹ Vid. O. Muller's *Denkm.* i. 222a, 223a.

² *Ibid.* 226a-229.

³ Near Antioch. Daphne contained the statue of Apollo by Bryaxis. Vide *supra*, p. 466. Marcus Antoninus (*Hist. August.*

p. 41) talks of '*Mores Daphnici*!'

⁴ See Gibbon's alluring description of Daphne (c. xxiii.). Conf. Strabo, xvi. p. 1089, ed. Amstel., and Libanius, *Nenia*, p. 185.

rays, driving the four horses of the sun, by which the chariot on which he stands is concealed from our view. As in the case of the bridal car of Poseidon and Amphitrite,¹ the quadriga of the Sun-god is not given in profile, but is represented as coming to meet the spectator, and this effect is produced with considerable skill. As the nimbus and rays which encircle the head were first introduced into plastic art about the time of Alexander, we cannot assign an earlier date to this work than the beginning of the fourth century, and Brunn² thinks that it may belong, as Schliemann supposes, to the time of Lysimachus. Without echoing the opinion of the discoverer, that '*it is one of the most glorious masterpieces that have been preserved from the time when Greek art was at its zenith!*' we must allow that it is a work of great merit and beauty both in design and execution.

The victorious Actor? a very beautiful and interesting relief in the Lateran representing an Actor (or Poet) seated at a table, on which lie several masks, from which he is selecting one as an offering for his victory. Beside him stands a female figure (Nike?) with pencil in hand ready to inscribe his name on the roll of fame. Similar scenes are found in Pompeian paintings.

But the most interesting extant monument of the latter part of the Alexandrian period is *the magnificent original Greek statue in the Glyptothek at Munich*, called the

Barberini Faun. In this fine work we have a highly realistic representation of a youthful faun, stretched on a rock, partly covered by the hide of some animal, sleeping off the effects of intoxication. There is here no attempt—as in the satyrs of Praxiteles—to refine the coarse nature of the semi-bestial being. The form of the head, the flat nose, prominent cheeks, corrugated brow and scrubby bristling hair, are all those of the coarsest ideal of the satyr, to whom the artist offers no indignity in subjecting his powerful frame to the influence of wine. Although such a being in such a state can rouse no interest of the higher kind, we cannot but admire the originality of the design, and the vigour and freshness of the execution.

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 395.

² Vide letter in Schliemann's *Troy*, &c., p. 32.

There is a good cast of this metope in the South Kensington Museum.

The Nile of the Vatican is probably from the age of the Ptolemies. This well-known and magnificent work was found, together with 'the Tiber' (in the Louvre), near the 'sopra Minervam' Church in Rome, which stands on the site of a Temple of Isis. The general effect is grand and pleasing, but in the details,—e.g. the representation of the Flora and Fauna of the Nile,—the pictorial element is made too prominent. This feature, however, adds greatly to its popularity, as do the *sixteen little Cupids*, conceived in the spirit of the Alexandrine Idyll, signifying *the number of cubits* which the sacred river ought to rise at the time of the inundations. The figure of the river god himself is bold and majestic, and is no doubt moulded after some production of a happier age.

'*The Tiber*' of the Louvre is in a similar style, but inferior both in design and execution.

CHAPTER XLV.

PLASTIC ART IN RHODES.

IN the confusion and strife which befel the Hellenic world on the death of Alexander, Rhodes alone, among the smaller states, seems to have remained independent of the great military monarchies into which the Macedonian's empire was broken up. Neutrality and peace brought commerce and wealth, and wealth and freedom joined in fostering the fine arts. Even in much earlier times the Island of Rhodes, 'the daughter of Aphrodite and bride of the Sun,'¹ had been specially favoured by the immortal Gods. Zeus himself had rained gold upon it 'from the yellow cloud,' and the fierce-eyed Goddess Athênê had granted the Rhodians to excel all other mortals in every work of art, and to make 'statues which moved along the paths like living creatures.'² Rhodes appears, however, to have attained the height of its commercial prosperity in the period of the Diadochi, and was the only independent state in the Hellenic world which enjoyed the means of establishing a school of art. The Rhodian school, as we have already had occasion to notice, was an offshoot of the Sicyonian school, and received its chief impulse from Lysippus, who executed a statue of the Sun-god in a quadriga for the city of Lindus. It is true that Bryaxis also made statues for Rhodes, but the principal native Rhodian artist, Chares of Lindos, to whom the most celebrated work of the age, '*the Colossus*,' was entrusted, was himself a pupil of Lysippus, and closely followed in the footsteps of his master. Little was known of the artists of the Rhodian school until the time of the great traveller Ross, who in the short period of two days discovered

¹ Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 14.

² *Ibid.* 49.

a very large number of inscriptions on the Acropolis of Lindus, most of which date from a period anterior to the Roman rule in Rhodes. Many of these contain the names of artists and their works, the extraordinary number of which gives us a high idea of the activity of the Rhodian school. We can only mention a few of them, but a complete list may be seen in the report of Ross,¹ and in Brunn's admirable 'Geschichte der Künstler.'² Among the best known are

Aristonidas and his son Mnasitimus, of whom we have an interesting notice in Pliny, in which he says that 'to express *the madness of Athamas* as he sits there in penitence for having slain his son Learchus, the artist ARISTONIDAS mingled bronze and iron, *the rusty colour of which represented the blush of shame upon his cheeks.*'³ Whether the object of the artist could be attained by such a process seems very doubtful, but the attempt shows us how far the exaggerated love of a theatrical representation of pathetic feeling had led the artist away from the true and eternal principles of plastic art. The same realistic tendencies are shown by the sculptor

ALCON of Rhodes,⁴ mentioned also as a chaser of metal (*cælator*),⁵ who made *a statue of Heracles of iron* ('*laborum Dei patientia inductus*') as a suitable material to express the endurance of the invincible hero. Alcon is referred to in some verses of Damoxenus, who mentions the poet Adæus; the artist must therefore have been contemporary with the Poets of the New Comedy under the first successors of Alexander.

HERMOCLES of Rhodes, who lived after Ol. 120 (B.C. 300), made a remarkable statue in bronze of *Bombakos*, which was set up in the Temple of Hêrê at Hieropolis. Bombakos is the hero of a romantic story in which he displays a self-sacrificing loyalty to his sovereign Seleucus Nicator, which seemed to deserve the immortality of bronze. He was represented with effeminate features, but in the dress of a man.⁶

PHILISCUS of Rhodes.⁷ In the Portico of Octavia in Rome were

¹ *N. Rhein. Mus. N.F.* iv. (1846), p. 161.

² i. 459.

³ *N. H.* xxxv. 146.

⁴ *Ibid.* xxxiv. 141. For date vid. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 466.

⁵ Athenæus, xi. 461, A.

⁶ Lucian, *de dea Syria*, c. xix. 26.

⁷ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 468. Overbeck (*Ges. d. Plastik*, ii. 204) places him in the next period among Greek artists in Rome.

several works by this artist—viz. *Apollo*, in his temple, with *Leto* and *Artemis*; *the Nine Muses*; *another Apollo*, nude; and farther within the Portico in the Temple of Juno, *a statue of Venus*.¹ Great importance is given to this notice by the suggestion that the *Vatican Muses*, and more especially the greatly admired '*Terpsichore*,' with which those of the Villa Borghese correspond, are copies of the works of Philiscus.² As the second mentioned Apollo is expressly said to be nude, it is probable that the first, which stood in a group with his mother and sister, was clothed as a Citharædus. Philiscus probably flourished about the time of the building of the Portico of Octavia, Ol. 156 (B.C. 156), and executed these statues by order of Metellus.³ He seems to have been a painter as well as a sculptor.⁴

Of far greater interest to us are the names of the greatest masters of the Rhodian school,

AGESANDRUS POLYDORUS AND ATHENODORUS, SON OF AGESANDRUS,

[to whom we owe one of the most celebrated works of antiquity,

The Laocoon (fig. 215), which excited the highest admiration of Roman critics, and has been a theme of enthusiastic panegyrics for successive generations of modern connoisseurs. Pliny speaks of this work, which stood in his time in the palace of Titus, as 'preferable to all other works of pictorial or plastic art.' As the passage in which these words occur has given rise to much discussion and controversy, we give it entire: 'These very excellent artists of Rhodes, Agesander, Polydorus, and Athenodorus, made *de consilii sententia* of one stone Laocoon himself, his children, and the wonderful folds of the serpents.'⁵ A statuary group answering in most respects to this description was found near the Baths of Titus at Rome in

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 34.

² Visconti, *P. Cl.* i. p. 158.

³ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 469.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 143.

⁵ *Ibid.* xxxvi. 37: 'Sicut in Laocoonte qui est in Titi imperatoris domo, opus

omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ artis præferendum. Ex uno lapide eum ac liberos draconumque mirabiles nexu *de consilii sententia* fecere summi artifices Agesander et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rhodii.'

1506, in the reign of Pope Julius II., and now forms one of the glories of the Vatican. Michael Angelo attempted to restore the missing right arm of Laocoon, but left the work incomplete. Montorsoli also tried his hand in restoring the same limb, but his work was removed as unsatisfactory. What we now see was the work of Cornacini¹ in the seventeenth century, who has made the right arm far too straight. The proper position is given in *a copy of the group in Naples*, in which the arm is somewhat bent so as to bring the hand nearer to the top of the head. The right arm of the younger, and the right hand of the elder son, were restored in stucco by the same artist. Pliny lays great stress on the fact that the group was made *in one block*. If we are to understand this literally, it will settle the question whether we have the original or a copy before us, as the Vatican work is composed of *six pieces*.

We have unhesitatingly assigned the Laocoon to the Rhodian school and the period of the Diadochi; but many high authorities maintain that it was executed in Rome in the reign of the Emperor Titus. Ever since the time of Winckelmann and Lessing the date of this famous work has been the subject of discussion, and the literature on the subject would fill a library. Winckelmann, Ottfried Müller, Welcker, Brunn, Conze, Overbeck, and others hardly less distinguished, stand in terrible array against Lessing, Visconti, Thiersch, Lachmann, Emil Braun, Stephani, and Friederichs; the former upholding the Rhodian, the latter the Roman theory.² In

FIG. 215.



THE LAOCOON.

¹ Winckelmann names *Bernini*, D. Müller *Giov. Agnolo*.

² The literature of this subject will be found in *Die 16te Philologenversammlung in*

regard to the external evidence, the controversy turns chiefly on the meaning given to the words *de consilii sententia* in the passage of Pliny quoted above.¹ We take them to refer to the result of a conference between the joint creators of the work. The necessity of such a consultation will be apparent if we consider the extraordinary difficulty of their task. They had to unite the three victims and the hardly less important agents of the divine wrath into a single group, physically and morally combined and harmonised, and at the same time to keep each figure distinct from the other. What an amount of invention and technical skill, of measurement and experience, does the solution of such a problem imply! The upholders of the Roman theory consider that the words refer to a resolution of the Privy Council of Titus, who selected these artists to carry out their design;² or to a kind of public building commission expressly appointed for the purpose.³ It is very difficult to believe that so bold and original a design could be conceived by an imperial Council of any kind, and still more so by a Council of Romans. But the best evidence against the Roman theory is given by the work itself. It has no analogy with any existing remains of Roman art; and on the other hand it is in complete harmony with the spirit of the post-Alexandrian age, and what has been happily called the *bravura* style of Rhodian literature and art.

We now turn to the idea of the work before us. The difficulty of interpretation has been greatly increased by the general belief that the artist followed the well-known relation in the second book of the *Æneid*. According to Virgil, Laocoon, a priest of the Thymbræan Apollo at Troy, with a seer's prophetic gaze and a patriot's warm heart, zealously urged his infatuated countrymen to destroy the wooden horse, 'big with arms,' which lowered over the devoted city. Nor did he stop at mere words, but hurled his spear into the side of the fatal monster. As he thereby resisted the will of the Gods and the decree of Fate, he incurred the divine vengeance, and more especially

Stuttgart, 1851, p. 165, and Overbeck's *Schriftquellen*, p. 391.

¹ Conze (*Philol.* 1861, p. 369) proves that the words bear a similar sense in Seneca, *Epist. Moral.* vii. 5. 11: 'Quidquid honeste fit, una virtus facit, sed *ex consilii*

sententia.' Conf. Overbeck, *Schriftquellen*, p. 392.

² Friederichs's *Baust.* p. 431.

³ Lachmann, *Arch. Zeit.* 1845, p. 192, and 1848, p. 237. Conf. Welcker, *Alle Denkm.* i. p. 336.

that of Pallas Athene, who sent two huge serpents from the sea to destroy the violator of her treacherous gift. Having first enveloped the two youths and 'fed on their tender limbs,' the terrible monsters attack the miserable father, who hurries up too late to defend his sons.

The difference between the foregoing relation and the *motif* of the group appears greater than can be accounted for by the natural divergence of a plastic and a poetic rendering of the same theme. In the poem the sons are both killed, and killed *before* the father; in the group they are all three alive and united before the altar. Here it is the father who is the first victim, and it is not at all certain that the elder son will be killed at all. However much therefore we may be, and ought to be, inclined to take the warning of Gervinus, 'not lightly to gainsay Lessing,' we must look to some other poem as the guide of the sculptors. This, in the opinion of very high authorities, may be found in the *Iliupersis* (Sack of Troy) of the old Cyclic poet Arctinus of Miletus.¹ Sophocles, who dramatised the Laocoon myth in one of his lost tragedies, differs from Arctinus in making the serpents kill *both* the sons; yet no doubt he may have facilitated the task of the sculptor by giving more definite and dramatic form to the relation of the epic poet.²

Contrary to the practice of earlier and purer Greek art, the sculptors of the Laocoon have seized the moment when the action is in its crisis, and there is no higher point to which the imagination can rise. The strength and vigour of the father are still unimpaired, and afford a welcome subject for the display of the artist's anatomical knowledge and technical skill; but *the result* is no longer doubtful. The main interest, of course, lies in the central figure, and it is consonant with the principle of Greek art that the sons are made out of all proportion too small, both in order to bring them into due subordination, and to give the whole group, which was intended for a niche, a harmonious pyramidal form. The powerful frame of Laocoon is at the same time convulsed with pain from the bite of one

¹ The substance of this poem is preserved in the *Excerpta* of Proclus. Vid. O. Jahn, *Griech. Bilderchroniken*, p. 112.

² Tsetzes alone (*Lycophr.* 344, *Posthom.* 714, and *Eudokia*, p. 31) of later writers follows Arctinus.

of the serpents, and strained to the utmost to keep off the other from his head. The chest is thrown forward by the violence of his action, and the head thereby thrown back. His left side, into which the first serpent has fixed his fangs, seems to shrink in agony from the venomous bite; and in the corrugated brow and contracted eyebrows we see the sad struggle between physical pain and the power of mental endurance. In striking contrast to the still powerful resistance of the father is the passive helplessness of the younger son. Whether he is wounded or not is uncertain, but he is so enveloped by the serpent's strong coils that the life is being crushed out of him, and we feel that his fate is sealed. He has ceased to struggle, and can only look with a piteous glance to the father whose aid he has never before sought in vain. The elder son is entirely unhurt, and very slightly enveloped, and his upward look at his father, while he frees his foot from the serpent, is rather one of pitying sympathy than an appeal for help.¹

We see that the subject is by no means a very high one, and it brings very forcibly before our eyes the decline in simplicity and nobleness which art has undergone. It is a subject altogether unique in Greek sculpture, and one which no artist of an earlier period could possibly have chosen. It is entirely destitute of the dignity and moderation of plastic art, and if we look only to the figure of the father, we must say that the only purpose of the artist was to arouse our sympathy by a coarse appeal to our nerves, by vividly portraying the bodily anguish of a fellow man, without any moral sentiment whatever. The impression is altogether painful and inharmonious. It is not more *tragic*, in the proper sense of the word, than the tearing of a gladiator by a wild beast in the arena. We cannot even console ourselves by the thought that he is suffering the well-deserved penalty of his transgression; for he is punished in his own person and that of his children for an act of wise and courageous patriotism of which we all approve.²

¹ Conf. the passage from Sadoletus in Lessing's *Laocoon*, c. vi.:—

Alter adhuc nullo violatus corpora moram
Dum parat adducta caudam divellere planta
Horret ad adspectum miseri patris hæret in illo.

² In the play of Sophocles noticed by Hyginus (Fab. 135) Laocoon is punished for having married against the will of Apollo, who therefore destroys the fruit of the unlawful union.

On closer examination, however, we shall find some mitigation of the first purely painful effect of this group in the bearing of the two sons. Göthe, who made the Laocoon a subject of careful study, remarks that the condition of the three figures is represented in regular gradation. 'The elder son is only lightly entangled at the extremities; the younger is tightly bound by many coils; the father tries to free himself and his children, squeezes the serpent, and it bites him.'¹ We have here, he says in another place,² representations by which the three emotions of horror, pity, and fear are all roused; horror at the terrible sufferings and impending fate of the father, pity for the poor weak younger son, and fear, which implies hope, for the elder, who may yet free himself. This suggestion of Göthe respecting the last was taken up by the late eminent archæologist Stark, who justified it by a passage from Arctinus unknown to Göthe and Lessing,³ in which the latter says that '*the serpents destroyed Laocoon and one of the sons.*' The genuine unselfish grief of the elder son for his afflicted father brings a soothing element of pathos into the scene; and the hope that one of the three at least may escape throws a ray of light across the dark picture of mere physical suffering.

The celebrity of this extraordinary work of art has been greatly increased by its being made the foundation of Lessing's beautiful treatise on the limits of the different arts. Few writers have done so much towards defining the nature of true art as Lessing, but he had not the advantages which we possess of seeing the principles which he laid down carried into effect in the noble works which have been discovered since his day. Unless we bear this fact in mind we shall often read with astonishment some parts of his analysis of the Laocoon. He gives, for instance, the face of Laocoon as an instance of the moderation of Greek art. The artist, he says, 'softens the cry into a sigh,' and he gives elaborate reasons why '*Laocoon does not cry aloud.*'

¹ Vol. xxx. p. 310 (ed. in 40 vols. 1855), quoted by Brunn in an interesting paper in *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, 4. Heft.

² Vol. xxii. p. 65.

³ See Brunn's account of his conversation with Stark on this point in the paper referred

to above. In the Excerpt of Proclus (Jahn, *Gr. Bilderchroniken*, p. 112), we read:—
ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ τοῦτοφ δύο δράκοντες ἐπιφανέν-
τες τὸν τε Λαοκῶντα καὶ τὸν ἕτερον τῶν
παίδων διαφθείρουσιν.

In this view he is supported by Göthe, who says, 'I decided in my own mind the famous question why Laocoon *does not cry*.'¹ We are inclined to move the previous question whether he cries aloud or not; which, after careful observation, we should answer that he *does*.²

When we pass to the consideration of the arrangement and the execution of the Laocoon, there is little but admiration to express. When viewed from the front, as it ought to be, the figures appear carefully separated, and nowhere crossing one another so as to produce confusion. The treatment of each figure is no less wonderful. In the principal figure the artist displays before our astonished eyes the whole mechanism of the human body with all the truth of an anatomical preparation, and each muscle is portrayed by the chisel with a matchless technical skill. Every feature of the face, every limb and vein and fibre of the body, seem to move and throb and thrill in perfect unison with the irrepressible cry of pain which issues from his lips. We see that the Rhodian school had attained a more scientific knowledge of anatomy, and a greater degree of technical skill, than their predecessors; but, on the other hand, the too great tendency to display these advantages is a detriment to their work. In former periods the artist did not seek to lay bare the internal machinery of the human frame, but concealed it as nature herself conceals it by the subtle transition of one surface to another. Technical skill too was subordinated to higher ends, and was not deemed sufficient of itself to make an artist. It now seeks an independent existence, and claims to be admired for itself. And indeed we are often so surprised and dazzled by the learning, science, and wondrous skill which works of the Alexandrian period display as to overlook in the tumult of excited feeling their lack of all spiritual import.³ Much as we may on many accounts admire the brilliant work of the three Rhodian artists, we must, on cool reflection, confess that it reminds us too much of Rhodian rhetoric. It is wanting in the self-restraint, the repose, the moral dignity of the highest Greek art, and we can

¹ *Werke*, B. xxii. p. 65.

² Hettner (*Vorschule*) says of Laocoon, 'Laut schreit er auf in grimmigem Todes-schmerz,' 'he cries aloud in the horrible

pangs of death!'

³ See Brunn's masterly analysis and criticism, *Künstler Gesch.* p. 476.

understand what Danecker¹ meant when he said that 'he could never look long at the Laocoon, and that when he saw another beautiful work beside it, his eye involuntarily turned away from it.'

Among the other works of art in which the catastrophe of Laocoon is treated, we may mention a *Head of Laocoon* himself in the possession of the Duke of Ahremberg, which is, however, probably modern; a *Relief with four snakes* found in Rome in 1862, and now in private hands; a *similar Relief in Madrid*;² and a *Pompeian fresco*,³ discovered in 1875, in which the three figures are separated. Laocoon is on the steps of the altar; one son lies dead on the ground, and the other, kneeling on one knee, is struggling with a serpent. The sacrificial bull is rushing madly away, and four persons (Trojans?) are looking on. Had the painter, who must have lived before the reign of Titus, seen the group of Agesander, &c.?

Of the same Rhodian school as the sculptors of the Laocoon group are the artists, probably brothers,

APOLLONIUS AND TAURISCUS

of Tralles, in Caria (south-east of Ephesus), which in the middle of the second century B.C. was incorporated into his kingdom by Attalus II. of Pergamon, and may have been the channel through which Rhodian art found its way into Mysia. These artists were sons of Artemidorus, and adopted sons of Menecrates, who was, perhaps, their teacher.⁴ Their great work, which represented '*Zethus, Amphion and Dirke, also the Bull and the rope of the same stone*,' was brought from Rhodes (to which great centre the artists had probably sent it) to Rome, where it was in the possession of Asinius Pollio. A magnificent group, probably the original work mentioned by Pliny, was found in the Baths of Caracalla in 1546, and was transferred from the Palazzo Farnese in Rome to Naples, in 1786, where it forms one of the principal ornaments of the Museo Nazionale, under the name of

¹ Amalthæa, iii. p. 4.

² *Arch. Zeit.* 1863, Taf. 178. Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 434.

³ *Annal. d. Inst.* 1875. *Mon. d. I. Tav.*

O. p. 273.

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 33. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 471.

The Farnesian Bull (Toro Farnese) (fig. 216). This famous work was discovered in a very mutilated condition, and seems to have been restored in the time of Caracalla. In the sixteenth century it was again restored by Guglielmo della Porta, who appears to have taken the bust of Caracalla as a model for the new head of Zethus.¹ Did we not know that the upper part of Dirke's figure and her arms were restorations, we should wonder at her isolated position, since her only material connexion with the other

FIG. 216.



TORO FARNESE.

figures is formed by her left hand, with which she clasps the leg of Amphiaraus. The proper situation is probably indicated by the *onyx cameo at Naples*, in which Zethus is represented dragging her towards himself by the hair, while she seizes the knee of Amphiaraus with one hand, and holds up the other in piteous deprecation. In the cameo the rope is already round the body of Dirke and the horns of the bull, and nothing remains but

to tear her away from Amphiaraus and let loose the furious monster, which the two powerful youths can hardly hold. As far as we know, the myth of Dirke's fate was not treated in any epic poem; and no other plastic representation of it has been found except this group and a *relief on a stylobate* (*sculptured pillar*) in a temple at *Cyzicus*² founded by Attalus II. in memory of his mother Apollonis.³ Which of these

¹ Fried. *Baust.* 318.

² The Toro Farnese is referred to in an epigram (*Anthol. Pal.* iii.): "Ἄγε καὶ ἐκ ταύρου καθάπτετε δίπλακα σείρην ὕφρα δέμας σὺρ

τῆσδε κατὰ ξυλόχου. Müller, *Handbuch d. Arch.* Sec. 157. 2. Conf. Propertius, iii. 14.

³ Conf. Overbeck, *G. d. Plastik*, ii. 243.

works is the older we have no means of deciding, but they are both founded on the legend in the shape given to it by Euripides in his tragedy 'Antiope,' of which some fragments have been preserved. Antiope, daughter of Nycteus, King of Thebes, having become a mother by that universal parent Zeus,¹ fled from the wrath of her father to Eleutheræ, on Mount Cithæron, where she brought forth Zethus and Amphion. The sons of Zeus were committed to the care of shepherds of the neighbouring mountain, while the mother went to Sicyon and lived under the protection of King Epopeus. Meanwhile Lycus had succeeded his brother Nycteus at Thebes, and taken on himself the task of punishing Antiope for her frailty. He makes war on Epopeus, destroys Sicyon, and gives Antiope as a slave to his wife Dirce. Unable to endure the cruelties inflicted on her by her jealous mistress, Antiope once more flies to Mount Cithæron, and begs the protection of her as yet unrecognised sons Zethus and Amphion. The fugitive is, however, soon discovered by Dirce, a devoted worshipper of Bacchus,² whom the celebration of a Bacchic festival brings to the wilds of Cithæron, and Antiope is condemned by the implacable queen to be bound to a wild bull. The supposed shepherds, Zethus and Amphion, are ordered to carry the sentence into execution, and are on the point of unconsciously committing matricide, when the mystery of their birth is revealed to them by the shepherds who had reared them. Dirce is then substituted by the infuriated sons for Antiope, and, after suffering horrible tortures, is changed by Dionysus into a fountain.

The subject has in some respects a close analogy with that of the Laocoon, inasmuch as in both the horrible and pathetic are carried to the highest pitch, and are entirely divorced from any moral significance. In both, too, the execution of the dread purpose is left to blind brute agents from whom no mercy can be looked for. In one respect, however, '*the Farnesian Bull*' is more in accordance with the Greek spirit than the Laocoon, in that it represents the moment *before* the catastrophe, and does not harrow us with the

¹ Ovid, *Met.* vi. 110 :—

Addidit ut Satyri celatus imagine pulchram

Jupiter implevit gremio Nyctæida sætu.

² Pausan. ix. 17. 3.

sight of Dirce's crushed and tortured frame. Yet we are brought so near to the terrible *dénouement* that imagination presents to us in a glaring light the horrors which the next moment will bring forth. There is something revolting in the idea that two strong men and an impetuous bull unite their utmost efforts to destroy a helpless supplicating woman; and no remembrance of her intended crime can altogether reconcile us to her fate.

Unlike the Laocoon, which can only be seen to advantage from one point, the Farnesian Bull was intended for a central position, in which it could be looked at from all sides. The principal action is best seen from a point opposite to Dirce, but the figures are so arranged that each side presents a complete picture. Besides the three principal actors, we see a motionless female form which stands isolated behind *Dirce* and *Amphion*, and in which we immediately recognise *Antiope*. Her head is restored, so that we are left to guess what her feelings were on seeing her enemy undergo the punishment destined for herself, and may hope that it is pity, though

Revenge is sweet especially to women.

At her right hand is a *boy* with a syrx and a garland on his head, seated, or rather *fixed* to the ground, in his character of mountain God; and near him is a *dog*, of which all but the paws is restored.

One of the chief peculiarities of the group, in which it differs very widely from the Laocoon, is the abundance of pictorial detail designed to mark the occasion and the locality of the action. The rocky ground represents the heights of Mount Cithæron, and the presence of various wild animals indicates, in a manner hitherto unknown to sculpture, the remoteness and wildness of the scene. We are reminded of the religious festival which attracted Dirce to the spot by the woven *cista*, or basket, from which the Dionysiac *Snake* has crept forth, and the broken *Thyrsus*, the *Ivy*, and the *Hide* of some feline animal, which Dirce has just thrown off.

Some writers, and especially Ottfried Müller, have endeavoured to import a more tender element into the dreadful scene by crediting Amphion with a sentiment of pity for his victim. Dirce, they say,

appeals to *him* alone, as the less cruel of the two, and his attribute, *the lyre*, at his side is supposed to indicate the gentler feelings of the poet and minstrel. It is the harsher *Zethus*, they point out, who drags the unhappy queen by the hair, and is about to bind her to the bull. Amphion is, as it were, the half-reluctant cooperator, carried away by the implacable fury of his sterner brother. This idea of the difference of character between the twin brothers is familiar to literature, and the well-known lines of Horace¹ illustrate very aptly O. Müller's interpretation of the Farnesian Bull:—

Gratia sic fratrum geminorum, Amphionis atque
Zethi, dissiluit, donec suspecta severo
Conticuit lyra. *Fraternis cecisise putatur*
Moribus Amphion.

The generality of observers will hardly rise to the point of view from which these subtle distinctions are perceptible, and will see in Amphion only a powerful young hero with difficulty controlling the impetuous efforts of a furious bull to free itself from his grasp.

If we would do justice to this striking production of the Rhodian school we must take into account the period to which it belongs. We must acknowledge that the subject is destitute of all ethical meaning; that it is chosen as best calculated to goad the imagination into a waking dream of horror; that with the sole effect of giving full expression to his ideas, the artist has employed all the means within his reach, whether suitable or unsuitable to the nature of his art; that, in fine, he has grievously 'o'erstepped the modesty' of sculpture. Yet if, forgetting for a moment the lessons we have learned in the school of Pheidias, we take it for what it is, the product of the same period as the sometimes grand, impetuous, and glowing, but often turgid, tawdry, and bombastic grandiloquence of Rhodian Oratory, it is impossible to deny it our meed of admiration. It would be difficult to mention any work of plastic art which tells its own story so completely as this; and the skill with which all the persons and incidents of the terrible drama are brought into the focus of one pregnant moment is worthy of great praise. The form and attitude of the

¹ *Ep.* i. 18. 41.

powerful youths are grand and imposing, and stand out in very effective contrast to the wild plunging of the maddened bull, on the one hand, and the blooming luxurious beauty of the queenly Dirce, on the other. The whole conception and character of the work smacks of a Bacchic frenzy, which suits well with the myth from which it springs, and the spirit and colour of Rhodian art.

It must always remain doubtful whether the 'Toro Farnese' is the very work of the Trallesian artists, as we are inclined to think that it is. The composition is wonderfully good, considering the extraordinary complication and difficulty of the subject, and the circumstance that the group was intended to be seen from all sides. The chief fault in it is that the upper part of the group is rather overloaded, thus giving it the air of being somewhat top-heavy.

We find the *motif* of the Farnesian Bull on a *bronze coin* of Thyateira in Lydia, struck in the reign of Alexander Severus, and on a *gem*,¹ as well as on the *Neapolitan cameo* noticed above.

To the Rhodian school has been further conjecturally assigned one of the most beautiful and interesting works of ancient art; viz.

'*Menelaus bearing the body of Patroclus*'² (called by some writers 'Ajax with the body of Achilles'), known under the name of *Pasquino* to every visitor of Rome. This group, which is in a terrible state of mutilation and decay, represented a bearded warrior in the act of bearing a youthful comrade, mortally wounded, from the field of battle. Of this interesting scene we have four representations, I. *the Pasquino*,³ just mentioned (discovered in Rome near the house of a cobbler of that name, in the sixteenth century), which is probably the original work; II. *a group found near the Porta Portese*, in Rome, and bought by Cosmo I., Duke of Florence, in 1570. It was subsequently restored by Pietro Tacca, carved in marble after his model

¹ O. Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* 215, b. and c. Conf. Eckhel, *Numi Anecdotti*, tab. 15, No. 1; and Millin, *Gall. Mythol.* Pl. 140, n. 514.

² In one of the Florentine copies the dying warrior has a wound in the left breast, and the Vatican fragment shows a wound between the shoulders. The reader will remember that Patroclus was first stabbed in the back by Euphorbus, then despatched by the spear of Hector. *Il.* xvi. 806 :—

ὄπισθεν δὲ μεταφέροντι ὀφείτω δουρὶ
ἄνωγ' ἑσπέρῳ σχεδόν βάλῃ Δάρδανος ἄνηρ,
Παρθολίδης Εὐφωρβος.

Him from behind, a Dardan Panthos's son,
Euphorbus . . .
Approaching close, between the shoulders stabbed.

³ Urlichs' *Die Gruppe des Pasquino*, Bonn, 1867. Conf. *Annali d. Inst. Tav. d'Agg.* C. D. 1, E. F. 1, and B. 1. Visconti, *Pio Clem.* vi. 18.

by Lodovico Salvetti, and placed in the *Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence* (fig. 217), where it now stands ; III. a group found in the mausoleum of Augustus in Rome, and now in the *court of the Pitti Palace at Florence* ; IV. another group of which *the head of the elder, and the legs of the younger, warrior* were discovered by Gavin Hamilton in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. These are now in the Vatican, where the *Head of Menelaus* especially is the object of enthusiastic admiration. The way in which mingled sorrow and reproach are expressed in the noble upturned face is indescribably fine.

About forty years ago the Florentine sculptor Ricci combined the first three fragments into a complete group, copying the left arm of Menelaus, which existed in none of the antique remains, from the restoration of Tacca.

Nothing can be more admirable than the design of this noble work, which, as a representation of self-forgetting heroic friendship, contains just the ideal and moral element which we so painfully miss in the Laocoon and the Toro Farnese. Very effective is the contrast between the manly form of Menelaus, in the fulness of life and in the utmost exertion of all his powers, with the drooping lifeless form and relaxed limbs of his youthful friend. There is a legitimate pathos in the upturned head, and half sad, half threatening expression in the face of Menelaus, in which the verse of Homer is written in characters of stone—

τὸν κτάμεναι μεμαώς, ὅστις τοῦ γ' ἀντίος ἔλθοι,
To all who might oppose him threatening death.

It affects us deeply without depressing or degrading us by a mere violent attack upon our nerves. In fact, so noble is this work both in *motif* and execution, so free from exaggeration and ultra-realism, that its very excellence may be, and has been,¹ urged against assigning it to this period or the Rhodian school.

¹ Friederichs (*Baustr.*) says, 'not before the 4th cent. B.C.'

FIG. 217.



CHAPTER XLVI.

PLASTIC ART IN PERGAMON.

WE have seen that in the service of great conquerors and despotic sovereigns like Alexander and his successors plastic art was chiefly employed in commemorating the warlike achievements of its patrons. The historic element, not indeed unknown in preceding periods, now becomes predominant in Hellenic art, and especially so in the city of Pergamon, in Mysia, best known in history as the capital of the rich and powerful Attalidæ.

This famous dynasty was founded about the year 283 B.C. by Philetærus, a Pontian, whom Lysimachus made governor of Pergamon. It seems to have been rather from fear of the machinations of Arsinoë, the wife of his patron, than from deliberate treachery that Philetærus was induced to join the party of Seleucus, who confirmed him in his governorship. It is no slight proof of his ability that amidst the changes and perils of those troublous times he managed to maintain himself in a certain degree of independence of his more powerful neighbours, and to hand down his power to his rightful heirs. He was succeeded in 263 B.C. by his nephew, Eumenes I., who not only maintained but extended his dominions and consolidated his power, so that his successor, the famous Attalus I., was in a position to assume the title as well as the authority of king. Attalus was wise enough to foresee the triumph of the Romans in their struggle with the splendid but brittle monarchies of Asia, and to seek strength and safety in dutiful submission to a power which he knew to be irresistible.

We shall see hereafter that the connexion between the Attalidæ and the Romans is a fact of considerable importance in the history of

Greek art in Rome. But as regards our immediate subject, the art of Pergamon, the most interesting incident in the history of this vigorous dynasty is their collision with the Gauls, or as they were then called the Galatians.

These terrible invaders penetrated into Macedonia, and defeated Ptolemy Keraunos about the year 280 B.C. After receiving a temporary check from the Macedonian general Sosthenes, they passed through Thessaly into Greece proper, and were defeated by the Greeks, or rather by Apollo himself, under the walls of Delphi. Another horde occupied Thrace and invaded Asia Minor on the invitation of Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, in 278 B.C. (Ol. 125). After plundering the shores of the Hellespont, Ionia, and Æolia, they settled on the river Halys, and received tribute from almost all the countries west of the Taurus range. Attalus, King of Pergamon, alone refused submission, and in a battle near his capital gained a decisive victory over these terrible barbarians, and compelled them to confine themselves to a province in the interior, which received the name of Galatia from them. This battle probably took place not in Ol. 135. 2 (B.C. 239), as is generally assumed, but in 229 B.C. (Ol. 138. 2).¹

The moral elevation consequent on these new triumphs of Greeks over barbarians gave, as usual, a fresh impulse to plastic art, for which the events of the Gallic wars supplied suitable subjects of great national interest. The victories of Attalus inspired the art of Pergamon. With true Greek feeling the conqueror sought to record the glories of his triumph in Athens, the once hallowed centre of Greek life, and rejoiced to write his name on the glorious scroll of heroes, who, like himself, had proved the superiority of the Greeks over every other race.

Pausanias tells us that Attalus offered four groups of statues at Athens, which stood on the south wall of the Acropolis: viz. I. *The Battle of the Gods and Giants*, 'who once dwelt in Thrace and the Isthmus of Pallene.'² II. *The Battle of Athenians and Amazons*. III. *The Battle of Marathon*; and IV. *The Destruction of the Gauls in*

¹ Vide Niebuhr, *Kleine Schriften*. Clinton, *F. H.* p. 413.

² Pausan. i. 25. 2.

Mysia by Attalus. In spite of the singular expression *πρὸς τῷ τείχει* in Pausanias' description, the figures must have been statues and not reliefs, for we read that the image of Dionysus in the first group was blown down and fell into the theatre.¹ It is supposed that there were from sixty to eighty figures in the four groups, some of the pedestals of which have been discovered at the eastern end of the south wall of the Acropolis.² Many of these figures have been discovered scattered through the galleries of Venice, Naples, Rome, and Paris, and their common *provenance* and intimate connexion shown by Prof. Brunn,³ of whose theory we shall have to speak more at large in describing the extant works of Pergamenian art.

The notices of Pliny⁴ refer to artists in Pergamon of a somewhat later date. 'Several artists,' he says, 'represented the battles of Attalus and Eumenes against the Gauls; viz. Isigonus, Phryomachus, Stratonicus and Antigonus, who wrote treatises on his art.' 'These artists,' he adds, 'were celebrated for a general equable merit, but did not rise to great excellence in any of their works.' We must not, however, connect the works of the artists mentioned here with the offerings of Attalus. These four sculptors were workers in bronze, and traces of their works have been lately discovered by Prof. Conze at Pergamon itself.

STRATONICUS OF CYZICUS,

Ol. 135 (B.C. 240)?

who was known also as a *cælator*⁵ (carver of reliefs on metal), executed statues of *Philosophers* and *Scopas*? which probably means a merry group of dancing Satyrs, *σκῶψ* signifying a species of owl, to which *satyrici motus* were ascribed.⁶

¹ Plutarch (*Anton.* 60) relates among the prodigies which preceded Antony's fall, that 'the statue of Bacchus was carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia into the theatre.'

² Vide Schubart in *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.*, 1868, p. 163; and Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, i. 94.

³ *Archæol. Zeit.* 1865, *Anzeiger*, p. 66.

⁴ *N. H.* xxxiv. 84: 'Plures artifices fecere

Attali et Eumenis adversus Gallos prælia Isigonus, Phryomachus, Stratonicus, Antigonus.' Conf. Athenæus, xi. p. 474.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 154; xxxiv. 85; Athen. xi. p. 782.

⁶ Urlichs' *Chrestom. Plin.* p. 343. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 90: 'Stratonicus cælator ille philosophos, scopas.' Vide Petersen, *Arch. Zeit.*, 1854, p. 187. Gerhard reads *copas*.

PHYROMACHUS,

Ol. 130 (B.C. 260)?

made a statue of *Asklepios*, which stood in the sacred grove called Nikephorion, near Pergamon. This work, which is spoken of as one of extraordinary merit, was carried off by Prusias, King of Bithynia, when he devastated the neighbourhood of Pergamon, plundered the temple of the God, and took away the statues and xoana (203 B.C.). In copies of this work on coins of Pergamon Asklepios is represented in archaic style and standing. We have in all probability a very near approach to the original of Phyromachus in a statue at Florence.¹ His statue of *Priapus* is referred to in an epigram of Apollonius.²

Scanty and disappointing as are these literary notices of Pergamenian artists in themselves, they acquire great importance when taken in connexion with existing works of art, whose real character has only lately been conjectured, and with the recent discoveries at Pergamon itself.

EXTANT WORKS OF PERGAMENIAN ARTISTS.

Statues of Gauls, &c. from the 'Offering of Attalus I.' It is highly probable that we possess a portion at least of the great offering, which, as we have said above, was sent to Athens by Attalus I. in commemoration of his signal victory over the Gauls. Prof. Brunn of Munich, to whose keenness of artistic perception and profound learning archæology owes so much, thinks that he has discovered remains of the group mentioned by Pausanias in a number of statues of barbarians, of exactly similar style and character, existing in different parts of Europe.³

The figures which are now very generally regarded as belonging to one or other of the four Attalic groups are *three in Venice*; *four in Naples*; *one in Paris*; *one in the Vatican*; and *one in the possession of Castellani at Rome*. With one or two exceptions they all deviate very far from the ideal Greek type, and show the strongly marked features and forms of a barbarian nationality. The artist has other

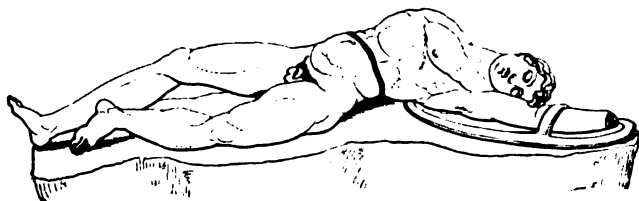
¹ O. Müller, *Denkm. d. a. Kunst*, i. 219, a, b.² *Anthol. Gr.* ii. 120, 9.³ *Arch. Zeit.* 1865, *Anz.* S. 66*f.

aims than the representation of the highest beauty, which he often sacrifices to historic truth. The prevailing style of this period is that of *historical portraiture*, the chief characteristic of which is a close and realistic imitation of national peculiarities.

Of the three Venetian statues :

No. 1 (fig. 218) represents *a beautiful youth*, in the flower of his

FIG. 218.



YOUNG GAUL IN VENICE.

age, stretched dead on the ground with three wounds in front. The hexagonal shield, and the girdle or rope of wire round his naked body, justify us in regarding him as a Gaul, although the artist has so far idealised both face and form as to make them differ but little from the Greek type.

In No. 2 (fig. 219) we see *a warrior of riper age*, apparently un-

FIG. 219.

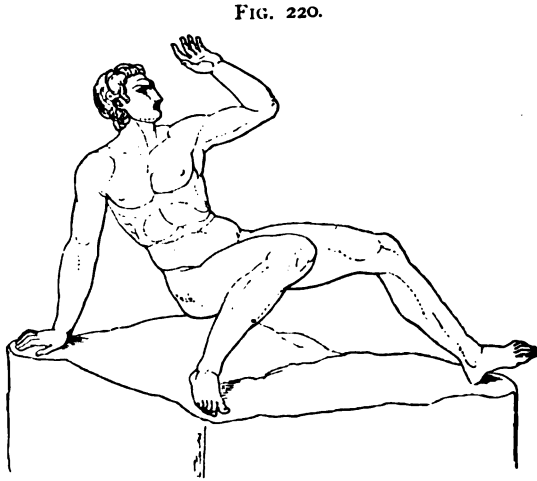


GALLIC WARRIOR IN VENICE.

wounded, who has been borne down on one knee by his adversary. Though evidently exhausted, he still fights on, sword in hand, to the last. The features and hair are here of the most pronounced barbarian type, and even the folds and flow of the drapery are decidedly un-Greek.

The full effect of the singularly *bold and vigorous* figure, No. 3 (fig. 220) is somewhat marred by the faulty restoration of the missing arms. The absence of all weapons, and still

more the raising of the left hand, as if in pathetic supplication, is quite inconsistent with the character of the person and the situation. We may confidently assume that he held his shield in the left hand against the foe, and his, for the moment, useless sword in the right. The attitude is that of a man who has been suddenly and violently hurled to the ground, probably by a rider, and who with difficulty supports himself in his new position. He is as yet unwounded, and even in the midst of his consternation and momentary helplessness, we see the full



GALLIC WARRIOR IN VENICE.

force of his powerful and elastic frame. The face and hair are of the strongly marked barbarian type.

Of the four *Neapolitan figures* the most interesting is the *Amazon*, No. 4 (fig. 221), stretched in death on the spear which slew her, while her own weapon lies broken by her side.

Her form, and especially the bosom, are somewhat too full and maternal for the ideal of the stern female warrior—the Amazon of earlier and purer art. The artist evidently designs to call forth an interest for her by the pathetic inclination of her head, the drops of blood which flow from the wounds in the lovely breast, and the air of gentleness and peace which he has thrown round the prostrate form.

FIG. 221.

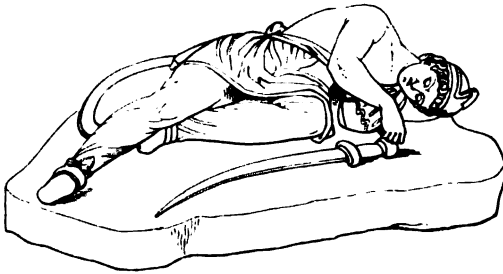


DYING AMAZON IN NAPLES.

The other *Neapolitan figures* are less easy to interpret. In No. 5 (fig. 222), judging from the trowsers and shoes, and the curved sword,

we have, probably, a *Persian from the Marathonian group*; although the headpiece is not altogether Persian, and Gauls, too, wore both trousers and caps.¹

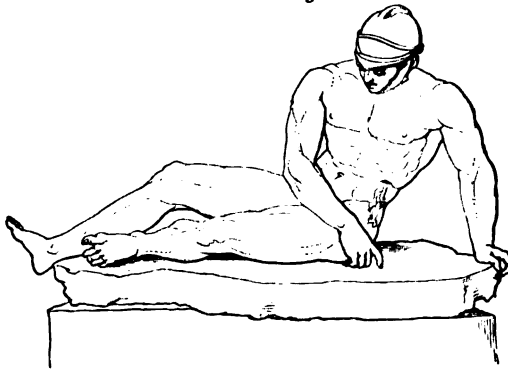
FIG. 222.



DYING PERSIAN IN NAPLES.

wounds in his breast, and it is with difficulty that he props himself on his left arm in almost exactly the same position as the so-called

FIG. 223.



WOUNDED GAUL IN NAPLES.

No. 6 (fig. 223) looks, at first sight, like a Greek or Roman warrior, on account of the form of his helmet; but the moustaches and whiskers, and the smoothly shaven chin, show that he is intended for a Gaul. His life is quickly oozing from the ‘Dying gladiator.’²

On the other hand, there is no mistaking the nationality of No. 7 (fig. 224), who is fashioned in the wildest and coarsest type of the barbarian. The hair of the head is thick and matted, and even that on the breast and in the arm-pits is expressed, and

gives to this figure an air of savagery which is increased by the stern look of defiance in the face. The skin of some animal is wrapped round the left arm; the right hand still grasps the sword, which death alone can wrest from his grasp. By his side lies his girdle, which, unlike that of the young warrior (No. 1), to whom he forms in almost all respects a striking contrast, is not of metal, but of some soft material.³ *The Parisian statue*, No. 8 (fig. 225), the entire nudity of

¹ Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 325. ² Vide *infra*, p. 558. ³ Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 324.

which denotes the Gaul, has sunk on one knee, in an attitude very similar to that of No. 2 ; and, like him, he fights on in spite of the wound in his thigh, from which the blood is flowing.

FIG. 224.



GALLIC WARRIOR IN NAPLES.

Of the two last, Nos. 9 and 10, in the Vatican and the collection of Castellani respectively, it is difficult to speak with any confidence. The Vatican figure (fig. 226) wears a head-dress of a Persian fashion, but his complete nudity hardly suits the oriental character. He, too, is defending himself against an adversary who is striking at him from above.

FIG. 225.



GALLIC WARRIOR IN PARIS.

FIG. 226.



GALLIC WARRIOR IN VATICAN.

The nude, youthful and rather feminine, figure, No. 10 (fig. 227), is also considered to belong to the fourth group of the offering of Attalus.

He is without weapons, and his right arm is raised rather in deprecation than resistance; his whole bearing is anything but that of a Gallic warrior.

FIG. 227.

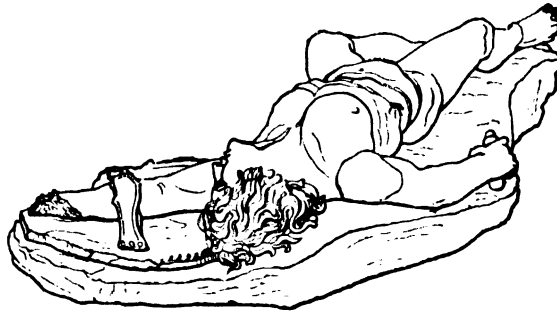


YOUNG GAUL (?) (CASTELLANI.)

There is another figure of a *beautiful youth* in Venice (fig. 228) lying prostrate on his shield, like No. 1, which is also regarded by some writers as belonging to one of the Attalic groups. There is, however, nothing of the barbarian in his ideal face and limbs, and nothing Gallic about him but his hexagon shield.

Other extant works have been assigned to one or other of these four groups, and among them the beautiful statue at Naples of an *Amazon falling from her horse*.¹

FIG. 228.



YOUNG GALIC (?) WARRIOR IN VENICE.

THE GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMON.

It appears that the victory of Attalus I., brilliant as it was, did not permanently destroy the strength and spirit of the Galatians. In alliance with the King of Bithynia they once more invaded the

¹ Overbeck, *Ges. d. Plastik*, ii. 178.

Pergamenian territory in the year 168 B.C., when Attalus I. had been succeeded by his son Eumenes II. The latter, who had inherited the martial spirit of his father, again defeated the Galatians in a final struggle with tremendous loss. He too sought safety and independence in a strict alliance with the Romans, and afforded them valuable assistance in their Ætolian and Syrian campaigns, and more especially at the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), in which Scipio broke the power of Antiochus the Great. Eumenes II. was richly rewarded for his important services, and obtained from the grateful Romans, with whom he made himself personally popular during a visit to Rome,¹ the Thracian Chersonese, and nearly all the country to the west of the Taurus range. Antiochus was compelled, moreover, to pay him 359 talents for his war expenses, and 127 talents in lieu of a yearly tribute of corn. Eumenes also received the elephants which formed part of the spoils of the defeated king.

Eumenes II. was now at the summit of his power and prosperity, and it is reasonable to conjecture that it was at this period of his life that he applied himself to the adornment of his capital, and made Pergamon worthy of the extent and prosperity of his extended empire. He employed the vast wealth which he had inherited and acquired in attracting artists and men of letters to his court, and rendered Pergamon only second to Alexandria itself as a centre of Hellenic learning and civilisation. 'Eumenes II.,' says Strabo,² 'built the city, and planted the grove of Nikephorion, and out of his love of magnificence and beauty erected buildings as offerings to the Gods, and founded libraries,³ and made Pergamon the splendid abode which it now is.'

We have now good reason to believe that one of the most remarkable of these works was *An Altar* of vast size, dedicated to 'Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς καὶ Νικηφόρος as an offering for the victory of Eumenes over the Gauls. A great part of the plastic ornament of this vast structure may now be seen in the museum at Berlin.

¹ Cato complained bitterly of the favour shown to a foreign king.—Plutarch, *Cato Major*.

² xiii. 624.

³ The splendid library of Pergamon was afterwards sent by Mark Antony to Alexandria as a present to Cleopatra, who would probably have preferred a modern French novel.

It seems strange that so magnificent a work should have left only the very faintest traces in ancient literature. A few years ago its existence was hardly suspected, and it is almost by what we call accident that this grand monument of Hellenic-Asiatic art has been brought to light. The merit of its first discovery belongs to Mr. Humann, a Westphalian engineer, who, though not an archæologist, had acquired some knowledge of Greek art in the cast-museums of his country. This gentleman, while employed in making roads in the neighbourhood of Pergamon, had witnessed the destruction of a large number of sculptured marbles in the Acropolis of Pergamon by Turks and Greeks, and had taste enough to recognise their value. He at once communicated his discovery to the proper authorities at Berlin, and in the year 1871 received a visit from Professors E. Curtius, Adler, and Gelzer at Pergamon, and showed them the indications of the buried treasure. In the same year the ground was examined by Dr. Hirschfeld. As the testimony of these high authorities left no doubt of the vast importance of the discovery, the Prussian Government would have commenced operations at once had they not been engaged in the costly expedition to Olympia, for which the Prussian parliament cheerfully voted about fifty thousand pounds. Yet even before the conclusion of the artistic campaign in Elis, suitable men and sufficient money were found to begin operations in Pergamon. In April 1880 Prof. Conze, the learned director of the Cast-Museum at Berlin, arrived in Pergamon, accompanied by Mr. Carl Wilberg, the artist, who, during a four weeks' sojourn, made a number of interesting sketches of the altar and the surrounding country (fig. 229).

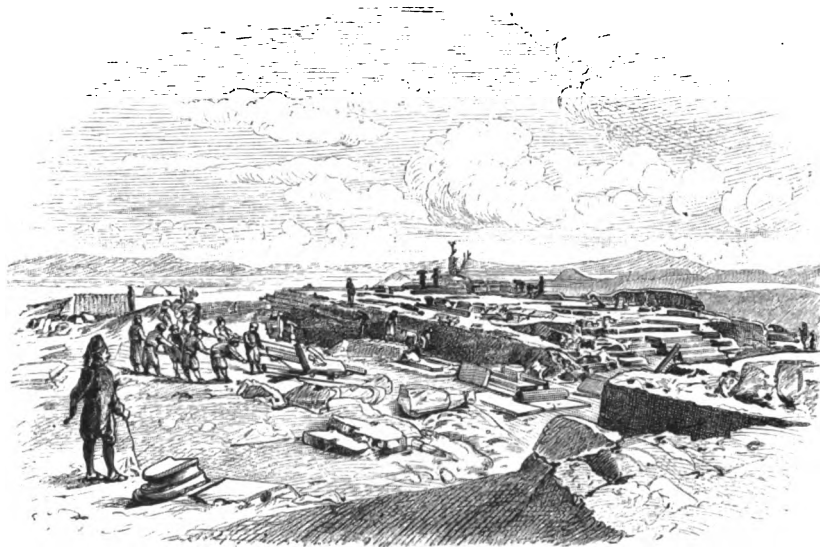
The first excavations were made on a platform on the south-west side of the Acropolis, a little below its summit, which proved to be the site of the altar. This vast edifice, which must have presented a magnificent object of view from the city, is only incidentally referred to by Pausanias,¹ who, when speaking of the altar of Zeus at Olympia, remarks, that it consisted of the ashes of burnt victims, '*like the altar of Pergamon.*' Another reference to it, which had hitherto almost

¹ v. 13. 8.

escaped notice,¹ now assumed considerable importance. The passage occurs in the work of Ampelius, an obscure writer of the third century of our era. '*There was,*' he says, '*at Pergamon a great altar of marble, forty feet in height, with very large sculptures representing the Battle of the Gods and Giants.*'²

The success which attended the excavations in this spot was unprecedentedly rapid and great. The first ground was broken in Sept. 1879. In the month of June 1880 four hundred and sixty-two

FIG. 229.



VIEW OF THE EXCAVATIONS AT PERGAMON BY MR. C. WILBERG.

chests, weighing about 7,000 cwt., containing ninety-four large slabs of the *Gigantomachia* (about three-fifths of the entire frieze), thirty-five slabs of the smaller '*Telephus frieze*,' one hundred and thirty inscriptions, thirty-seven statues, busts, horses, &c., and a large number of architectural and other fragments, arrived safely in Berlin.

The observations of the able and indefatigable architect, Mr. R.

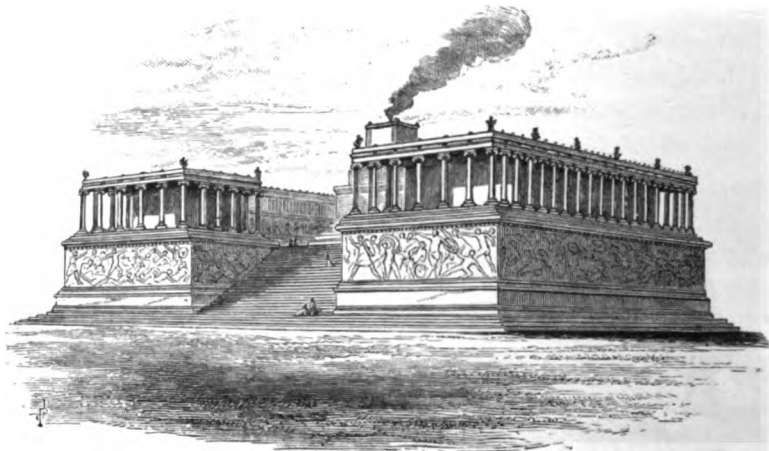
¹ It is quoted by O. Müller and Bötticher.

² *Ampelii Lib. Memorialis* ('*Miracula Mundi*'): '*Pergamo erat ara marmorea*

magna alta pedes quadraginta, cum maximis sculpturis; continet autem gigantomachiam.'

Bohn, make it highly probable that the proper altar of sacrifice rose *sub Fove*, from about the centre (somewhat nearer to the north side) of a vast basement of masonry, about sixteen feet in height and one hundred feet square. This altar, which was formed of the piled-up ashes of burnt victims, was approached by a broad flight of steps¹ cut into the basement on the south side. It is also supposed that the altar was surrounded by a hall of elegant Ionic pillars, open on the outside, but closed on the inside by a wall, so as to enclose a space about the altar of seventy feet square, which could only be entered by the flight of steps² (fig. 230).

FIG. 230.



GREAT ALTAR AT PERGAMON RESTORED.

The principal frieze, representing the Battle of the Gods and Giants, ran round all four sides of the building at about eight feet from the ground, except, of course, where it was interrupted by the steps, up the sides of which it was continued in triangular form. The figures of the frieze (which, like the basement itself, is of a coarse-grained marble of a bluish grey tint) are about seven and a half feet high, and appear to have been carved on the slabs after the completion of the building. The smaller frieze, the subject of which is

¹ Not so broad probably as in the illustration, fig. 230.

² *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon*, Berlin, 1880.

taken from the legend of Telephus, son of Heracles and the priestess Auge, is from four and a half to five feet high ; it probably adorned the inner wall of the Ionic colonnade.

The larger frieze, the figures of which are in as high relief as those of a metope, was protected by a far projecting cornice, in the cymatium of which the names of the Gods were inscribed. Below the frieze were the names of the Giants, and lower still those of the artists employed on the work. Of Gods the following names may still be deciphered : 'Αθηνᾶ, 'Ηρακλῆς, 'Αμφιτρίτη, Ποσειδῶν, 'Ωκεανός, Τρίτων, 'Αρης, ('Ε)νύω, 'Αφροδίτη, Διώνη, Δη(τ)ώ, Θέμις, ('Ασ)τερίη, and Γῆ; of giants only three names are found complete, Χθονόφυλος, 'Ερυσίχθων, and 'Οχθαῖος(s) ; of artists not one is legible.

The subject of this relief was one which must naturally recur again and again to the successive actors in the long struggle with the barbarians.¹ Nothing could be more natural to the Greek mind than to represent the feud between Hellenic civilisation and Gallic barbarism, by the old myths of the great contest between the bright and beautiful Olympian deities and the wild and lawless Giants, rudely shapen in nature's earliest and coarsest mould. Both Greeks and Romans were apt to regard the northern barbarians as a race of giants. Callimachus,² the Alexandrian poet, who was alive when Attalus I. beat the Gauls, calls them 'late born *Titans* from the far west.' It was the gigantic *size* of the Germans which terrified the soldiers of Cæsar, and made so many of his officers keep in their tents, and apply to him for leave of absence 'on urgent affairs' in Rome. The nature of the contest, too, between God and Giant was remarkably similar to that between Hellene and Gaul. In both cases the utter destruction of the foe was the mutual object ; all ideas of fairness or mercy were out of place. For God and Giant there was no alternative but Heaven and Hades ; and for Hellene and Gaul no resting-place between dominion and death.

The designer of the frieze has followed the myth in its latest

¹ Representations of the Gigantomachia are very numerous in Greek art ; e.g. in the pediments of the Temple of Zeus at Agrigento, and of the treasury of the Megarians at Olympia ; in the Selinuntian metopes ; in

the peplos and shield of Athênê ; and on many ancient vases.

² *Del.* 174 : 'Οψιγόννοι Τιτῆνες ἀφ' Ἑσπέρου ἐσχατόωντος.

form, as we find it in the pages of the mythographer Apollodorus (140 B.C.) and in the *Gigantomachia* of Claudian. Homer knows nothing of such a contest. The Giants are indeed mentioned in the *Odyssey*,¹ in connexion with the Cyclopes, as an insolent and lawless tribe whom Eurymedon, an ancestor of Alcinous, 'ruled over and destroyed,' and as nearly related to the Phæacians. But though they are said to be near akin to the Gods, they are always spoken of in Homer as mortals. Hesiod, on the other hand, regards them as divine beings born of Ge. The mighty Mother Earth (Γῆ) in her ceaseless struggle with Heaven (Οὐρανός) had first led her Titans against the bright citadels of the Gods, and had suffered a terrible defeat. Prometheus was chained to the rocks of Caucasus; the proud neck of Atlas was bent beneath the superincumbent world; and the flesh of Tityos grew only to be devoured. She now creates a new brood of monsters from the blood of the mutilated Cronos (Saturn) (or from intercourse with Tartarus), and hurls them once more on her ancient foes.² Fired by every passion which could rouse their savage nature to madness—the hope of vengeance, empire, and the possession of the Olympian Goddesses, whose beauty had so often led their elder brethren to destruction—they readily obey her call, and rush with eager confidence to the fight.

Jam credunt vicisse Deos
 Hic sternere Martem
 Cogitat, hic Phœbi laceros divellere crines.
 Hic sibi promittit Venerem, spiratque Dianæ
 Conjugium, castamque cupit violare Minervam.*

In such a spirit is the frieze of the great altar of Pergamon conceived. The colossal figures are executed in the freest and boldest style, and in such high relief that they have all the effect of statues. The artist has given full play to a wild and daring fancy, and the skilful hand seems to embody with inexhaustible skill and genial ease the most eccentric vagaries of his bold imagination. The form and

¹ vii. 207, and x. 120.

² There was no great presumption in this. Ge, as daughter of Chaos (Hesiod. *Theog.* 117, 125), was better born than Zeus, and in her fallen state looked with a certain St.

Germain contempt on the upstart Olympian dynasty.

* *Claudian* *Gigantomachia*. Conf. Ovid, *Met.* i. 157.

attitude of the Gods are, of course, dignified and graceful ; but in those of the Giants we find the utmost variety and originality of conception. Some of them are of the noblest type of vigorous youth or mature manhood, and can hardly be distinguished from their divine adversaries. This is the case in some vase paintings (fig. 231).

FIG. 231.



GIGANTOMACHIA FROM A VASE.

The thighs of others are prolonged into hideous serpents,¹ which, with their crushing coils and venomous bite, take an active part in the engagement. An example of the more monstrous formation is found on gems (fig. 232). Many of them have wings, either two or four : one has the head and paws of a lion on a human body ; another the horns and ears of a Triton ; and another monster, in shaping which the artist has gone to the extreme of ugliness, has a hump on his neck like a buffalo.

FIG. 232.

GEM IN
BRIT. MUS.

The battle consists, after the Homeric style, in a series of hand-to-hand combats between a God and a Giant, or a contest of several combatants over the bodies of the slain. The chief groups, which occupied the east side, are those in which Athênê and Zeus are engaged. We shall begin with the latter, although the first place belongs of right to the former as the tutelary divinity to whom the altar was dedicated.

The Zeus group. Zeus, the great king and leader of the Gods, is

¹ Apollodor. i. 6.1 : εἶχον δὲ τὰς βάσεις φολίδας δρακόντων.

engaged, like the foremost heroes of the *Iliad*, with several foes at once. With resistless might he strides over the bodies of the fallen, shaking the dread ægis in his raised right hand. On his right is *a giant sitting on the ground*, whose thigh is transfixed by a thunderbolt. On his left is *a younger giant* in purely human form upon his knees, with his hand to his wounded shoulder. Further to the left is *an enormous snake-legged monster*, who has wrapped a hide—his only garment—about his arm by way of shield, and, undismayed by the fate of his comrades, is hurling a rock at the omnipotent Thunderer.¹ Above him rise *the heads of his snake-legs*, into

FIG. 233.



THE ATHÈNÈ GROUP.

the jaws of which the attendant *Eagle of Zeus*, swooping from above, has fixed his iron claws. The remains of a magnificent *Quadriga* with a driver in long fluttering garments, bearing a shield, probably belongs to this group. The fiery *winged horses*, with a metal bar across their backs, as in our old curricule, are wildly rushing over a heap of dead.

The Athênè group (fig. 233). The centre of interest, however, lies in this scene. The Goddess, purposely perhaps, is represented

¹ This remarkable figure is the more interesting because it is *exactly* copied in a well-known relief in the Vatican.

without any weapon of offence, except the dread *gorgoneion* on her breast.

‘ Non utitur hasta,
Nam satis est vidisse semel.’

Seizing a handsome *giant with four wings* by the hair, she strives to drag him along in her onward course. Her constant attendant, *the Erichthonian serpent*, has coiled round his right leg and left arm, and forced him into a position so similar to that of the Laocoon, that some believe that the *motif* of the latter is derived from this group. The pathetic hopeless expression in the upturned face of the paralyzed giant

FIG. 234.



THE TRIPLE HECATÊ.

is very finely rendered. On the right side of the slab a *Nike*—whose outspread wings balance those of the giant in this masterly composition—floats towards the Goddess with the garland of victory. Before her feet is the mighty form of *Ge*, half emerging from the ground, and with piteous looks supplicating mercy for her darling brood.

Injuncta monstribus Terra dolet suis.

Hecate group. Most of the types of the Gods are familiar to our eyes, but the figure of *Hecate* (fig. 234) is without precedent in ancient art. She is here represented with three heads, a triple body, and six arms, three of which bear shields and a sword sheath, while the right

hands are armed with a sword, a spear, and a long flaming torch, which she drives like a lance into the face of her enemy. She is vigorously seconded by *her dog*, who is fixing his great fangs into the body of a *prostrate giant*. Above the dog is the head of a *snake* furiously biting into the rim of Hecate's shield.

Artemis group. On the next slab to the right we recognise *Artemis*, who, with one foot firmly planted on the scaly legs of a fallen foe, is drawing her bow against a *young and handsome giant with shield and helmet*, who boldly rushes to meet her. He is hastening to the assistance of *his older comrade*, on whom *Artemis* is treading with her richly sandalled foot, while one of her dogs seizes the back of his neck with his teeth.

Apollo (?) group. One of the finest of the figures is supposed to be *Apollo*, who is standing over an enemy whom he has shot, and is in the act of drawing another deadly arrow from his quiver.¹

Dionysus group. Another figure of great beauty is that of *Dionysus* wearing a crown of ivy, and a short rich garment girt with the skin of a wild beast. He is accompanied by his favourite *panther* and *two young Satyrs*, who are easily recognised by the coarse bristling hair and the great glands in the neck. We are here reminded of a passage in *Eratosthenes*,² in which he says that '*Dionysus, Hephaestus, and the Satyrs* rode to this battle on asses, and frightened the giants by their cries.'

We know from the inscription mentioned above, that the marine Deities—*Poseidon, Oceanus, Triton*, &c.—played an important part in the drama, but we have no certain representation of any particular Sea God, except perhaps *Amphitrite* on the slab marked Z2.³ There is reason to believe that these deities occupied the sides of the flight of steps. We have, however, a magnificent *Biga of Hippocamps*, which can have belonged only to *Poseidon*, and several combatants on the side of the Gods bearing evident traces of their watery origin. One of these wears a high cap of fish skin. Another fantastic monster—a sort of *sea-centaur*—has the forehead of a horse, the head and

¹ Vide Pindar, *Pyth.* viii. 15.

² Catast. ii. *Dionysus* is called γιγαντολέτωρ. Conf. Hor. *Carm.* ii. 19. 21.

³ In the Assyrian Hall of the Berlin museum.

trunk of a man, wings of feathery seaweed, and a long curling fish-tail. Another has a human form, with the addition of wings, short horns and pointed ears, which end in seaweed, with which the feathers of his wings are also interspersed.

One of the most imposing objects in the frieze is a well-preserved *Quadriga driven by a God (Helios?) or king*, clad in the typical garment of the Greck charioteer. He holds the reins in his left hand, and swings a torch in his right. The progress of the rearing horses is checked by a *Giant*, who has boldly thrown himself in their way. A female figure on horseback, *Eos (Aurora)?* is thus cut off from the chariot which she precedes. She turns her head towards the giant in terror, and gallops away. There is a second female rider in another part of the frieze, with her back to the spectator, who is generally called *Selênê*. One might object that these Goddesses were not accustomed to ride. Eos is generally winged, and floats before the Sun-god, and Selênê either drives or walks. The face of this so-called Helios is too much mutilated to show whether it is a portrait or not. Either Attalus or Eumenes would certainly occupy a prominent place in the composition, and it would be in accordance with the insane presumption of Alexander and his successors to represent the ruler of Pergamon as the Sun-god in his chariot.

As pendant to Ge, the mother of the Giants, we find on another slab the mighty form of *Cybele (Rhea)*, the Great Mother of the Gods. The chief seat of this venerable Goddess was in the neighbouring Phrygian mountains, from one of which, *Κυβέλα*, near Celænæ, she took her name. Her worship and that of her satellites, the Cabeiri, had existed in Pergamon itself from the very earliest times. She is represented with very full proportions, and she enters the contest riding, as usual, on a *lion*. Her ample mantle covers her head as well as her body, and gives her the appropriate air of sanctity and mystery. Above her head hovers *the Eagle* of her son Zeus, bearing in his claws a thunderbolt bound with sacred fillets. Her weapon is a bow, which is not elsewhere ascribed to her. She is preceded, as a mark of her great dignity, first by a *female attendant*, whose garment swells like a sail behind her back, and further to the

front, by the rude and powerful form of *one of the Cabeiri*.¹ He carries his attribute, *the hammer*, which he is aiming at the most monstrous form in the whole frieze. This is a *Giant* who has not only the legs of a serpent, but *the hump and ears of a buffalo*. He has thrown his huge bulk on his enemy, who drives his sword up to the hilt into the monster's body.

The chief enigma in this great work is a beautiful female figure, whom the Germans call by the wonderful name of *Schlängentopfwerferin* (thrower of the snake-vase). Dressed in a chiton, and with a mantle over her shoulders, she is striding to the left to attack a Giant who has fallen on one knee. She seizes his shield with her left hand, and attempts to drag it away, and her right hand holds a *round vase encircled by snakes*, which she is about to hurl at him. She wears a short fluttering veil, and her hair is confined by a simple band. The beauty of her face and her rich dress have procured for her the name of *Aphrodite*; others see in her a *Nereid*; but the riddle of her attribute—the snake-encircled vase—remains unsolved. The figure is the more interesting because, in a painting of the Gigantomachia by Giulio Romano, in the Palazzo del Te, near Mantua, we see four or five female figures hurling similar vases, which are not, however, encircled by serpents. If we accept the name of Aphrodite, which I am hardly inclined to do, the utter inadequacy of such a brittle weapon might suggest the lines of Claudian:—

Κύπρις δ' οὔτε βέλος φέρεν, οὐθ' ὄπλον· ἀλλ' ἐκόμιζεν
'Αγλαΐην.²

Of one combatant on the side of the Gods, as essential to a Gigantomachia as Zeus himself, viz. *Heracles*, no certain traces have as yet been found. There is, indeed, a male figure with the typical lion's skin and club, but it is probably that of a Giant attacking a lion to his left. If so, Heracles must have been represented in another part of the battle. With that strange inconsistency which pervades the whole of Greek mythology, the success of the immortal and omnipotent Gods was made contingent, by a higher law promulgated

¹ Diodor. v. 51. Lucian, *Dea Syr.* xv. 97.

² Cypri neque telum ferebat neque arma; sed gerebat *Venusstatem*.

through the oracles, on the presence and aid of a mortal.¹ In fact, Heracles was the hero of the battle, for it was he who slew with his bow the two most formidable giants, Alcyoneus and Porphyryon, of whom the latter alarmed even Zeus himself.²

Throughout the whole frieze the Gods, of course, have the upper hand; but they have no easy task, and in one or two instances a God appears to be in peril. It is only *the Goddesses*—of whom there are some sixteen—who are never in trouble or danger. The calmness and cheerful confidence with which they thrust their blazing torches into the faces of the howling giants, and tread with those beautiful boots upon their heads, are wonderful to behold!

From what has been said the reader will have gathered that this extraordinary work has all the characteristics of the period to which it belongs—the colossal grandeur, the violence, the grotesqueness, the pathos, the wild fancy, the rhetorical exaggeration, the *bravura* tone of the morbid Alexandrian age. The first effect is extremely striking—almost overpowering—but it is hardly elevating or ennobling. Many of the forms, indeed, are moulded on the best Greek models, and the execution is not only highly skilful, but conscientiously carried out in those parts of the figures which are hidden from the eye. But there is much in these reliefs which is anything but Greek, which is barbarian and Asiatic; much which is more akin to the bloody Roman arena than the Olympian Altis. We could not look at them again and again, and during our whole lives, as we do at the works of an earlier period, always expecting to discover some new beauty, to gain some new idea, some deeper insight into the heart and soul of the artist, and into that infinite and ideal world from which he drew his inspiration.

The Telephus frieze of the great altar at Pergamon. The smaller frieze, of which from thirty to forty slabs are now in Berlin, appears to have adorned the inner wall of the colonnade, which enclosed the altar of burnt ashes. The subject of this relief is taken from

¹ τοῖς θεοῖς λόγιον ἦν ὑπὸ θεῶν μὲν μηδὲνα τῶν γιγνόντων ἀπολέσθαι δύνασθαι, συμμαχοῦντος δὲ θνητῶν τινὸς τελευτήσκειν.—*Ἡρακλέα οὖν σύμμαχον* Zeus δι' Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπεκαλέ-

σατο.—Diodor. i. 6. Hor. *Carm.* ii. 12. 7.

² καὶ δὴ τότε εἰς Πορφυρίων αὐτῷ (Jovi) παρέσχε πράγματα.—Schol. *Aristoph. Av.* 1251. Hor. *Carm.* iii. 4. 49.

the legend of Telephus, son of Auge, an Arcadian princess, who, while acting as priestess of Athênê, was subjected to the violent wooing of Heracles. An oracle of the second century B.C. still addresses the Pergamenians as 'Telephidæ,' and they always claimed descent from an Arcadian colony which came to Mysia under Telephus, to whom they paid divine honours. The unhappy Auge exposed her infant on the mountains of Arcadia, where it was suckled by a hind. Mother and child were soon found by Heracles, and saved from destruction. They were subsequently wrecked on the coast of Teuthrania (in Mysia), where Auge became the wife of Teuthras, and her son Telephus the leader of the Teuthranians. He opposed the landing of the Greeks on their way to Troy, and was wounded by the spear of Achilles. On consulting the oracle, he was told that the wound could only be healed by the rust of the spear which inflicted it. Telephus thereupon stole into the house of Agamemnon, seized the little Orestes, took refuge with him at the domestic altar, and extorted the healing rust from the parents by threatening the life of their child.

All these scenes appear to be portrayed on the remains of the smaller frieze. We see *Telephus* seated on the altar with a bandage round his wounded leg holding the infant *Orestes*. The terrified nurse is kneeling on the altar steps, and above her is a fragment of *Agamemnon* holding a sceptre. On another slab *Heracles* is standing before a plane tree with club and lion's skin, and the infant *Telephus* is playing on the ground at the dugs of a wild beast. On another *Auge* is represented completely enveloped in a mantle, which covers the back of her head, sitting on an eminence in evident distress. Below her are *two men preparing a boat*, which they move with curious machines. In the best preserved relief we see *another woman* (nymph?), also sitting, and wrapped in a hooded mantle; below her is *a female slave*, who is feeding the fire under a caldron with billets of wood.

The whole tone of the Telephus frieze is quieter than that of the Gigantomachia, and serves to show how eclectic was the character of the art of the Diadochi.

¹ Karbel, *Epigr. Græca*, No. 1035, and Conze, *Ergebnisse d. Ausgrab. zu Pergamon*.

Among the other numerous works of art found at Pergamon, but not belonging to the Altar, are :—

*A bronze statuette of a Satyr boy.*¹ It was found in the ruins of a Greek dwelling at Pergamon, and probably formed part of its decorative furniture. *The young Satyr*, who is of the rude boorish type, is in the act of starting back from the sudden attack of some not very formidable foe—a *snake or a dog (?)*—which may or may not have been actually represented. He is raising his right hand above his head as if to deal a blow with the *pedum*, or *lagobolon*, with which he was doubtless armed. The expression in the face of this idle, greedy, wantonly mischievous, insolent yet cowardly, but at the same time humorous and good-natured, young vagabond is given with extraordinary skill. From his left arm hangs a panther's skin, which happily fills up the space between the legs. In his left hand he holds a syrinx, the seven pipes of which are of equal length, according to the ancient form, which fell into disuse in the Græco-Roman period.² The figure, therefore, probably belongs to the best period of Pergamonian art—the end of the third or beginning of the second century B.C. The head has been rightly compared with that of *the Thorn extractor* in the British Museum, and the attitude reminds us strongly of the *Marsyas* of the Lateran, and the *Actæon attacked by his dogs* in the British Museum ;

Thirty draped female figures, probably priestesses ;

A few male statues ;

A statuette of Athênê ;

The Triple Hecatê, a small idol ;

And lastly, preeminent in all respects above all the works of art exhumed at Pergamon, *The Head of a woman or Goddess*, of Parian marble, of such extraordinary beauty that many experts are inclined to refer it to the fourth century. But it has all the characteristics of pathos, and of a *souçon* of aristocratic voluptuousness as well as refinement which are characteristic of the post-Alexandrian period. It has been called Aphrodite. If it is intended for the Cyprian queen, the artist has, I think, taken for his model some proud and beautiful damsel of the sumptuous court of one of the Attalidæ.

¹ Furtwängler, *40tes Programm zum Winkelmannsfeste*, Pl. i. Berlin, 1880.

² Furtwängler, *Ann. d. I.* 1877, p. 214.

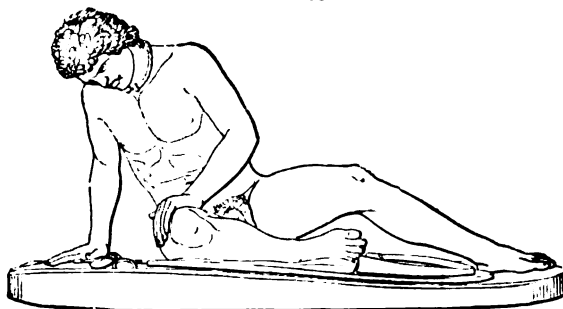
CHAPTER XLVII.

THE DYING GAUL IN THE CAPITOL AT ROME

(fig. 235).

WE cannot reasonably suppose that a patriotic monarch like Attalus, who made such magnificent presents to the city of Athens, would leave Pergamon, his own capital, unadorned by memorials of his

FIG. 235.



THE DYING GAUL.

crowning and saving victory. And, in fact, we have statues of a similar style and character to those of the Attalic offerings described above, which are with very general assent assigned to this period and to artists of Pergamon.

There is scarcely a work in the whole range of ancient art which is more intelligible to the northern mind, or more universally popular, than the so-called '*Dying Gladiator*,' a name so much endeared to us by the touching lines of Byron—too familiar to quote—that we are loth to change it for the truer designation. This noble and pathetic statue was discovered at Rome in a very perfect state in the sixteenth century, and was formerly in the Villa Ludovisi. The restoration of the right arm is correct, but the horn, said to have been restored by Michael Angelo, should have ended in a mouthpiece.

Nibby was the first to recognise *a Gaul* in this statue, and came to this conclusion by comparing it with the description given of the

physical constitution of the Gauls, or Galatians as they were called by the Greeks.¹ There can be little doubt that the artist has here represented one of the many incidents of the great battle in which Attalus defeated the barbarian invaders. We learn from ancient history that the latter, when all seemed lost, not unfrequently slew their wives and children and themselves to escape the hateful bondage to the Romans. A generous adversary could not but admire the rude greatness of soul which thus preferred self-inflicted death to slavery, and it is this which ennobles and idealises the statue before us. Such an incident is represented here, in the wild, stern barbarian, who has just stabbed himself, and is gradually sinking to the ground, as the life-blood flows from the deep wound in his manly breast. His position, which is in the highest degree natural and graceful, is entirely determined by the effort to avoid all tension of the skin and muscles by which pain would be increased.² The head droops, the enfeebled arm with difficulty supports the ever-increasing dead weight of the massive frame; death and gloomy despair are in his swimming eyes. He has had time not only to kill himself before the enemy arrives, but to break his now useless horn, and to cover with his lifeless body the broad shield, the emblem of his honour; and he still wears round his body the golden *torques*, the sign of rank, from which the haughty Manlius was proud to take his surname.

Here, as in the Attalic offerings described above, we have a new departure in the aim and direction of plastic art. It was determined by the wish to represent the normal type of the barbarian of the North with all the physical imperfections resulting from exposure to a rude climate, and from the habits and manners of the untaught savage.

It is true that foreigners appear on much earlier works—e.g. Trojans in the Æginetan marbles, and Persians on the frieze of the Temple of Nike Apteros.³ But the artists of these works distinguished them from Greeks by dress and accoutrements alone. The Pergame-

¹ Nibby, *Effemeridi letterarie di Roma*, 1821, App. p. 49. Diodor. Sic. v. 28.

² Vide Brunn, *K.-G.* i. p. 455.

³ The representation of foreign types began much earlier in painting. On a vase of

the fifth century B.C. a very characteristic figure of an Æthiopian may be seen.—Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasen*, v. 3. 207. Conf. Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 326.

nian sculptor no longer stood on mythical ground, but on that of contemporary history. He had to fix in the eternity of stone a scene which had been enacted before his own eyes, and to endow his work with the value of historic as well as artistic truth. This he succeeds in doing by a conscious reflexion and discrimination in the selection of characteristic traits and details. Many of these were the reverse of beautiful, but he unflinchingly gives them all—the large joints, the knotted fingers, the horny palms of the hand and soles of the feet, the folds of thick coarse skin above the wrists and ancles, the general irregularity of surface common to barbarian races and to the rudest classes of civilised nations. The arrangement of the unbound, unkempt hair, too, which grows far down the nape of the neck, is as different as possible from that of the Greek models. Both Germans and Gauls clotted their hair into small knobs, like those of a sheep's fleece, by some glutinous salve, and then stroked it back over the crown of the head. This peculiarity, too, is given in the 'Dying Gaul,' as well as the thick mustaches, which was the only hair which the noble Gaul allowed to grow on his face.

If these, for the most part, unlovely features had been all that we could see in this celebrated work, it would be interesting only to technicians, and ethnologists, and to the vulgar to whom the power of realistic imitation is the highest merit of the artist. But it differs from the Greek ideal no less in its moral significance than in its corporeal features. The action and bearing of the Dying Gaul are altogether foreign to the Greek character. In the Greek the most passionate excitement is subject to the rule of reason, which, 'in the very torrent, tempest, and whirlwind of his passion, acquires and begets a temperance which gives it smoothness;' and this temperance (*σωφροσύνη*) is the very soul of the purest Greek art. But the fury and the despair of the barbarian know no bounds. In the tempest of his passions his whole being suffers shipwreck.

The Gaul killing his wife (fig. 236). Of the same period, and even of the same somewhat peculiar marble as the 'Dying Gaul,' is the famous group in the Villa Ludovisi, known under the absurd name of 'Pætus and Arria.' The very striking resemblance in style between these two works is somewhat obscured by the mischievous activity of

some miserable restorer, who has 'worked over' and partially destroyed the front surface of the female figure. This group represents another of the thousand stirring and affecting scenes of the battle-field, in which a Gaul, in the face of the nearly approaching enemy, has just slain his wife, and with upraised hand is driving the deadly steel into his own throat.

Very striking and touching is the contrast between the powerful vigorous warrior standing at bay before the foe, with his dark defiant scowl, and the lifeless 'form and piteous face of the poor wife, whom he has so ruthlessly sacrificed to pride and honour.

The masterly freedom of execution shown in these kindred figures, and the entire absence of the unmeaning smoothness and petty accuracy in detail which betray the copyist, would incline us to regard them as original works of the Pergamenian artists mentioned by Pliny; but unfortunately he speaks of them only as workers in bronze. There is, however, great reason for believing that they are the work of Pergamenian artists employed to immortalise the victories of

Attalus. Cognate in character and style, though probably executed in Rome, is the very beautiful statue generally called 'Thusnelda,' but more correctly '*Germania devicta*,' in the Loggia de' Lanzi at Florence, to whom the wife in the Ludovisi group bears a very striking resemblance in the face.

The Knife sharpener, in the Tribune at Florence, has been claimed for the school of Pergamon,¹ and certainly stands in very near rela-

FIG. 236



THE GAUL KILLING HIS WIFE.

¹ Bursian, *Allgem. Encycl.* Sect. i. B. 82, p. 482.

tion to it in style. It probably formed part of a group consisting of *Apollo, Marsyas, and the Barbarian slave*, whetting his knife to carry out the cruel sentence on the defeated and miserable Satyr, who had thought too much of his own music. The disgusting office is entrusted to a barbarian and a slave, who is represented with a Cossack's skull, and a narrow and pointed chest. His hair is coarse and disorderly, his dress mean and evidently dirty, and the whole attitude and bearing of the unclean creature is a disgusting mixture of servility and cruelty.

Marsyas, in Berlin. A marble torso of the musical Satyr, found by Vescovale in 1844 on the Palatine hill at Rome, probably belongs to the above-mentioned group. The body of Marsyas is suspended on a tree, with the head downwards, and the arms hanging down and bound at the wrists. The execution is masterly, and the forms attributed to the Satyr tribe, and the hair on the breast and in the arm-pits, which indicate his semi-brutish nature, are given in the most characteristic manner. The work is evidently Greek, but the subject is too revolting to allow us to place it earlier than the time of the later Diadochi, when the display of technical skill in the treatment of difficult subjects was the principal object of the artist.

OTHER ARTISTS PROBABLY BELONGING TO THIS PERIOD.

Of these it will only be necessary to mention two, Dædalus of Bithynia and Boethos of Chalcedon (or Carthage)?

DÆDALUS OF BITHYNIA,

to which country the practice of art would most naturally spread from Pergamon. Dædalus made a statue of *Zeus Stratios* (God of armies)¹ for Nicomedia (founded Ol. 129. 1, B.C. 264), of which the figure of the God, standing erect, on Bithynian coins of King Prusias (B.C. 251) and Nicomedes († 74 B.C.), is supposed to be a copy. Zeus is repre-

¹ Herod. v. 119.

sented leaning on a sceptre or lance with the left hand, and holding a wreath in the right.¹

As *probably* belonging to this period, although his date² is very uncertain, we may mention here a much more important artist,

BOETHOS OF CHALCEDON³ (?) (SCUTARI),

chiefly known for his skill in the toreutic art, in which he ranked with Acragas and Mys, next to Mentor. Cicero mentions a beautiful *Hydria* ('præclaro opere') by his hand, an heirloom in the family of Pamphilus of Lilybæum, from whom Verres stole it.⁴ Many works in chased silver, by his hand, existed in the Temple of Athênê at Lindos in the time of Pliny.⁵

Among his statuary works was *a nude figure of a Boy* in gold, sitting at the feet of Aphrodite in the Heraion at Olympia. We are left to conjecture whether he was in any way connected or grouped with the Goddess, in which case we should see in him an Eros. Some writers, rather arbitrarily, suggest that this golden boy was the original of the well-known Spinario (Thorn-extractor).

He also executed a statue of *the God Asklepios as a boy*, to which an epigram refers with high praise as *εὐπαλάμου σοφίης μνᾶμα*. It was dedicated to the God by Nicomedes, a physician.

But the most interesting of his works is his

*Boy strangling a Goose*⁶ (fig. 237), a *genre* group conceived in the spirit of playful mockery, characteristic of the Alexandrian period, and executed with marvellous truth and skill. It is intended, of course, as a parody on the struggle between Heracles and the Nemean Lion, and the task of the sturdy and resolute little boy is relatively no less arduous and serious than that of the world-renowned

¹ Welcker, *Götterlehre*, ii. 210.

² On the authority of an inscription (*Corp. Inscr. Gr.* 6164) the genuineness of which he formerly suspected, Brunn now places Boethos in the first three decades of the third century B.C.—*Ber. d. Kön. baier. Acad.* Nov. 6, 1880.

³ We have adopted the reading *Χαλκηδόνιος* instead of *Καρχηδόνιος*. Vid. O. Müller,

Handb. d. Arch. sec. 159. I. Conf. Schubart, *Fleckeisen's Jahrb.* lxxxvii. p. 308.

⁴ Cic. in *Verrem*, iv. 14.

⁵ *N. H.* xxxiii. 155.

⁶ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 84: 'Infans ex ære.' Welcker reads *eximie*. The passage is corrupt, and there are different readings in different MSS.

demigod. The group, which is found in several copies, probably served as a fountain, the water issuing from the beak of the goose. The composition is simple and beautiful, and the execution worthy of an original artist.

The same sportive and idyllic spirit reigns in other popular works of ancient art, which are for this reason alone attributed to Boethos. The best known of these are

Spinario (The Thorn-extractor) (fig. 238), of which the original, in

FIG. 237.



BOY AND GOOSE.

FIG. 238.



SPINARIO.

bronze, is in the Conservatori Palace at Rome. There are several copies in marble in the Vatican, Florence, &c., and one of a somewhat different character in the *British Museum*. The bronze statue is distinguished by a touching simplicity and purity of style worthy of the best periods of art. The attitude is easy, natural, and graceful. The forms of the body are extremely beautiful, and the complete absorption of mind expressed in the face is rendered with singular truth and

skill. In fact, it is only the nature of the subject which leads us to place this beautiful work in the Alexandrian period ;¹ and there is a degree of archaic severity in the treatment of the hair which will always give rise to a doubt whether it may not, after all, belong to the golden age of Grecian art.² A new *Spinario* of Greek marble was found at Rome in 1874, sitting on a rock, but as it is distinguished by an expression of great pain, as well as eager attention, it belongs probably to a later period.

The well-known statue of *a Girl playing with astragals* (knuckle-bones) is also classed with the preceding, which it resembles in general character and design. The old Greek prototype is probably to be found in the statue from Tyndaris, now in Naples.³ There are marble copies in the British Museum, in Paris, Dresden, and the Pal. Colonna in Rome ; but the best of all is in Berlin. As the game of astragals requires two players at least, this statue is supposed to have formed part of a group. It breathes the same charming air of unconsciousness and simple contentment as the other *genre* works already noticed, which accord so well with the idylls of the period. Other examples of playful *genre* style are a

Girl protecting a dove from a snake (?) in the Capitol at Rome. She is richly dressed, but her shoulder is bare. Her face is turned with an anxious expression towards the snake (?), while she shelters the dove in her bosom. Also a beautiful statue of

A child playing at capita et puppim, 'heads and ships,' or, as we should say, 'heads and tails,' in the Vatican ; and

A Boy riding carelessly on a goose, and at the same time eating a bunch of grapes, in the Vatican.

¹ Kekulé thinks that it is a work of Pasi-teleas' school, or of one of the same tendencies of an earlier date.

² Brizio and Furtwängler (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1876, p. 124) refer the bronze *Spinario* in the Conservatori Palace to the fifth century,

on account of the treatment of the hair. Friederichs, too, thinks it older than the *Apoxymenos* and 'the Praying Boy' at Berlin.

³ O. Müller, *H. d. A.* sec. 430. 1, published in Bouillon, ii. 30. 2.

SIXTH PERIOD.

FROM THE FALL OF CORINTH, OL. 158. 2
(B. C. 146), TO THE DECLINE OF ART.—
GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

*ITALIAN (ETRUSCAN) ART:¹ MIGRATION OF
 GREEK ART TO ROME.*

AT the period at which we have now arrived Greek art is about to leave for ever the home in which her bright youth and glorious maturity had been passed, to live as a captive in a strange land, and serve in her declining years the whims of a proud master. It is natural to inquire how the place which she is about to occupy in the Roman world was filled before her arrival, and to say a few words on that Italian art, of which, though so little notice is taken of it by Latin writers, we have considerable remains.

Whatever art-activity existed in Italy in early times, independent of Greek influence, was derived from Etruria, from which Rome re-

¹ Our narrow limits will not allow us to discuss the very difficult question of the origin of the Etruscans, the most mysterious people of antiquity. The reader should consult the works of Italian, German and English writers on this subject, of whom we may especially mention Lanzi, Inghirami, Micali,

K. O. Müller (*Die Etrusker*), Isaac Taylor, and last, not least, George Dennis (*Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*). Interesting articles on the subject will be found in the *Times* (May 31, 1879), the old *Pall Mall Gazette* (Feb. 8, 1879), and the *British Quarterly Review* (Oct. 1875).

ceived the greatest of her kings, and many of her religious and political institutions.¹ The earliest remains of Etruscan as well as Greek art betray, both in design and style, strong traces of Assyrian and Egyptian influence. This will be easily accounted for if we may attach any value to the tradition that when Demaratus, father of King Tarquin, was expelled from Corinth, he brought Greek artists with him 'by whom plastic art was introduced into Italy';² for, as we know, Greek art at that period, Ol. 31. 2 (B.C. 655), had not yet emancipated itself from Oriental bonds. Most of the Etruscan deities, for example, had wings, as appears to have been the case with some of the oldest of the Greek gods, as the *Artemis* in the Chest of Cypselus in the Heraion at Olympia,³ and in the *bronze reliefs* lately discovered there.

The first material employed by the Etruscans appears to have been not wood but clay, in which their country abounded, and of which even their Gods were made; marble, on the other hand, was but little known. In their intercourse with the East, through the medium of the Phœnicians, they learned the art of working metals, and carried it to a very high degree of perfection. Etruria was filled with bronze figures, some colossal, but mostly statuettes, and M. Fulvius Flaccus is said to have carried off 2,000 statues from Volsinii alone (489 A.U.C., 265 B.C.⁴).

Among the best known of Etruscan bronze works are the *Chimæra* of Arretium (Arezzo) at Florence; the *She wolf*,⁵ on the Capitol, the antiquity of which may be questioned. It is generally supposed to be the very work mentioned by Dionysius⁶ of Halicarnassus and Livy,⁷ which was consecrated near the Ruminalian fig-tree⁸ in 296 B.C. (A.U.C. 458); the *Aule Metelli* (called *Arringatore* = soothsayer), a portrait statue in Florence of the size of life; a *Minerva*, found in Arezzo, in Florence; an *Apollo* in the archaic Greek style

¹ Vid. Niebuhr, *Rom. Hist.* i. pp. 351, 366.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 35. 152. Conf. Tac. *Ann.* xi.

³ Pausan. v. 193. Conf. Cic. *de Nat. Deorum*, iii. 23: 'Pallantis...cui pinnarum talaria affigunt.'

⁴ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 7. 17.

⁵ Professor Helbig thinks it probable that this remarkable work was made during the ascendancy of the great Tribune Rienzi in Rome in 1354 A.D.

⁶ i. 79.

⁷ x. 23.

⁸ Rumina, goddess of sucklings, had a temple near the fig-tree, under which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf.

but with *Etruscan necklace and shoes*, in Florence ; and a *Boy standing by a goose*, at Leyden ; and some very remarkable *fragments of a chariot*, found at Perugia (one of the chief sources of Etruscan works), now at *Munich*, on which strange monsters are represented fighting or walking, a *Minotaur*, a *Medusa*, *Lions*, *Hunting scenes*, &c., all in a style strongly resembling that of Assyrian works of art.

From a deficiency in the faculty of invention, however, the Etruscans never developed a truly national style of their own. While Greek art was in its infancy they took their cue from the East ; and when Greek influences made themselves felt in Italy through the medium of the Greek colonies of Magna Græcia, the Etruscans borrowed the subjects and imitated the style of Greek artists, and adhered to the types which they first received long after they had been abandoned in Greece itself. These they copied to the best of their ability, but in most cases the spirit of Greek ideality escaped from their rude hands, and was superseded by the coarse materialism, and realistic individualism which are leading characteristics of Etruscan art. What gives a certain value to their works, especially those of bronze, is the industry and technical skill which they often display, and a certain quaintness which made them popular even in Athens, and still more so in Rome.

From the still vivid paintings on the walls of *the tombs at Corneto* and other parts of Etruria, and the plastic representations on numerous *cineraria* of alabaster, tufa, travertine, and terra cotta to be seen in Italy, we derive a very clear idea of the physical type, the social life, and domestic habits of this singular people. Enriched, but not refined, by their maritime commerce and their manufactures, they employed their wealth in luxurious living and sensual enjoyments. The richly chased goblets of precious metals with which they adorned their tables, and the costly ornaments of the most elaborate and delicate workmanship which they wore on their persons, may be seen in great perfection in the British Museum, the Vatican, and other museums, and are even now the objects of admiration and imitation. Of the Etruscans themselves we get a less favourable idea. They were physically very inferior to the Greeks, and from their tendency to represent the individual with all his ugly peculi-

arities, the difference between the two races appears greater in art perhaps than it was in reality. In some of their drawings—especially in those in the tombs of Corneto, and on the famous *Ficoronian cista*—we see that they have copied the forms of their Greek models. Where they work more independently, and follow the national type, they produce uncouth, obese, repulsive figures, with stunted disproportioned limbs loosely strung together, and devoid of all symmetry and grace.

Among the earliest Etruscan artists we find the name of

VOLCANUS OF VEII,

who was employed by Tarquinius Priscus (A.U.C. 138–176, B.C. 616–578) to make *an image of Jupiter for the Capitol*. This statue is said to have been of clay (*fictilis*), ‘and therefore painted red (*miniari*);’ and the quadrigæ in the pediment were of the same material.¹ Another Etruscan artist,

MAMURIUS VETURIUS,²

is said to have fabricated eleven *ancilia* for Numa (B.C. 716–673) so exactly similar to the sacred shield which fell from heaven, that the wise king himself could not distinguish the original from the copies. The only reward he claimed for this essential service to the State was to have his name mentioned at the end of the song sung by the Saliarian priests.

DAMOPHILUS AND GORGASUS

(A.U.C. 258, B.C. 493) were in high repute both as sculptors and painters, and were employed to adorn the Temple of Ceres at Rome, which

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 45: ‘Fictilem eum fuisse et ideo miniari.’ Conf. Juvenal, xi. 116: ‘Fictilis et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.’ Conf. Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 16, sec. 34: ‘Itaque tunc per fictiles Deos religiose jurabatur.’ *Cons. Helv.* 10, sec. 2: ‘In fastigio Jovis Optimi Maximi qui tum erat fictilis.’ Cic. *de Divin.* i. 16. Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiii. 36) says, on the authority of Verrius, that not only

was the face of Jove painted red on holidays, but the bodies of generals when celebrating their triumph, and that Camillus ‘triumphed’ in this guise. Conf. Jo. Tzetzes, *Chiliad.* xiii. ; *Hist.* 461, v. 44.

² Plutarch, *Numa*, 13. Ovid, *Fast.* iii. 383: ‘Mamurius “morum fabræne exactior artis difficile est . . . dicere.”’ Conf. Propertius, iv. 2. 61.

was vowed by Aulus Postumius in his battle with the Latins, A.U.C. 258, B.C. 496, and consecrated by Spurius Cassius Vircellinus in A.U.C. 261, B.C. 493. Greek art, as we have seen, was then in its infancy, and Varro is quoted as saying that before the decoration of this temple 'all things in the temples were Etruscan;'¹ by which he seems to imply that these two were the first Greek sculptors employed in Rome.

From this period to the time when 'captive Greece led her conquerors captive' no mention occurs in literature of Italian sculptors. It was especially in toreutic art that the Etruscans excelled, as we have already said, and their chased and embossed goblets of gold, silver, and bronze were sought for in Athens itself, even in the golden age of Grecian art. Among the most interesting and beautiful of their works, which have been preserved in considerable numbers, are the so-called *cistæ mysticæ*—cylindrical caskets of bronze, richly ornamented with *graphite* figures—which are indeed found in Latium, but belong to a period when Etruscan art prevailed in that province. The finest specimen of these *cistæ*, the work of

NOVIUS PLAUTIUS,

was discovered near Præneste (Palestrina) in the year 1743, is now in the Collegio Romano at Rome, and bears the name of *the Ficoronian Cista*.² The surface of the cylinder and of the lid is covered with graphite work in the purest and freest Greek style, representing *the landing of the Argonauts in Bithynia*, and *the boxing-match between Amycus, king of the Bebryces, and Polydenkes (Pollux)*, in which the latter is victorious, and appears in the act of binding his adversary to a tree.³ This most beautiful work bears two inscriptions, with the name of the artist, *Novios Plautios mcd Romai fecid*, and of the offerer, *Dindia Macolnia fleā dedit*, the characters of which seem to show that the work was executed about A.U.C. 500, B.C. 254. Unfortunately the inscriptions are not engraved on the cylinder itself, but

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 154.

² O. Jahn, *Die Ficoron. Cista*, p. 42.

³ Apollod. i. 9, sec. 20. Hygin. *Fab.* 17.

Apollon. Rhod. ii. 98.

on the handle, which, in the form of a group of two satyrs and a youth, is fastened in a rude way on to the lid, without any regard for the beautiful design. This handle and the feet are purely Italian in style, and contrast strangely enough with the fine Greek work on the casket itself and the lid. Certain details even in the graphite drawings—the necklace with the bulla—an armlet, and the shape of a shoe—show that the work was executed in Italy; but the invention, style, and drawing are purely Greek.¹ The Collegio Romano contains the works of two other Oscan (?) artists; viz. a bronze *Head of Medusa*, by *C. Ovius*, probably a contemporary of Novius, and a bronze *Statuette of Medusa* by *C. Pomponius*, called 'Jupiter,' although it has no attributes to warrant the designation. The inscription on the latter belongs to the time of the Second Punic War (B.C. 218–201).

MIGRATION OF GREEK ART TO ROME.

In their migration to Rome Greek artists were preceded by the most precious of the works of art which adorned the cities of Greece and her colonies. The Greeks were compelled to yield to their conquerors the monuments of their past glories, which they had neither the courage to defend nor the genius to replace. During the first five centuries of her existence Rome 'neither possessed nor knew of any curiosities of this kind, being a stranger to the charms of taste and elegance.'² And when Marcellus (in 212 B.C.) brought home valuable pictures and statues from Syracuse, his graver fellow citizens accused him of demoralising the Roman people, trained solely to agriculture and war—a people like the Heracles of Euripides—

φαῦλον ἄκοψον τὰ μέγιστα τε ἀγαθόν—

'rough and unadorned, but capable of the greatest deeds'—and teaching them to chatter half the day, like citizens, about art and artists.

¹ Mommsen (*Oskische Studien*, p. 72) proves that Novius Plautius was an Oscan from Capua, where Greek influences prevailed. The handles are by Italian workmen. A *Cista* similar to the Ficoronian was discovered in 1786, and is now in the *British Museum*. The subject represented in

graphite is variously interpreted as 'the Sacrifice of Polyxena,' 'the funeral sacrifices of Achilles for Patroclus,' &c. Conf. R. Rochette, pl. 58; Welcker, *Rhein. Mus.* iii. p. 605; Gerhard, *Etr. Spiegel*, Taf. 15, 16; and O. Müller, *H. d. Arch.* sec. 173.

² Plut. *Marcellus*.

Such presents they said were unworthy of a city full of the arms and bloody spoils of barbarians—a city which was rightly called, in the language of Pindar,¹ ‘the *temenos* of blood-stained Mars.’ But the people in general were delighted with the beauty, or rather the novelty and strangeness, of their new acquisitions, and the example of Marcellus was followed by Fulvius Flaccus after the taking of Capua (211 B.C.); by Flaminius, who despoiled Philip of Macedon (197 B.C.) of the works of art which he had taken from Greek cities; by Fulvius Nobilior, who sent (189 B.C.) more than five hundred bronze and marble statues to Rome from the city of Ambracia alone, which had once been the residence of King Pyrrhus of Epirus; by Cornelius Scipio, who defeated Antiochus at Magnesia (190 B.C.), and stripped that city of its works of art; by Paullus Æmilius, who, after the battle of Pydna (168 B.C.), transported his rich booty of paintings and statues (among which was an *Athênê* by *Pheidias*) in 250 waggons through the streets of Rome; by Metellus Macedonicus, the conqueror of Pseudo-Philip (B.C. 148), who brought to Rome the famous group of twenty-five equestrian statues representing the heroes of the *Granicus*, which Lysippus made for the city of Dion.² Two years later (B.C. 146) Mummius took Corinth, in which he left no works of art but the archaic statues for which the Romans had as yet no taste. The work of spoliation was carried on with ever-increasing vigour during the wars of Sulla against Mithridates, at which period Athens, the cities of Bœotia, Olympia, Delphi, and Epidaurus were all plundered. The Emperors followed suit, and Augustus turned his attention to the hitherto neglected works of archaic art. He adorned the Temple of the Palatine Apollo and other buildings with the works of *Boupalos* and *Sthennis*, and with the *Athênê Alea* of *Endæus*, and the *Dioscuri* of *Hegias*.³ But it was the works of the younger Attic school which appealed most successfully to the blended martial Dionysiac and erotic tendencies of the great military leaders of Rome in the last century of the Republic—tendencies which go far to make up the characters of the Catilines, the Julius Cæsars, and the Antonies. Mars, Bacchus, and Venus were the ruling deities of the day, and it was in

¹ *Pyth.* ii. 2. *Plut. Marc.* xxi.

² *Vide supra*, p. 483.

³ *Vide supra*, p. 96.

the representation of *their* persons and *their* worship that the Roman connoisseurs took most delight. Among the statues brought to Rome at this period we find mention of the Niobe group, the Achilles group, the Apollo Citharædus, the Ares, and the nude Aphrodite of Scopas; the Eros, the Silenus, the Mænads and Caryatids of Praxiteles; the Leto, Aphrodite, Artemis, and Asklepios of Cephisodotus; the Zeus Xenios of Papyllus; the Artemis of Timotheus; the Leto of Euphranor; the Apoxyomenos of Lysippus; the Dionysus of Eutychides, and the 'Toro Farnese' of Apollonius and Tauriscus.

The statues enumerated above were for the most part the spoils of war; it remained for a Caligula and a Nero to complete the spoliation of Greece in the time of profoundest peace. The former sent Memmius Regulus (consul 31 A.D.) on a roving commission to bring away all the best works of art from the Greek towns, to adorn the Emperor's villas. A sacrilegious attempt was made by him, without success, to remove the chryselephantine statue of Zeus from his temple in Olympia; and the Eros of Praxiteles, the pride and glory of Thespiaë, is said to have been taken from its shrine on this occasion. Nero followed the example of Caligula by sending Acratus and Secundus Carinas to Asia and Achaia to carry off, 'not only the offerings in the temples, but the very images of the deities,'¹ with which he adorned his Golden House at Rome. Delphi alone is said to have been stripped by these agents of no less than five hundred statues in bronze. And yet a Roman under Vespasian counted 3,000 statues in the little Island of Rhodes, and thought that as many more were still standing in Delphi, Athens, and Olympia!

And thus Rome was filled with thousands of the costliest gems of every period and school of Grecian art. That the contemplation of them refined the taste of the cultivated Romans, and begot among them an eager connoisseurship, partly real and partly affected, is abundantly attested by Roman literature. Cicero² has recorded for us the acts of violence and meanness into which his mad passion for the antique drove the 'sacrilegious Verres';³ and Verres was but a

¹ Tacitus, *Annal.* xv. 45.

² Cic. *in Verrem.*

³ Juvenal, *Sat.* viii. 106.

caricature of a numerous class of Roman governors of the period. Even the stern tyrannicide Brutus bore about with him the statue of a boy by Strongylion, as Sulla did a statuette of Heracles, though more perhaps as a talisman than as a work of art.¹ Even the slavish populace of Rome showed a mutinous disposition when their favourite statue of the Apoxyomenos was removed from the Baths of Agrippa to the chamber of Tiberius.

No doubt the hard, stern character of the Roman, so essential for his task of universal conqueror, was somewhat softened by the influence of Greek literature and art, which gave light and warmth and colouring to the Augustan age with its genial circle of polished, wise, and graceful writers. Many of these were possessed of a refined and cultivated taste in matters of art, a critical judgment, and a keen and sympathetic appreciation of the beauties and peculiarities of style. But the creative faculty was never awakened in the Roman people, and the pursuit of art in them was a mere external ornament of foreign importation, and not, as in the Greeks, a part of their very being.

The Romans, and more especially the nobler Romans, rather prided themselves on their natural deficiency in artistic power and taste, which they deemed inimical to *imperium et libertas*.²

From what has been said above, the character of the period on which we are now entering will be easily inferred—it was a period of *imitation*. The very abundance of masterpieces, embodying every artistic conception from that of the loftiest ideal of the Godhead to the most trivial suggestion of a playful fancy—from Zeus with his eagle to the Boy with his goose—was calculated to discourage the artist from all striving after originality. The temples and public haunts, the palaces and villas, of Rome were filled with the noblest

¹ Sulla also brought away a golden statuette of the Pythian Apollo from Delphi, which he carried in his bosom and took out to kiss. He did not, however, allow it to interfere with 'practical politics,' or to prevent him from plundering the god of his treasure at Delphi.

² Cicero was anxious to free himself from the imputation of being a connoisseur, as

being injurious to his character as a statesman. Horace, who had some taste, says (*Ep.* ii. 2. 180):—

Gemmas, marmor, ebur, Tyrrhena sigilla, tabellas,
Argentum, vestes Gætulo murice tinctas,
Sunt qui non habeant; est qui non curat habere.

Davus ridicules Horace for his love of pictures of Pausias:—

Vel cum Pausiaca torpes, insane, tabella.

productions of every period and school of Greek art ; and what was there in heaven above or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth, for which the Greeks had not already found the most appropriate and most beautiful form ? Who would wish or dare to deviate from the perfect types, fixed for ever by the willing acceptance of past ages ? Nor was there any belief on the part of the Roman public in the possibility of improvement or rivalry—or any demand for the original and the new. Their rulers set the fashion of adorning their villas with the original works for which Asia, Greece, and Egypt had been ransacked ; and all who had the means were impelled to do the same, some by genuine taste, far more by ostentation. It was impossible, of course, to supply all comers with *original* Greek works, the cost of which soon became enormous ; and there naturally arose a great demand for *copies* of the most famous and popular statues. These were furnished in vast numbers, and in greatly varying excellence, by the Greek artists in Rome, and *it is these which now fill continental galleries*. Nor is it only in Italy that these copies are found, but in the most distant provinces ; e.g. *an Amazon and a Venus de Milo* in the imperial city of Trèves on the Moselle ; *a Spinario* in Africa ; and *a Niobid group* in Soissons.

But though the artists of the Roman period produced little that was absolutely original or new, they were not all mere copyists. They not unfrequently, as we shall see, so far modified the original conception of their models in accordance with the spirit of the times and their own genius as to throw round their reproductions a certain air of newness, and to stamp upon them their own individuality. Nay, paradoxical as it may seem, the very fact that they did copy, and did not seek to develope still farther the style and manner of their immediate predecessors, was one great cause of an improvement in art itself. No one can claim original genius for the Romans even of the Augustan age ; but they possessed sound judgment, critical acumen, cultivated taste, and a keen appreciation of sterling worth. Their poets, philosophers, and orators did not choose their models from Alexandria, nor did their sculptors look for inspiration and guidance to Rhodes, but strove to follow the Homers, the Platos, the Demosthenes',—the Phidias', the Polycletus' and Praxiteles' of a purer age.

RENAISSANCE OF GREEK ART IN ROME.

(OL. 156, B.C. 156.)

We have now arrived at the period at which, according to Pliny, art revived after a slumber of 140 years. 'Art,' he says, 'ceased in Ol. 121 (B.C. 292), and revived again in Ol. 156 (B.C. 156),' i.e. ten years before the taking of Corinth by Mummius, by which the last flickering flame of Grecian liberty was extinguished, and the long existing virtual subjugation of Greece to Rome was formally declared.

Pliny¹ further mentions the following Greek artists as living about this time, and as 'of good repute (*probat*i), though far inferior to their predecessors'—Antæus, Callistratus, Polycles the Athenian (?), Callixenus, Pythocles, &c. Of these

CALLISTRATUS

is also mentioned by Tatian² as the sculptor of Euanthe (Evadne), who being enceinte by Apollo, 'laid aside her silver pitcher by the fountain, unclasped her purple-tinted girdle,' and bore the 'divinely inspired' Iamos, the great ancestor of the illustrious Iamid Agesias, the Olympian victor.³

POLYCLES, TIMOCLES, TIMARCHIDES, AND DIONYSIUS.⁴

We have already noticed an older Polycles, contemporary of Cephisodotus, who executed a portrait statue of Alcibiades, and probably a Hermaphrodite.⁵

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 51, 52.

² *Contra Græc.* 55.

³ Pind. *Ol.* vi. 66.

⁴ Pausan. vi. 4. 5.

⁵ The idea of the Hermaphrodite arose in Asia, and especially in Cyprus, in connexion with the worship of Aphrodite, as a symbol

of the blending of the generating and conceiving principles of Nature, which are found united both in the animal and vegetable world. In sculpture it proceeds from the play of the artist's imagination, and is separated from myth and worship.—O. Müller, *H. d. Arch.* sec. 358.

POLYCLES II.,

a pupil of Stadiesus,¹ made a statue of the Pancratiast boy, *Amyntas of Ephesus*; another of *Junō*, which stood in the Portico of Octavia; a statue of *Jupiter*, in which he was assisted by Dionysius;² and a statue of *Hercules*,³ which Bergk supposes to be the brazen *Hercules* in the Capitol. Some writers ascribe the famous *Hermaphrodite* to this Polycles.⁴

TIMARCHIDES AND TIMOCLES,

probably the sons of Polycles II., made a bearded *Asklepios* at Elateia; an *Athênê Promachos*—whose shield, it is expressly said, was copied from that of the Athênê Parthenos at Athens—for a temple of Athênê Cranaia, about twenty stadia from Elateia;⁵ and a portrait statue of the Olympian victor *Lysistratus*.

ATTIC ARTISTS IN ROME AND ITALY.

The name of

APOLLONIUS THE ALBANIAN, SON OF NESTOR,

a contemporary of Pompey and Julius Cæsar (?), is inscribed on the famous *Belvedere Torso of Hercules* in the Vatican, of which we shall speak at large below. It is said that another *torso of Hercules* (or *Æsculapius*) in the *Pal. Massimi* at Rome bears the same inscription.⁶ It is probable that Apollonius also made a *Chryselephantine statue of Jupiter* for the temple on the Capitol, which perished by fire in A.U.C. 678 (B.C. 84). The rebuilding of this temple was com-

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 35.

² *Ibid.* 34.

³ Cic. *ad Att.* vi. i. 17. Acc. to the amended text of Mommsen, *Zeitsch. für Alt. Wiss.* 1845, p. 787.

⁴ Brunn, *K.-G.* 541.

⁵ Pausan. vi. 12. 8; x. 34. 6, 7, 8.

⁶ Thiersch, *Ep.* p. 113. O. Müller, *Handb. d. Archæol.* sec. 160. 4.

menced A.U.C. 691 (B.C. 63), after which date, of course, the gold-ivory statue must have been set up.

APOLLONIUS, SON OF ARCHIAS,

also of Athens, was the sculptor of *a bust of a young man* in bronze, found in Herculaneum.¹ It is generally called Augustus, but the characters of the inscription seem to show that it is of an earlier period.

The name Apollonius, without any predicate, is inscribed on a beautiful marble statue of *a young Satyr* at Petworth, belonging to Lord Leconfield,² and on a figure of *Apollo*, of inferior workmanship, from Hadrian's Villa, now in Majorca.³

CLEOMENES, SON OF APOLLODORUS,

is mentioned by Pliny as the sculptor of *the Thespiadæ* (Muses) in the collection of Asinius Pollio, which are not to be confounded with the figures before the Temple of Felicity.⁴ By the same Cleomenes, probably, was the statue known to the whole world as the *Venus de' Medici* at Florence, on which are inscribed the words Κλεομένης Ἀπολλοδώρου Ἀθηναῖος ἐπώρυσεν.⁵ It was found in the Portico of Octavia, in Rome, in eleven fragments, and was probably made expressly for that building when Augustus renewed and enlarged it.

The name of

CLEOMENES II.,

probably the son of the sculptor of the Medicean Venus, occurs in an inscription on the so-called 'Germanicus' of the Louvre. The same name, without any further specification, will be found on the beautiful *Altar of Iphigenia* at Florence; but we have no means of deciding to which of the two above-mentioned artists the inscription refers.

¹ *Mus. Herc.* i. tab. 45. Winckelm. ii. 158; iv. 284; vii. 92.

² O. Müller, *Amalth.* iii. p. 252. Conze, *Archæol. Zeit.* 1864. Anz. p. 238.

³ Hübner, *Die antiken Bildwerke in*

Madrid, p. 297.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 431.

⁵ *Corp. Insc.* No. 6157. Michaelis (*Arch. Zeitung*, 1880, i. Heft) gives some reasons for doubting the genuineness of this inscription.

C. AVIANIUS EVANDER

was a *cælator* (silver-chaser) and *plastes statuarum* (modeller in clay), whom Antony took with him from Athens to Alexandria, whence he was brought captive to Rome by Augustus. He was then sold to Marcus Æmilius Avianianus, from whom he received his name on the occasion of his manumission.¹ He was still active during the reign of Augustus, and restored *the head of a statue of Diana*, the work of Timotheus.² Cicero³ bought *two Bacchantes*, a *Mars*, and a *Trapezophorus* of him for his Tusculan villa; but as Evander appears to have been a dealer and restorer by profession, we cannot, with any certainty attribute these works to him.⁴

DIOGENES OF ATHENS

executed *Caryatids* for the Pantheon of Agrippa at Rome, 'celebrated as few other works' (*inter pauca operum*), and statues for the roof (*acroteria*), 'which were only less renowned on account of the height at which they stood.' According to the general opinion of archæologists, we possess two of these figures (which are evidently copies of the famous Caryatids still standing in the Erechtheion at Athens), *one in the Braccio Nuovo* of the Vatican, and another disguised by false restorations *in the court of the Pal. Giustiniani*, near the Pantheon. Some writers,⁵ however, have endeavoured to show that the Caryatids of Diogenes were not figures bearing the architrave, but Dorian dancing girls, like those of Praxiteles, placed in the intercolumnnia. The name of

GLYCON OF ATHENS

is inscribed on the well-known Farnesian Heracles at Naples,⁶ of which we shall speak hereafter.

¹ Horat. *Sat.* i. 3. 90. *Schol. Porphy.*
Conf. Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 4. 2.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 32.

³ *Ad Fam.* vii. 23.

⁴ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 548.

⁵ Stark, *Arch. Zeit.* 1866, p. 249.

⁶ *Corp. Insc. Gr.* No. 6142 (Γλύκων Ἀθηναῖος ἐπὶ τοῖς).

ANTIOCHUS OF ATHENS

is the sculptor of *a statue of Minerva*,¹ in the Villa Ludovisi, according to the inscription, and possibly, though the readings vary, of two figures, *Oceanus and Jupiter*, mentioned among the possessions of Asinius Pollio.² The head of the Minerva is antique, the arms and helmet are modern restorations. It is evidently no original, though we cannot point to the prototype. The Minerva of Antiochus belongs to the period of Attic Renaissance, when all independent invention had ceased, and the artists went back for their models to the fifth century B.C. It is eclectic in treatment and to a certain degree follows the type of the Athênê Parthenos. It may have been intended for actual worship in a temple, in the dim light of which the deep folds of the garment would not have thrown the too dark shadows which spoil its effect in the Ludovisi gallery. The names of

CRITON AND NICOLAUS

are inscribed on the basket on the head of *a Canephora* in the Villa Albani. This figure was found with another, and the fragment of a third, in the Vigna Strozzi, behind the tomb of Cecilia Metella, on the Via Appia. As the pleasure grounds of Herodes Atticus were in this neighbourhood, it has been suggested that these figures served to adorn them.³

SALPION

is the sculptor of some *Bacchic reliefs on a marble Crater* at Naples, called 'The Font of Gaeta.'⁴ Welcker saw another relief in the house of a painter named Palagi in Milan, with the inscription Σαλπίων ἐποίησε, representing *Zeus seated, and two women standing by him*, one of whom is pouring a libation into the cup held by the God.⁵ The name of

¹ *Annal. d. I.* 1841. *Mon. d. I.* iii.
i. 28.

² *Plin. N. H.* xxxvi. 33.

³ Brunn, *K.-G.* i.

⁴ *Vide infra*, p. 594.

⁵ *Rhein. Mus. N. F.* vi. 403.

SOSIBIUS

appears on another vase, also ornamented with Bacchic reliefs, which was brought from Rome to the Louvre.¹

It is extremely difficult to fix the date of the artists above mentioned with any great exactness. We may say generally that the best of them lived in the last century of the Republic and the first century of the Empire—during the golden age of Roman literature—and that none of them were later than Hadrian or the Antonines.

ATHENIAN ARTISTS OF THIS PERIOD IN GREECE.

A considerable number of artists are mentioned either in literature or in inscriptions who, though not all Athenians, appear to have lived and worked in Athens at this period; but as they occupy no very important place in the history of art, our narrow limits compel us to pass them over.²

The Attic artists of this Roman period can hardly be said to form a school, in the proper sense of the word, as denoting the employment of the resources of art in a new field, with independence and originality of conception and execution. In another sense, however, they did form a school, and a very excellent one, for the study of the best models and the best means of reproducing them. The Greek artists in Rome had, of course, to suit themselves very much to the requirements of their masters, and, strange as it may seem, Roman influence in the century before, and the century after, Christ was both healing and elevating. The Romans had not yet lost their faith in the Gods, nor the sense of personal dignity which accompanied that faith. They wished to see both the deities whom they worshipped, and the chiefs whom they obeyed, represented in the severe and dignified forms of antiquity. The Dii Majores—the Jupiters, Junos, and Minervas—

¹ Vide *infra*, p. 595. *Corp. Ins. Gr.* n. 6170. *Clarac. Mus. d. Sc.* t. 126, n. 332.

² For a full account of them vid. Brunn, *Gesch. d. Künstler*, i. 531.

become once more the subjects of plastic art, and the artist prepared himself for his arduous task by the study of Pheidias and Polycleitus. He went far up the stream of Grecian art and drew from its yet unpolluted waters. And hence the phenomenon that some of the finest works which have come down to us are just from this late period, and that we see in Rome a sort of after-glow of the heyday of Attic sculpture.

CHAPTER XLIX.

EXTANT WORKS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

THE *Torso of Heracles* (fig. 239), known by the name of the *Belvedere Torso*, bears on the rocky seat of the hero the name of Apollonius the Athenian, son of Nestor, in characters which point to the last century of the Roman Republic. This magnificent work was found in the reign of Pope Julius II. (A.D. 1503-13) in the Campo del Fiore—the site of Pompey's Theatre (founded B.C. 65), of which it probably formed one of the numerous plastic ornaments.

The cruel mutilation of this noble work, which drew tears from the eyes of Winckelmann, has rather increased than diminished the interest with which it has for many ages been regarded. Like the corrupt text of an ancient classic, the headless and armless trunk has been the subject of eager and excited controversy, in which an astounding amount of learning and imagination has been displayed. According to Heyne, with whom Winckelmann in the main agrees, the Belvedere Torso is a more or less modified reproduction of the *Heracles Epitrapezios* of Lysippus,¹ and we incline to this interpretation

FIG. 239.



TORSO OF HERACLES.

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 482.

as the most consonant to the spirit of the age in which it was produced, and, indeed, the only one against which insuperable objections may not be raised. Visconti, with a laudable regard for the divine hero's happiness, provides him with a suitable companion.¹ He bases his restoration on the famous Florentine gem called *Teucer*,² in which Heracles is grouped with Hebe, his immortal spouse. 'La superbe sculpture de Teucer,' he says, 'dans le Musée des pierres gravées de Médicis . . . me paraît devoir indiquer ce qu'était autrefois le Torse du Belvedere.'³ Other writers have suggested less exalted brides, as Auge, Iole, and Omphale. This theory appears to have recommended itself for a time to men of the highest authority, like O. Müller, Welcker, and Raoul Rochette; but the experiments of Flaxman in 1793, and of Gerichau and Cornelius in Rome in 1845, have proved the utter impossibility of bringing the torso into the proposed relation to another figure. We may therefore confidently regard the hero as seated *alone*, enjoying the repose to which his long career of toil and danger had given both the right and the zest. There is a mark on the left thigh where it was touched by his club, and on this the hero rested his left hand, bending his body to the right, and holding a cantharus in his right hand.

Yet even as a '*Heracles at rest*' he has been regarded in two different lights. 'Heracles,' says Winckelmann, 'is represented as he ought to be, when having been purified by fire from all human weakness, and become immortal, he obtains the right to take his seat among the Gods.' Stephani, on the other hand, while he accepts the proposed attitude of rest, regards it not as the blissful repose of eternal blessedness, but the momentary pause between past and future toils and sufferings. 'The hero,' he says, 'after allowing his head to rest for a time on this support, raises it again with difficulty, and looks up with anxious despair to his father Zeus for help in his terrible affliction.'⁴

The design of this work is so bold and grand as to be worthy of the best period of Greek art; and, as we have said, we are inclined to

¹ αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν θεοῖσιν
τέρπεται ἐν θαλίῃ, καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἥβην.

But as for himself he hath joy at the banquet among the deathless gods, and hath to wife Hebe of the fair ankles.

² Millin, *Gall. Myth.* pl. 122, No. 453.
³ *Mus. P. Cl.* ii. p. 80.

⁴ Stephani, *Der ausruhende Herakles*, p. 149.

refer the original invention to Lysippus as the perfecter of the Heracles type. Like the Heracles Trapezios, he is seated on a rock, not in exhaustion or despair, but in the enjoyment of eternal ease in the bright citadels of heaven.

Hac arte Pollux et vagus Hercules
Enisus arces attigit igneas.

In the endeavour to form a just estimate of this noble figure as a work of art, we can hardly avoid being unduly influenced by the fact that it was the subject of Michael Angelo's constant study, and of Winckelmann's enthusiastic rhapsody. The latter as he gazes at it seems to lose all power of sober criticism, and vainly strives to find an epithet or simile sublime or beautiful enough to express his unbounded admiration. 'The excellent and noble form of so perfect a nature seems clothed with immortality. The shape is as it were only the vessel of the soul; and a loftier spirit appears to have occupied the room of the mortal parts. We no longer see the body which fought wild beasts and monsters, but that which on Mount Cæta was cleansed from the dross of humanity. So perfect neither Hylas nor the tender Iole ever saw him; it was thus that he lay in the arms of Hebe, the goddess of eternal youth. . . . His body is fed by no mortal food, but by that of the Gods, and he seems only to enjoy and not to receive, and to be satisfied without being filled.' 'As I gaze on those thighs of inexhaustible strength, and of a length characteristic of deities,—those thighs which bore the hero through a thousand lands and nations to immortality—my spirit traverses the remotest regions of the world through which the hero passed, and I am carried to the extremest boundaries of his toils, to the monuments and pillars which mark the spot where his foot had rested.'¹ Scarcely less decided, though less rhapsodical, is the praise accorded to the torso by the great critic and artist Mengs.² 'The torso of the Belvedere,' he says, 'is a work purely ideal. We see in it united all the beauties which we admire in other statues.' . . . 'The skilful Athenian artist (Apollonius) was, in my opinion, inspired by the most excellent taste to

¹ Winckelm. *Kunstgeschichte*, vi.

² Mengs' *Werke*, i. p. 204.

which the imagination can attain.' Both these great writers remark on the curious fact that the veins are not represented in the torso, which they regard as a proof that the artist intended to exhibit a glorified body which no longer needed sustenance.

We, who have seen better things, cannot echo the ecstatic panegyrics of those to whom the torso represented the greatest achievements of plastic art ; but we may still accord the highest praise to the general design, and to the exquisite skill with which the different parts of the body are moulded and presented in their true relation to one another. No part of the work which has been preserved is wanting in truth, though it may not, like cognate works of the Periclean age, express the whole truth. The treatment of the skin in this grand colossus is very remarkable. It differs in this point as widely as possible from the Laocoon, and other works, in which the artist purposely, almost ostentatiously, shows the manner in which the muscles and veins have been cut out by the chisel. In the torso the object seems to be in the opposite direction. All marks of the tool are carefully erased, and the surface of the skin worked up to a velvet-like, unctuous smoothness, and a sensitive delicacy, hardly in accordance with the nature of the rude, laborious demigod. We may indeed suppose with Winckelmann that he has exchanged his terrestrial for a celestial body. The effect of the leaning posture on the tension of the skin, and the position of the ribs, which are crowded together on one side, and widely separated on the other, is carefully and skilfully expressed. Everything is in its right place, but in the minor details there is not the same clearness of expression or the same delicacy of touch, as in the nude figures of the Parthenon group, in which every swelling muscle, every rising and depression, by which the surface of the body is broken up, are sharply and clearly expressed and defined.¹

The Venus de' Medici (fig. 240) by Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, a Greek artist living in Rome in the first or second century of the Christian era. This universally celebrated statue was found in eleven fragments in the Portico of Octavia at Rome, for the adornment of

¹ Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 564.

which it was in all probability originally executed. The whole of the right and left arms from the elbow downwards are restored. Traces of gilding were visible on her hair on its first discovery; her ears are pierced for rings, and she wears an armlet on her left arm.

A comparison of the Venus de' Medici with the extant copies of the Cnidian Aphrodite, leaves no room for doubt that Cleomenes drew his inspiration from that lovely darling of the Grecian world. The position of the feet is almost exactly the same in both. The right arm of the Medicean is restored on the model of the Venus in the Pal. Chigi at Rome, which, according to the inscription, was copied by Menophantus from the Aphrodite of the Troad.¹ The position of both arms is the same as in the Capitoline Venus. The Medicean differs from both in being much younger, slighter, and of more delicate and tender proportions. She is sometimes called Anadyomene on account of the dolphin at her feet, but the trim elegance with which her hair is arranged militates strongly against this interpretation.

Although we cannot recognise the work of Cleomenes as original in the same sense as the Athênê Parthenos of Pheidias, or the Niobe of Scopas (?), we must allow that he has so far modified the type created by Praxiteles as to give his Venus a distinct character and effect of her own, and to make her a genuine child of a new spirit and a new age. We see at once that the artist has thrown off the last remnant, not only of religious faith, but of that religious *sentiment* which lingers round the old sanctuaries. The Venus whom his fathers worshipped retains in his eyes nothing of her divinity but her adorable, entrancing beauty. At an earlier period an excuse was made for the daring innovation of representing a Goddess nude by the suggestion of the bath. Cleomenes makes no such excuses, and the temper of the age rendered them quite unnecessary. His

FIG. 240.



VENUS DE' MEDICI.

¹ *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* No. 6165.

Aphrodite is not only nude, but she has no covering at hand, as even the Capitoline Venus has, to show that her state is accidental and momentary. To do justice, therefore, to the power of the artist we must distinctly understand the object he has in view. His aims are not the highest. His work was not intended for a temple-image; it is simply the embodiment of the highest ideal of a lovely woman in the early springtide of her beauty, arrayed in all the external attractions which can charm the senses and fascinate the heart of man. If we accept the idea as a proper subject of art, though not a very lofty one, we must allow that we know of no statue in which there is a more perfect unity of expression, or one in which face and form and attitude combine more harmoniously to produce a sense of admiration and delight in the beholder. Her whole form seems to shine in a soft lustre of love and beauty. The exquisite surfaces and curves of the perfectly moulded figure flow and melt into each other with a 'never-ending sinuosity of sweetness.' The simple elegance with which the hair is arranged enhances the perfect form of the head, which is poised so gracefully on the finely rounded neck. The charming oval face, which is radiant with pleased anticipation, is slightly raised and turned, and wears an expression of mingled timidity and archness; and the sweet soft swimming eyes as they gaze into the distance seem to ask and promise love.

It is not necessary to be either archæologist or artist to discern the beauty of this work, which he who runs may read.

There need no words nor terms precise,
The paltry jargon of the marble mart,
Where Pedantry gulls Folly : we have eyes.

It appeals at once to the senses and the heart of all, though the artist alone can fully appreciate its very high artistic and technical merits. Winckelmann¹ aptly compares it to 'a rose which bursts at sunrise after a beautiful dawn.' To the last generation it would have seemed impertinent to quote the lines of Byron on this statue; to many of the present they may be altogether new :—

¹ *Kunstgeschichte*, iv. 111.

There, too, the Goddess loves in stone and fills
 The air around with beauty ; we inhale
 The ambrosial aspect, which, beheld, instils
 Part of its immortality ; the veil
 Of heaven is half undrawn ; within the pale
 We stand, and in that form and face behold
 What mind can make when Nature's self would fail,
 And to the fond idolaters of old
 Envy the innate flash which such a soul could mould.

A considerable difference of opinion exists among writers and connoisseurs as to the character and circumstances in which the artist intends to represent her. It seems very doubtful whether he has any particular function or adventure of the Goddess in view. An *Anadyomene* she can hardly be, as we have said, and if we must attach some story to the statue, we should prefer the interpretation of Heyne, who thinks that *she is standing for judgment before Paris*. With this view of the matter Byron seems to agree, and on such a question the testimony of the noble poet is quite as valuable as that of the most learned German philologist.

Appearedst thou not to Paris in this guise ?

The half-deprecating, half-triumphant glance of the successful candidate in the competitive examination on Mount Gargarus seems to favour the supposition ; which, moreover, justifies, or rather explains, the full revelation of her charms.

We cannot, of course, claim a very high place for a work whose principal, though by no means its only, characteristic is the sensual charm which it exercises. It belongs to the lower region of art. But at the lowest estimate which the coolest critic can form of the Medicean Venus, how favourably does she, in her refined and 'innocent voluptuousness,' contrast with the goddesses and nymphs of many an illustrious painter of the Middle Ages and with the meretricious minxes of some modern schools of sculpture.¹

The attitude of *the Chigi Venus* in the Vatican is the same as that of the Medici, but she holds *the end of a fringed garment* in her left hand.

¹ The modern Venus, in too many cases, is not moulded and painted by Nature but by bastard art with the aid of corsets and cosmetics.

The Capitoline Venus is rather larger, and more womanly in her fully developed forms. In artistic merit it is not much inferior.

The so-called '*Germanicus*,' a work of Cleomenes II., is now in the Louvre, whither it was transported in the reign of Louis XIV. from the gardens of Pope Sixtus V. (A.D. 1585-1590) on the Esquiline. The name by which it is generally known is altogether unwarranted. It is probably the portrait-statue of some *Roman orator* or ambassador in the form of *Hermes Logios*, as the god of eloquence. It is supposed to bear a strong resemblance to a statue of *Hermes in the Villa Ludovisi*, the head of which shows greater archaic severity; and to a similar one in the *Pal. Colonna at Rome*; and they may all be copies of some Greek original of an earlier date.

With a natural desire to substitute some name for the abandoned '*Germanicus*,' Clarac suggests '*Marius Gratidianus*,' and Thiersch '*Quinctius Flamininus*.'

The entire want of ideality in this work, and certain individual traits, warrant us in regarding it as a portrait; but all attempts to find a name for it have proved fruitless. The *pose* of the figure is very happily chosen and full of interest. The orator, firmly planted on both feet, is in the act of speaking, and the hand, with its closed fingers, raised to the level of the head, the downcast eyes, and the whole attitude and bearing of the man, express in a very effective manner the concentration of thought of an earnest and dignified speaker. The garment which hangs from his left arm is skilfully used as a prop instead of the customary tree. The significance of *the tortoise* at his feet, on which the name of the artist is engraved, is doubtful. It is not peculiar to *Hermes* as inventor of the lyre,¹ but is found with *Pan* and *Aphrodite Urania*.² The treatment of the nude figure is clear, correct, and precise, and its relative proportions are admirably observed; but the general effect is decidedly prosaic and lifeless—we might say Roman—although this is by no means the universal opinion.³ Visconti considered it the best portrait-statue which has come down to us; Winckelmann,⁴ on the other hand,

¹ Hor. *Od.* iii. 11, and i. 10.

² Friederichs' *Baukt.* p. 413.

³ Vide Overbeck, *G. d. Plastik*, ii. 304.

⁴ Vol. i. p. 256, ed. Eiselein.

who could put up with any quality rather than *tameness*, says, 'The best statue in France is the so-called Germanicus at Versailles; and this figure has no particular beauty, but seems to have been copied from a common model in actual life.' The least satisfactory part of the work is the drapery, which, although from its position it ought to be gliding down the left arm, has all the appearance of being nailed to it. The left hand probably held a staff, or, as some suppose, the caduceus of Hermes.

Heracles Farnese (fig. 241), the work of Glycon the Athenian.¹ This colossal marble statue was found in 1540 in the Baths of Caracalla, and passed from the Farnese palace at Rome to Naples, where it now is. Both style and inscription point to the time of Hadrian, when the influence of the grand traditions of Greek antiquity which prevailed in the last years of the Roman Republic, and in the reigns of the first Emperors, had almost entirely lost their sway.

The Hero is represented just after the accomplishment of the most arduous of his labours, that of bringing *the apples of the Hesperides*—the wedding present of Ge to Hêrê—from the very ends of the old world to Argos. He stands leaning heavily on his club, and holds the apples in his right hand behind his back. The struggle with the terrible Dragon, Ladon, is too recent, and the effects are too exhausting, to allow him to feel the natural exultation of victory. The muscles are swollen by his superhuman efforts, and the whole attitude of the body, the drooping head, and the fixed and gloomy gaze of the eyes, express the extreme of weariness and depression. There is nothing about him of the inexhaustible vigour, the eternal youthfulness, with which earlier art is accustomed to invest its Demigods. Even *his*

FIG. 241.



THE FARNESIAN HERACLES.

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 579.

giant powers have evidently been overtasked, and he seems to be looking to the past without triumph, and to the future without hope. There can be little doubt that the original design of this statue was the work of Lysippus, who, as we have seen, made Heracles the subject of especial study, and represented him in every age and form. But in this, as in other statues of this period, the copyist tries to improve upon his model, and to surpass his master. Even Lysippus sought to influence the beholder by colossal size and massive proportions, but he did so without violating the principles of true art and refined taste. In the work before us the tendency of the Alexandrine school towards exaggeration, and a too great aiming at effect, is carried to an extreme far removed from the moderation which characterises all the best Greek work. To give an idea of gigantic strength, the body of the hero is represented as composed of the coarsest materials, and as developed by unceasing labour, not to harmonious beauty, but to unwieldy clumsiness, of proportion. The size of the muscles is exaggerated almost to deformity; they show, as Winckelmann expresses it, like 'piled-up hills.' The enormous breadth of the shoulders and breast is still further enhanced by contrast with the too small head.¹ But Heracles not only bore the weight of the world on his massive shoulders, he also outran the Keryneian Stag; and the artist knows no better means of reminding us of this than giving abnormal and disfiguring length to the legs. These are the cheap expedients of one who is not sufficiently initiated by genius into the mysteries of nature to work upon her lines, and to represent superhuman powers in human forms. We may perhaps mention in this connexion the so-called

Heracles Mastai, a colossal figure in gilt bronze in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican. It was found near Pompey's Theatre, and had evidently been hidden either from robbers in search of metal, or from Christians in search of heathen idols. The execution of different parts is very unequal in merit, the knees and shins being well formed, while the flesh of the stomach is of very inferior workmanship. The

¹ There is a similar head of Heracles in the Brit. Mus. with a more affecting expression, which may be a copy or replica of

the Farnesian. It was found near Mount Vesuvius.—*Marbles of the B. M.* i. pl. 11.

face is broadened out by a blow on the back of the head, and thereby acquires an almost ludicrous expression, for which the artist is not responsible. It is probably a copy of some work of the school of Lysippus, of which the prominent forehead and Macedonian nose are characteristics.

Pallas, by Antiochus of Athens, in the Villa Ludovisi at Rome. The *motif* of this statue is very uncertain, because the arms are restored. Welcker assumes that the restorer intended to represent the Goddess in the act of haranguing troops, like a general, immediately before an engagement with the enemy. But the position of her arms is equally reconcileable with her customary attitude, in which she rests one hand on her shield and holds her lance in the other. The appearance of the head is greatly injured by the new helmet, and the face is entirely marred by the badly restored nose.

The Caryatid of Diogenes of Athens (fig. 242), in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican, is a direct copy of the Caryatids of the Erechtheum. It is the more satisfactory because the artist has recognised the limits of his own powers, and kept to the original, not only in the general design, but also in the principal details. The essentially architectural character of the work is well preserved, and the clearness and purity of the outlines produce a remarkably stately and pleasing effect. It is only when we compare it with the Greek originals in the British Museum that we become aware of its inferiority, and of the world-wide difference between the work of the two periods in which original and copy were respectively produced.

We learn from Pliny¹ that Diogenes, the Athenian, decorated the Pantheon of Agrippa (which was consecrated in B.C. 25), and that his Caryatids were praised '*inter pauca operum.*' We may well believe that the Vatican figure was one of these.

FIG. 242.



ROMAN CARYATID.

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 37 (38).



FIG. 243.—RELIEF FROM THE VASE OF SALPION.

The Canephora of Criton and Nicolaus, in the Villa Albani at Rome, also follows the general type of the Caryatid of the Erechtheum; but the artist has endeavoured to introduce into it a certain mild grace and elegance—by giving greater roundness to the nude, and greater variety in the fall of the drapery—in the place of the simple solidity, and severe monotony, of perpendicular lines which characterise the originals. It is an attempt, in fact, to free the Caryatid from its architectural bonds, which only results in unfitting it for its function of human pillar.

FIG. 243, a.



The Vase of Salpion, at Naples (figs. 243 and 243, a). The same character of clever imitation and adaptation of ancient types, of which we have given examples in statuary, belongs to several well-known and beautiful Bacchic and other *reliefs* of this period. One of the best of these forms the ornament of a vase inscribed with the name of Salpion, and known by the name of '*the Font of*

*Gaeta.*¹ It was discovered at Cormia, on the Gulf of Gaeta, and was for some time used as a font in the cathedral of this city, whence it was transferred to the museum at Naples. The subject of the relief is *the handing over by Hermes of the infant Dionysus to his future nurse, the Nymph of Nysa, in Naxos.* There is scarcely a figure in it which may not be traced to some prototype of a better period; but all are combined in a novel manner with great taste and elegance, and the effect is extremely pleasing. Of a similar character is

The Vase of Sosibios, in the Louvre, which is also inscribed with the name of the artist. The surface of the relief upon it, which is a good deal rubbed, is likewise Bacchic, but the *motif* is by no means clear. One is tempted to think that it represents no central action at all, but only a succession of well-known figures from the Dionysiac *Thiasos* without any close connexion. In the centre we see *a flaming altar*, on the left side of which stands *Artemis* with her usual attributes—bow, quiver, and hind; and on the other side, *Hermes* walking on the tips of his toes, and holding up his right hand in a significant manner. Behind *Artemis* marches *a minstrel* playing the harp, who reminds us of the Apollo Citharædus, although the figure is generally pronounced to be female. Then follow *a Satyr* and *a Bacchante*. Behind *Hermes* are *two Bacchantes*, copied from favourite types of a late period, and *a Corybant*.

These two works of Salpion and Sosibios cannot be dated earlier than the last century B.C. They are important as affording examples of the commencement of the archaistic style which Hadrian's passion for the antique made so general and popular at a later period. There is another relief of great interest, representing

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia, at Florence, which bears the name of Cleomenes.¹ The authenticity of the inscription is doubtful, but there is no doubt of the beauty of the work. *The priest* is in the act of cutting off the hair of the lovely victim as a preliminary sacrifice. *Iphigenia* stands in silent grief and patient resignation,² *πρὶ πονεύσῃ ὥς ἐν γράφαις*,³ while her father, *Agamemnon*, stands somewhat apart with

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 578.

² 'Muta metu, terram genibus submissa, petebat.'—Lucret. i. 94.

³ Æsch. *Agam.* v. 93. Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 1550.

covered head. The design is supposed to be borrowed from the picture of *Timanthes* (about 400 B.C.), the rival of *Zeuxis*¹ and *Parrhasius*,² whose work was so highly celebrated by ancient writers. 'For when,' says *Quintilian*, 'Timanthes, the Cynthian, in his Immolation of Iphigenia, had painted Calchas sad, Ulysses sadder, and had represented in the face of Menelaus the most poignant grief that art can express; having exhausted the deepest feelings (*consumptis affectibus*), and finding no means of worthily portraying the countenance of *the father*, he covered his head and left it to every man's own heart to estimate his sufferings.'³

¹ *Plin. N. H.* xxxv. 64.

² *Ibid.* xxxv. 71.

³ *Quintil. Inst. Orat.* ii. 13. 12. Conf.

Cic. Orat. xxii. 74. *Valer. Max.* viii. 11.

Eustath. ad Il. p. 1343. 60.

CHAPTER L.

ARTISTS OF ASIA MINOR.

MANY of these appear to have settled in Italy, and to have been employed by distinguished and wealthy Romans. The best known of them was

AGASIAS, SON OF DOSITHEOS OF EPHEBUS,

who seems to have belonged to a family of artists, as we read in an inscription the name of an earlier Agasias, son of Menophilos, also of Ephesus.¹ The later Agasias is known as the sculptor of the so-called 'Borghese Gladiator.' Cavaceppi attributes *the Discobolus in the British Museum* to this artist.

The name of

HERACLIDES, SON OF HAGNOS²

of Ephesus, appears on the trunk of a tree by the side of *a statue in the Louvre restored as Ares*.³

ARCHELAUS, SON OF APOLLONIUS

of Priene,⁴ was the author of the famous relief in the British Museum called *the Apotheosis of Homer*, which was found in the middle of the seventeenth century near the Via Appia, on the site of the old town of Bovillæ.

¹ *Corp. Insc. Gr.* No. 2285.

² *Corp. I. Gr.* No. 6152. This reading is doubtful. Vide Brunn, *K.-G.* p. 572.

³ Clarac, *Mus. de Louvre*, pl. 313, f. 1439.

⁴ *Corp. Insc. Gr.* No. 6131.

ALEXANDROS, SON OF MENIDES OF ANTIOCHEIA.¹

The name of this artist is found on a fragment of a plinth which in all probability belongs to the famous Venus de Milo.² The base of the statue is said to have been destroyed to conceal from Louis XVIII. of France the late origin of this illustrious work.

ARISTEAS AND PAPIAS

came to Rome from Aphrodisias in Caria,³ in which town a school of art seems to have formed itself at this late period. These artists executed *the two Centaurs of black marble* found in Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli in 1746, and now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. Another artist of Aphrodisias was

ZENON OF APHRODISIAS, SON OF ATTINAS,

who lived not before the second century B.C. He first became known from the inscription⁴ on the dress, near the left knee, of *a statue of a senator (?) seated*, in the Villa Ludovisi, the general design of which strongly resembles that of the so-called 'Marcellus' of the Capitol. Another work inscribed with the name of Zeno is *a headless Herma* with a metrical inscription, in which he speaks of his country as *μακαρτάτη Ἀφροδισίας*, and praises the work of his art (*κλυτὸν ἔργον*), with which he had adorned a tomb for himself, his wife, and son.⁵ Zenon's name is also found on the base of a marble statue at Syracuse, representing *a woman in a light robe*.⁶ Brunn speaks of a fourth inscription containing the name of Zeno.⁷ Other artists of Aphrodisias, whose names occur on statues, were MENE-STHEUS⁸ and ATTICIANUS.⁹

¹ On the river Menander in Caria.

² *Corp. Insc. Gr.* No. 2435 b. Conf. Wieseler, *Denkm. d. a. K.* ii. No. 270; and Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 334.

³ There were two other towns of this name, one in the extreme south of Laconia,

and the other in Thrace, near the entrance to the Hellespont.

⁴ *Corp. In. Gr.* 6151.

⁵ *Ibid.* 6233.

⁶ *Ibid.* No. 5374.

⁷ *K.-G.* i. 574. ⁸ *Corp. In. Gr.* 6167.

⁹ *Mus. Florent. Stat.* i. 18.

EXTANT WORKS OF ASIATIC GREEKS OF THIS PERIOD.

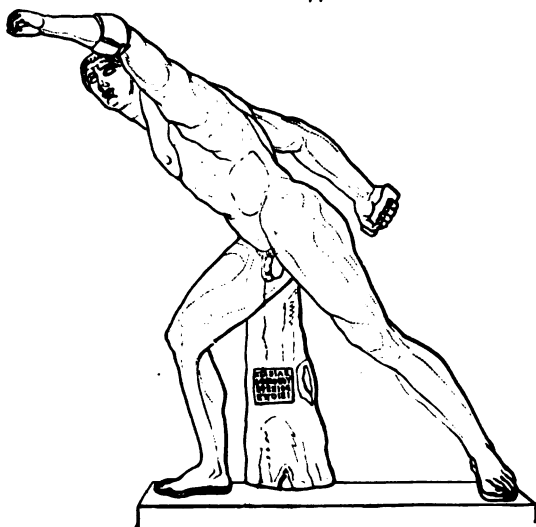
One of the most remarkable of these is the famous marble statue in the Louvre, falsely called

The Borghese 'Gladiator' (fig. 244). This work of the Ephesian artist Agasias¹ was discovered in Capo d'Anzo (Antium), in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and has been in Paris since 1808.

The whole attitude and bearing of this bold and striking figure necessarily imply an opponent, but it does not follow, as O. Müller seems to think, that our statue must have formed

part of a group. The imagination of the beholder readily supplies all that is necessary to complete the scene. There is no adequate reason for the designation 'Gladiator,' which has been abandoned with general consent. Nor is it the representation of a hero or mythical personage, but simply a 'study' of a strong and active combatant, who is defending

FIG. 244.



THE SO-CALLED BORGHESE GLADIATOR.

himself with his shield against an adversary in a higher position than himself—probably a rider—and at the same time watching his opportunity to deal a decisive blow with his sword. The attitude represents the most violent extreme of motion and exertion, and the most strained attention. It has been suddenly assumed in the exigency of the combat, and is therefore transitory, carrying the

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 597.

imagination irresistibly forward to the inevitable relaxation and rebound.

The striking effect which this statue invariably produces on the beholder is largely owing to the rarity and singularity of the attitude. It is not drawn directly from life, nor does it remind us of anything within the range of our own experience or imagination. It appears to have been deliberately invented as affording the best field for the display of the artist's extraordinary anatomical learning and technical mastery. We are at first surprised to find the expression, or rather want of expression, in the face so little in accordance with the violent excitement indicated by the forced attitude of the body. The features are cast in plebeian mould, and there is nothing in them to excite either sympathy or curiosity—no sign of wrath or fear, nothing beyond the eager watchfulness of a man engaged in a trial of skill with a well-trained adversary. Wonderful as it is, therefore, in many respects, the statue has no ideal or personal, no tragic or pathetic, interest for us, and it conveys no spiritual meaning. It is addressed not to the feelings or the imagination, but to the intellect; and we admire not so much the work itself as the learning and skill of the artist, who in its creation triumphed over so many difficulties.

And as a work of this second class *the Borghese Combatant* claims one of the highest places. The boldness and novelty of the design, the accurate knowledge and marvellous skill displayed in the treatment of the muscles in their abnormal state of extreme tension, are a source of wonder and delight to the man of science as well as the artist, and have caused this statue to be regarded as an almost perfect model for the study of plastic anatomy.¹

Venus of Melos (fig. 245), probably the work of *Alexandros, son of Menides* of Antiocheia.

It is with no little reluctance that we place this noblest conception of the female form among the works of this late period. But the evidence, both external and internal, constrains us to refer it to that age of genial eclecticism and imitation to which we owe such marvels of art as the Belvedere Torso and the Borghese Warrior. We

¹ Vid. Jean Galbart Salvage, *L'Anatomie du Gladiateur combattant*, Paris 1812.

must regard this grandest and noblest representation of the mighty Goddess with the same feelings as are inspired by the rare golden days of autumn, which rival in beauty, and surpass in charm and interest, the uniform brightness of the height of summer. The Venus of Melos was discovered in 1820 by a peasant in a niche of the buried walls of the old town of Melos, in the island of the same name. It was purchased by the French Ambassador at Constantinople, the Marquis de Rivière, and presented by him to Louis XVIII., who placed it in the Louvre. It is composed of two blocks of marble, which unite just above the garment which envelopes her legs.¹ Of the arms, which are both unfortunately lost, the left was made separately and fixed to the body. The tip of the nose has been added in modern times; and at an earlier period that part of the left foot which projects from the drapery was restored, but so badly that it was removed again.² The ears are pierced for rings.

Two years later (1822) *part of a left arm, and a left hand grasping an apple*, were discovered, which many persons still consider to belong to the statue. They certainly *look* like the results of a clumsy attempt to restore the missing parts.

M. de Longpérier, in a letter to Friederichs, declares that the plinth inscribed with the name of Alexandros was found at the same time with the statue and brought to Paris, and there purposely destroyed: 'On avait dit au Roi Louis XVIII. que la statue était l'œuvre du célèbre sculpteur de Phryné (Praxiteles), et je crois que ce fut la cause de la perte de l'inscription.'³

The attitude of the Goddess is a very peculiar one, not easy to be accounted for. She stands proudly erect, inclining from the waist upwards to the right, but facing slightly round to the left. She rests the whole weight of her stately form on the right leg, while the

FIG. 245.



THE VENUS OF MELOS.

¹ Statues (not colossal) are seldom composed of more than one block. The Diana at Holkham is one of the three or four exceptions.

² This foot has been again restored quite recently.

³ Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 334.

left foot, which is lost, was raised and rested on some object—a helmet or tortoise. Her *pose* affords an example of that pleasing undulation of the human form which, according to Winckelmann, was first introduced by Lysippus. The beautiful rhythm, however, is obscured by the loss of the fine arms which must have belonged to so majestic and superb a figure. The lower limbs of the statue, which is nude to the hips, are draped rather than clothed in a mantle, which is arranged solely with a view to artistic effect. The too small head is supported by a too long neck, and the oval of the haughty face is shorter than in most of the statues of the preceding period. The upper eyelid extends farther than usual beyond the lower, which is slightly raised in the manner characteristic of Aphrodite. It is this formation which makes the eye itself look longer than it really is, and imparts somewhat of the winning, languishing expression, which assures us that, after all, this stern, disdainful woman *is* the Goddess of Love. The ears are partly covered by the hair, which is simply and elegantly tied into a knot at the back of the head, like that of the Medicean Venus. The nude forms are moulded with admirable power on the grandest scale, with a clearness and purity of outline worthy of the best period of Grecian art. The figure is ideal in the highest sense of the word ; it is a form which transcends all our experience, which has no prototype or equal in the actual world, and beyond which no effort of the imagination can rise. As we contemplate with something like awe this *beau-ideal* of proud, majestic womanhood, our thoughts naturally recur to the very different form under which the Goddess is represented to us in the Florentine statue. In the latter we see the tender, delicate form of a young girl in the first flush of youth, who feels the influence of the love which she inspires, and whose charming face expresses at once her bashful timidity and half-conscious coquetry. The former, whose grand form is that of a fully developed woman, stands before us in quiet majesty—proud, cold, and self-sufficing ; lovable, indeed, but seeking no love from us (*nihil indiga nostri*). It is no longer the ideal of a lovely woman, it is the *Goddess* who does not condescend to ask, or try to win, our homage, but demands it by her mere presence as of right divine.

The peculiarity of the attitude of the Venus of Melos, and the

loss of her arms, which might explain it, have given rise to countless theories respecting the action in which she is engaged. Everything about her, except her lustrous beauty, even the material from which she is carved,¹ is matter of dispute. If the hand with the apple were genuine, we should have the Cyprian queen in the act of holding up her prize. According to another interpretation, she is contemplating her own victorious charms in the polished surface of Mars' shield. If she was satisfied with the reflection, her pleasure is very ill expressed, and the direction of her gaze is far too high. It is inconceivable, too, that the artist would choose to conceal the greater portion of her glorious form by the interposition of a large shield.² The most extraordinary explanation is that lately broached by M. Geskel Salomons,³ who thinks that the Venus of Melos once adorned a gymnasium, and stood on one side of Heracles as *Pleasure*, as a pendant to *Virtue* on the other, in a group representing the famous 'Choice of Heracles'!

If we choose to regard her as a single and independent figure, the most plausible explanation of her attitude is suggested by the beautiful statue called the 'Victory of Brescia,' which is really a Venus restored as a Nike with wings and buckler, probably in the time of Vespasian, who founded the temple where it was discovered. She is there represented as holding a buckler in her left hand, on which she is inscribing the names of fallen heroes.⁴ The Aphrodite of Melos may also be compared with the '*Venus Falerone*'⁵ (from Valeria in Picenum), to which it bears a very striking resemblance, except that the latter is clothed, while the former is nude.

The difficulty of explaining her attitude satisfactorily as a single figure appears to most observers insuperable. De Quincy was the first to suggest that she formed part of a group, with Ares, whose anger she is endeavouring to appease by her caresses; and he refers to

¹ One connoisseur says Parian marble, another the so-called *corallitique* of Asia Minor.

² This view, however, is held by O. Müller, Millingen, Welcker, and others, who support it by reference to coins of Antoninus Pius, belonging to the Roman colony at

Corinth. Conf. Pausan. ii. 4. 8.

³ 'La Statue de Milo : ' conférence tenue à l'Académie de Stockholm, 1878.

⁴ The eminent sculptor, Mr. Boehm, favours this view.

⁵ *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. 7. *Annal.* xi. 1839.

a medal of Faustina the younger in support of this view. The expression of her face gives no countenance to this hypothesis. Millingen also thinks that she is standing by the side of Mars, but he regards the pair in the more serious light of a '*couple conjugal*.' This is, perhaps, the best explanation which has as yet been brought forward. M. Ravaisson, of the Louvre, agrees with him to a considerable extent, and has greatly facilitated the formation of a sound opinion by placing several similar figures in the room adjoining that which the Venus of Melos occupies alone as becomes her rank.

The 'group theory' derives confirmation from the well-known *statues of Hadrian and Sabina* in the Louvre, in which the latter is evidently copied from the Melian Aphrodite and Hadrian from the *Mars Borghese* in the same museum. The action of Venus-Sabina, who lays her hand on the breast of her companion, Mars-Hadrian, would very well suit the position of our statue. Similar groups may be seen in the Capitoline Museum at Rome and at Florence, and the *motif* was evidently a favourite one. This view of the case, which seems the best, does not necessitate a love scene, in which the Goddess is evidently not in a mood to take a part. She is grave and stately, as becomes her character as an object of worship in a temple, and as consort of the powerful God of War.

The Venus de Milo is justly admired, not only for the grandeur of its design, the perfection of its proportion, and the exquisite moulding of the superb and luxuriant form, but for the vivid freshness of the flesh and the velvet softness of the skin, in which it stands unrivalled in ancient and modern art. The extraordinary skill with which minute details, such as the folds of skin in the neck, are harmonised with the ideal beauty of the whole is beyond all imitation and all praise. The lifelike effect of this wonderful masterpiece is greatly enhanced by the rare and perfect preservation of the epidermis and by the beautiful warm yellowish tinge which the lapse of centuries has given to the marble.

In the drapery it is rather the execution, which is very meritorious, than the design, which we admire. It is not in accordance with the practice of the best period to use the dress as a mere ornament to heighten the effect of the nude. This is too evidently done in the

case before us; for the drapery—which is gracefully arranged round the lower limbs, and out of which the beautiful nude form rises like a flower from its calyx—could not possibly remain where it is for a single moment. Such a want of truth, such an *artifice de toilette*, is a strong argument against the claim of this statue to belong to the age of Pheidias or even Scopas.

*Two Centaurs by Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias.*¹ These figures of an old and young centaur, each of whom bore an Eros on his back, were discovered in the Villa of Hadrian at Tivoli, and are now in the Capitoline Museum at Rome. The point of the representation, which smacks strongly of the spirit of Alexandrian parody and epigram, is the contrast between youth and age, when subjected to the attacks of Love. *The younger Centaur* (fig. 246) bears his burden gladly and proudly, and regards with an air of mockery his older companion, who looks by no means so well pleased by the presence of the little tyrant on his back. The arms of *Eros*,² who is balancing himself on the *old centaur's* back with a comically victorious air, are restored; the Bacchic wreath on his head seems to indicate that the condition of his victim is the effect of wine. The invention belongs to an earlier period than that of Hadrian, and there are several *replicas*, one of which, in the Louvre, is quite equal to the Capitoline group. The original was probably in bronze, which the black marble is intended to imitate. Some admiration is due to the patient skill with which the artists have endeavoured to follow their model even in the minutest detail, and yet it is just this Oriental

FIG. 246.



THE YOUNG CENTAUR.

¹ *Corp. Ins. Gr.* No. 6141.

² This relates to the replica in the Louvre, in which the figure of Eros is preserved.

attention to minutiae which injures the general effect. The structure of the figures is altogether inorganic, and the attempt to give the mass of the body the appearance of solidity only results in making it look shapeless and clumsy, and far too heavy for the slender legs. On the whole Aristeas and Papias can hardly claim a higher rank than that of cunning patient craftsmen.¹

The Apotheosis of Homer (fig. 247), by Archelaus, son of Apollonius, of Priene. This relief, discovered at Bovillæ, and now in the British Museum, has been very much restored. In the third row all the heads are new except that of the third figure from the left side, and the head of the small figure to the right in the lowest stripe.

It has been suggested that this relief formed one of a series of tablets made in the reign of Tiberius for the use of schools. We may well believe it, for the composition is dry and pedantic, and suggests the idea that the artist worked under the inspiration and direction of a grammarian who knew little of the nature of plastic art, or the rules and requirements of the relief style. The arrangement in parallel stripes is almost unknown to sculpture, though familiar to us in painted vases of the perfect style, and found also in cameos and silver vessels of the age of Augustus. The figures are evidently copied from the crowd of antique statues existing in Rome, and many of them are therefore not without interest and beauty, but they are arranged with little skill or taste. The scene is laid on the hill of Parnassus, and although Homer himself is the real central figure, the summit is occupied by *Zeus*, by whom the gift of genius is bestowed on man. He is sitting somewhat apart, as becomes his dignity, with sceptre in hand, and the royal bird at his feet. Next to him, but a little lower, on the right, is the figure of *Melpomene* (the sweet songstress),² to whom he seems to be addressing some command. Beneath her feet is a *lyre*, and on her left *Thaleia*, who, with raised hand, is dancing down the hill. Next to *Thaleia* (the blooming), on the left, is *Euterpe* (the charming), who points with her double flute to the artist's name inscribed on a slab beneath the rocky seat of *Zeus*. *Erato* (the lovely) follows with a

¹ Brunn, *Künstler-Gesch.* B. i.

² This figure strongly resembles a statue of the same Muse at Berlin.

FIG. 247.



THE APOTHEOSIS OF HOMER.

small lyre in her hand; then another pair of Muses, *Calliope* (the beautiful-voiced) and *Clio* (the proclaimer). The former with uplifted hand is reciting from *a book* (the works of Homer?) to the latter—the Muse of Epic poetry.

In the third stripe, beginning on the left, we find a pair of Muses, *Terpsichore* (the dance-enjoying), the Muse of choral song, with *a larger lyre* than that of Erato, and *Urania* (the heavenly) with her *globe*. Next to these comes *Polyhymnia* (the many-hymned) in an attitude expressing the *abandon* of inspiration, listening to the strains of *Apollo*. The latter, in the guise of a Citharædus, with his *lyre* in the left hand and the *plectron* in the right, is just issuing from the Corycian grotto of Mount Parnassus. By his side are the sacred *Omphalos*, the navel of the earth, against which lean his *bow and quiver*, and *a priestess*, whose smaller size denotes her mere human character, holding in her hand *the cup* of libation.

Passing over the figure on a pedestal in front of a tripod, we come to the lowest stripe, in which the real action—the deification of Homer—is depicted. The first figures on the left, as we learn from the inscriptions under them, are *Οἰκουμένη* (the inhabited world), with a modius on her head (as a Chthonic deity?), and *Χρόνος* (time), standing side by side behind the throne of the deified poet. Oikoumene, as representative of the human race, is in the act of crowning him, while Chronos, with his long, swift wings, is bearing the poet's works in his hand down the stream of ages. Before them is *the immortal bard* himself, enthroned, with *a sceptre* in his left hand and *a branch or roll of paper* in the right. He is no longer 'the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,' such as he is represented in busts, but appears in all the pride of renewed and immortal youth. On each side of him crouch two small figures representing *the Iliad*, with *a sword or scroll*, and *the Odyssey*, with an *aplustre* (stern of a ship). On his footstool are *a frog and a mouse*, as reminiscences of the *Batryomachia* (or 'Battle of the Frogs and Mice'). Immediately in front of Homer, and turning towards him, is *Mythos* (fable), whose boyish form is indicative of the childlike character of fable. He is bearing the *oinochoe and cup*, in the capacity of *hierodule* (sacrificial attendant). To the right, again, is *the flaming altar*, behind which stands the victim, *a*

Carian ox, with the hump peculiar to the breed. Next to the altar, on the right of the spectator, stands *History*, of which Homer was the source, casting incense into the fire. Then follow *Epic Poetry*, holding a torch in each upraised hand; then *Tragedy* and *Comedy*, the germs of which lie in the works of Homer. The former of these is distinguished by superior height and more dignified carriage and dress, and especially by the lofty *ὄγκος*—the bushy topknot of hair on the head, intended to give height to the brow. This first and chief group of adorers is separated from the succeeding one by a small figure, apparently female, representing *Φύσις*, the native genius of the Poet. The four figures crowded together on the extreme right, to balance the close arrangement on the extreme left, are *Ἀρετὴ* (manliness, virtue), who raises her face and hand in enthusiastic adoration; *Μνήμη* (memory), with her hand to her mouth; *Πίστις* (faith), the tall figure behind *Aretê*; and *Σοφία* (wisdom), meditating, with her hand under her chin. The figures of this lower scene, which are all designated by their inscribed names, are closed in by a curtain as background to the scene.

We have still to notice *the tall figure on the pedestal* at the right end of the third stripe, who appears to be utterly unconnected with the rest. He is in the garb of a known *Philosopher Poet*, or, generally, *friend of the Muses*, by whom he is surrounded, and he holds a roll of paper in his hand. Göthe rightly regarded it as the Victor-statue of *the offerer of the tablet*, who for some work in honour of Homer has received the Tripod as a prize.

Many of the details of this work are undoubtedly very beautiful, and show a great amount of study and care. But we learn from it that the artists of this period allowed themselves entirely to disregard both the boundary lines by which the different arts are separated, and the essential laws of the Relief style, which require that the figures should lie between two parallel planes.¹ The figures themselves are relieved from insipidity by a close imitation of older types, but their action is often spasmodic and unnatural, and the repetition of the same movement—as in the four parallel uplifted arms in the lowest

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 59.

stripe—produces an unpleasant, monotonous effect. And lastly, the large admixture of Allegory removes this work from the region of the true ideal into that of didactic illustration. It is the offspring of reflexion, not of artistic imagination ; and it is not the plastic forms which interest us so much as the meaning they are intended to convey.

CHAPTER LI.

EXTANT WORKS OF GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD

(CONTINUED).

The Apollo Belvedere (fig. 248). This most universally known and most popular of ancient statues was discovered towards the end of the fifteenth century at Capo d'Anzo (Antium), the birthplace of Caligula and Nero, the latter of whom loved to *pose* as the representative of the 'fair-haired' and 'musical' God. The missing left hand and fingers of the right hand, with the all-important attributes which they bore, were restored in 1532 by Montorsoli, a pupil of Michael Angelo. It is still a matter of dispute whether the marble of this statue is Greek or Italian.

The 'radiant Pythian' is represented marching along with his left arm raised, as if holding aloft some object. His face is turned in the direction of the hand, and he is gazing with a bold, proud, and triumphant expression into the far distance.

The first appearance of this beautiful and striking work of art was greeted with enthusiastic joy, and in all succeeding ages its praises have been sung in every clime and language of the civilised

FIG. 248.



THE APOLLO BELVEDERE.

world. No man, however cold, has viewed it without emotion, and it excited to the highest pitch the glowing artistic feelings of the illustrious Winckelmann—feelings which found vent in the loftiest strains of ecstatic eulogy. ‘The statue of Apollo,’ he says, ‘is the highest ideal of art among all the works of antiquity which have escaped destruction. The artist has based his work entirely on the Ideal, and has employed only just so much of matter in its construction as was necessary to carry out his design and make it visible. This Apollo surpasses all other images of the God, as far as the Apollo of Homer transcends that of succeeding poets. He is exalted above humanity, and his bearing speaks of the grandeur with which he is filled. An eternal spring, like that of the blessed Elysian Fields, embathes his charming manhood of ripe maturity combined with the loveliness of youth, and plays with soft tenderness over the proud structure of his limbs. Enter in spirit into the realm of incorporeal beauty, and seek to be the creator of a heavenly nature, to invest the spirit with supernatural charms! For there is nothing mortal here, nothing which human necessities and weaknesses require. No veins or sinews heat or excite this form; but a heavenly spirit, poured out like a gentle stream, has filled the sphere in which this figure lives and moves.’

‘I forget all else as I gaze on this miracle of art, and myself assume a lofty attitude to contemplate it with becoming dignity. My bosom seems to expand like that of one who is filled with the spirit of prophecy. I feel myself transported to Delos and the Lycian groves, graced by the presence of Apollo; for his image seems endowed with life like that of Pygmalion’s beauty. Art herself must give me counsel and guide my hand in filling up this first sketch which I have here traced. I lay the idea of this statue, which I have endeavoured to clothe in words, at Apollo’s feet, like those who lay their garlands at the feet of the Divinities whom they fain would crown, but whose heads they cannot reach.’¹

It is well for us to learn from the foregoing rhapsody the utmost

¹ Winckelmann, vol. vi. p. 222, ed. Eiselein. It must have been after reading this overwrought panegyric that some bilious

Frenchman, quoted by Ampère, says of the idol of Winckelmann, ‘*ce blasphème d’atelier rassemble un ratis ratisé!*’

influence which a work of art can exercise upon a mind at the same time sensitive, sympathetic, and instructed. And if his eulogy—for we cannot call it criticism—now seems to us unjustified and overstrained, we should remember that it was not granted to Winckelmann to see what we see—that *le mieux est toujours l'ennemi du bon*—that if he had seen the full and perfect exemplification of his own prophetic definition of the essential characteristic of Greek art, 'simple grandeur and sublime repose,' his admiration would have been not chilled but moderated, and he would have relegated the Vatican Apollo to a somewhat lower rank.

This beautiful and famous work of art has been for ages, and still

FIG. 249.



HEAD OF APOLLO BELVEDERE.

FIG. 250.



THE STEINHÄUSER HEAD.

remains, one of the greatest riddles of Archæology ; and in discussing it we have to make our way through a whole thicket of difficult and thorny questions. It is not mentioned in ancient literature, and we know neither its author nor its age. Is it an original or a copy ? If a copy, was the original of bronze or marble ? Is the work before us of Greek or Italian marble ? And above all, what is the *motif* (*concetto*) ? What is the action in which the God is engaged ?

To all these questions different answers are still given by equally competent authorities.

The opinion of those who held that it was not an original work of the Roman period was sufficiently justified by the grandeur of the

design, and has been amply confirmed by the discovery of another head of Apollo, of Greek marble, identical in design, and even in measurement, with that of the Vatican statue. This work, called *the Steinhäuser head* (fig. 250), after the discoverer, was found, a few years ago, in a magazine at Rome, and is now at Basle. It is of an earlier and simpler style than *the Vatican copy* (fig. 249), is far more Greek in tone, and shows a fresher and purer feeling for organic structure. It may, therefore, fairly be regarded as standing nearer to the common original of both.¹ With regard to the material of that original we have the concurrent opinions of an illustrious artist and an illustrious archæologist—Canova and Brunn—that it was certainly bronze and not marble. ‘The Vatican head,’ says Brunn,² ‘is a bronze work even in marble, and the artist, in order to make it resemble bronze as much as possible, changes the nature of marble by giving it an artificial polish, and making it produce its effect as metal does by a glancing surface and reflected and refracted lights’

But by far the greatest interest attaches itself to the question as to the *motif* of the statue. It is quite evident that the God is engaged in some action which would be clear to us if the hands had not been mutilated. According to the earlier opinion which is petrified in the restoration of Montorsoli,³ the great ‘God of the silver bow’ has just discharged an arrow at the Python? (Tityos? or the Niobids?), and is watching the effect with satisfaction. Others see in him ‘the Bringer of the plague,’ shooting at the Greeks before Troy who had dishonoured his holy prophet.⁴ These interpretations, founded on the restored bow, gradually prevailed until, in 1860, attention was directed by Stephani to *an antique bronze statuette of Apollo*,⁵ rather less than two feet high, in St. Petersburg. It is probably one of several bronze figures discovered at Paramythia (near Janina), in 1792, and given by Veli Pasha, son of Ali Pasha, to his physician Dr. Frank. After passing through several hands, it

¹ Brunn prefers the Vatican head. Vide *Verhandl. der Philologenversammlung zu Würzburg*, 1868, p. 90.

² *Künsts'ergeschichte*, i.

³ ‘La mano sinistra, con la parte d'arco che regge, nell'anno 1532 fu restaurata da Agnolo

Montorsoli, e questi nel restaurarla come la veggiamo tuttora senza meno lasciarsi guidare dall' antico attributo del turcasso.’—Kekul', *Annal. d. I.* 1867.

⁴ Hom. *Il. i.* 44.

⁵ Stephani, *Apollo Boedromios*, 186c.

came into the collection of Count Stroganoff in St. Petersburg (fig. 251). Its resemblance to the Vatican Apollo is far too great to be accidental, and there can be no doubt that they are both copies of the same original work. The ornamented sandals and the folds of the drapery on the breast are identical in the two statues, and where they differ in details the style of the bronze is simpler and more archaic. The most important feature, however, is the left hand, which is preserved in the bronze, and holds, not a bow, but an elastic substance, the bottom part of which is broken off, and which Stephani takes to be the *ægis* (fig. 251, *a*). Basing his arguments on this discovery, Preller first suggested that the Apollo Belvedere might be brought into connexion with the defeat of the Gauls at Delphi in 279 B.C., on which occasion several statues—two Apollos, an Athene, and an Artemis—were offered in the Temple of Apollo at that place.¹

The reader will remember that in this year a body of Gauls who had settled in Pannonia (Hungary) broke into Greece under Brennus. After ravaging Macedonia, they marched through Thessaly to Thermopylæ, which once more became the scene of heroic patriotism and infamous treachery. Some Heracleots played the part of the foul villain Ephialtes in the old Persian days, and led the Gauls into the country by the mountain pass of Anopæa. In this emergency, says Pausanias,² using almost the very words of Herodotus,³ 'the Delphians applied to the Oracle for counsel, and asked whether they should carry away the property of the temple.' 'I myself,' the God replied, 'and the *White Maidens* (Athênê and Artemis) will take care of that.' Encouraged by this promise of assistance, 4,000 Greeks stood ready to defend the temple, but their presence was superfluous.

FIG. 251.



THE STROGANOFF APOLLO.

¹ Pausan. x. 15. 2.² x. 23.³ viii. 36.

During the battle which ensued the God came through the roof of his temple in supernatural youthful beauty, and the White Maidens came forth from their respective sanctuaries at Delphi to drive back the sacrilegious barbarians. A mighty heaven-sent tempest arose, and rocks from the heights of Parnassus fell on the heads of the bewildered Gauls. The twanging bow of Artemis, the clashing shield and spear of Athênê, were heard above the din of storm and battle, and the grim flash of the awful Gorgoneion on the ægis of Apollo was seen through the mists and clouds. The spectres of departed heroes appeared and mingled in the fray; the earth shook beneath the feet of the astounded Gauls, who fled in dismay, and fell an easy prey to the pursuing Greeks.

The Apollo Belvedere, therefore, *may* represent the God, as with the proud consciousness of invincibility he holds up the ægis, and marks with a mingled expression of scorn and satisfaction its terrible effect on the ranks of the Gauls. It will naturally be asked how Apollo came by the ægis, which is not his proper attribute? There is a precedent even for this in a passage in the *Iliad*,¹ which records how Zeus entrusted his son with the dreaded instrument of his wrath:

Take thou and wave on high the tasselled shield,
The Grecian warriors daunting.

And again,²

When he (Phœbus) turned its flash
Full on the faces of the astonished Greeks,
And shouted loud, their spirits within them quailed.³

It was therefore quite open to the artist to represent Apollo in his character of *Boedromios* (the helper) with the ægis of Zeus; and the aspect of the Vatican statue, the self-reliant serenely contemptuous look, suits well the bearer of an irresistible weapon.

This so-called 'Gallic theory'⁴ is rendered the more probable and interesting by the fact of our possessing two statues, cognate in spirit

¹ xv. 229: 'Ἀλλὰ σύ γ' ἐν χεῖρεσσι λαβ' αἰγίδα θυσανώεσσαν.

² xv. 318.

³ Lord Derby's translation, xv. 372:—

While Phœbus motionless his ægis held,

Thick flew the shafts, and fast the people fell
On either side; but when he turned its flash
Full in the faces of the astonished Greeks,
And shouted loud, their spirits within them quailed,
Their fiery courage borne in mind no more.

⁴ Vid. Overbeck, *Gesch. d. Plastik*.

and treatment, of the White Maidens—Artemis and Athênê—in the famous ‘*Diane à la Biche*,’ at the Louvre, and the ‘*Athênê with spear and shield*,’ rushing to the attack, in the Capitoline Museum at Rome.

There is still another way of explaining the attitude and bearing of the Vatican Apollo, which, although not so popular as the foregoing, has received the support of very great authorities. Bötticher, Feuerbach, and Brunn are in the main agreed that we have before us an *Apollo καθάριος* (the purifier), *who is in the act of cleansing Orestes from the guilt of matricide, and driving the avenging Furies from his temple*. On the tree which supports the Vatican figure are traces of an object, supposed to be the *στέμμα δελφικόν*, which was composed of bushy tufts of Delphian laurel bound with threads of red wool into a series of knots, and having at each end a tassel (*σίλλυβος*). Of such a woollen web—the old sign of consecration—*ten knots, a tassel, and two of the laurel leaves* remain on the marble tree. It is supposed that the original fingers of the right hand held one end of this instrument of purification, while the left hand held the bow. The God would then appear in the double capacity of Purifier and Saviour, illustrating the famous scene in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus, in which Orestes is acquitted.

The indiscriminating and extravagant praise of its earlier admirers has led in recent times to an equally unwarranted depreciation of this splendid work of art. In such a case it is, indeed, difficult to be just. In trying to be so we must remember that the design and the style are of different periods. It is the work of one of those genial eclectic copyists of the renaissance of Greek art in Rome, who, having chosen his model from among the older types, was not satisfied with merely reproducing it. He has evidently tried to invest it with the charm of novelty by substituting for its grand simplicity—which is partly preserved in the Steinhäuser head—the ultra-refinement and polished elegance which suited the taste of his own times.

The technical execution of the Belvedere Apollo shows a master's hand. The artist was evidently in possession of all the knowledge and all the skill which had been accumulated in past ages. We see Lysippus in the form and Praxiteles in the face. The noble limbs are moulded with the ease and freedom which

are the result of perfect mastery, and the proud and beautiful face, from which the Muses drew their inspiration, gleams with expression as he moves along in graceful majesty, bathed in the purple light of eternal youth. And yet the dainty beauty of the Apollo Belvedere does not stir the deepest springs of emotion in those who have the finest feeling for the highest forms of Greek art. Like that of some startling theatrical representation, the first effect of the Vatican Apollo is the strongest; whereas it is characteristic of the

FIG. 252.



DIANE À LA BICHE.

greatest works,—the Theseus of the Parthenon,—the Niobe,—the Demeter of Cnidos,—that the oftener and longer we gaze, the greater the attraction which they exercise upon us, the purer and more exalted the feelings which they rouse within our breasts. We find a difficulty in regarding the Vatican Apollo as the object of worship; for *that* it is too ornate. It is rather like the embodiment of the day-dreams of a powerful, bright, but somewhat luxurious, imagination, which is not satisfied with the majesty of nature, the awful dignity of the Godhead, but must invest its idol with the external trappings of some

Prince of a fairy tale. Such an image, if worshipped at all, could only be the favourite divinity of an elegant and sumptuous court.

The Artemis of Versailles, generally known under the name of the '*Diane à la Biche*' (fig. 252), has been in France since the time of Henry IV., and was for a long time at Versailles. It now forms one of the chief ornaments of the Louvre. The left hand, with the bow, is a restoration. The form of the Goddess, though light, and even elegant, gives the impression of great strength and activity. She is dressed in the short tucked-up chiton suited to the huntress—

Nuda genu nodoque sinus collecta fluentes—

and wears the regal *stephanê* on her head. Her feet are clad in highly ornamented sandals, similar to those of the Vatican Apollo. She is advancing at a rapid pace, as if to meet some pressing emergency, holding her bow in her left hand, and gazing intently on some distant object, while with her right hand she draws forth an arrow from her quiver. By her side springs *her favourite kind*, which, in spite of its sex, is *horned* (ἑλαφος κερόεσσα). The expression of her face, as becomes the virgin huntress, is earnest and even cold.

The striking resemblance of this figure to the Vatican Apollo has long been observed, but only recently accounted for. They are evidently conceived in the same spirit, and correspond in general design and treatment, in their proportions, and in minor details—e.g. the richly adorned sandals—to such a degree as to justify us in referring them not only to the same period and school, but even to the same group. She is the very counterpart of her brother in the Vatican :

At Triviæ lenis species et multus in ore
Frater erat, Phœbique genas et lumina Phœbi
Esse putes, solusque dabat discrimina sexus.¹

Were it not for the almost certain connexion between the two statues, we might be inclined to abide by the earlier interpretation, and regard the Versailles Artemis as the ideal Huntress, the embodiment of the love of the chase. Viewed in this light, the figure would have no mythological signification, but would be merely an example of very exalted *genre*. She is thus represented in *the pleasing statue in the Hall of the Biga in the Vatican*, where she is discharging an arrow. But if the Apollo Belvedere is flashing destruction on the Gauls from the heights of Delphi with his Father's ægis, then we may fairly look on the Diane à la Biche as a copy of the statue of Artemis,² dedicated at Delphi by the Ætolians after the repulse of the Gauls. She would then be one of the ‘White Maidens,’ rushing from her sanctuary to aid her brother in the defence of the sacred hill of Pytho, ‘renowned for golden prophecy.’³

¹ Claudian, *de Captu Proserp.* ii. 27.

² Pausan. x. 15. 2.

³ Pind. *Fragm. Prosod.* v. ed. Dissen :

χρυσέα κλυτόμαντι Πυθοί. Conf. Hom. *Il.* ix. 405.

The Athene of the Capitol (fig. 253) at Rome is supposed, with less reason perhaps, to be the third member in the group of Delphian offerings, and to be the pendant to the Artemis described above. According to this theory, the two Goddesses—the one with bow and quiver, the other with lance and shield—are hurriedly advancing from opposite sides, as if for some common purpose. The head of the Athênê is unfortunately lost, but her whole bearing speaks of the martial vigour, the eager delight in battle with which the Athênê of

FIG. 253.



ATHENE OF THE CAPITOL.

which the best idea may be gained from a relief close by it in the Galleria delle Statue, No. 416. The beautiful heroine's dreams are not peaceful, and her restlessness is expressed in the tumbled drapery. The treatment is pictorial, and there is a want of clearness in many of the details of the dress, which seems to arise from a too close adherence to the painted original. It is difficult to dis-

Homer leads her darling Greeks into the fray. The eagerness and haste displayed by the maiden Goddesses form a striking contrast with the calm, majestic attitude of the central figure of Apollo, with whom, as they advance on either side of him from opposite directions, they would certainly form a harmonious and rhythmical group.¹

Ariadne in the Vatican (fig. 254). The *motif* of this statue was taken from a painting in the theatre of Bacchus, in Athens, in which Theseus was represented as mounting his bark to depart, while the head of the thiasos of Dionysus is just appearing in the background. The statue probably formed part of a group, of

¹ Friedl. *Baust.* p. 383.

tinguish between chiton and himation, just above the feet, which in the painting would be easy enough. *A replica of this statue will be found in the Palazzo Pitti at Florence.*

FIG. 254.



ARIADNE SLEEPING.

CHAPTER LII.

PASITELES AND HIS SCHOOL.

PASITELES was a native of Magna Græcia,¹ but he acquired the Roman citizenship very early in life, probably in the year 89 B.C., after the Social War. Pliny says that he lived about the time of Pompey the Great,² and he was still in activity as late as the year 30 B.C., when the Portico of Metellus was rebuilt and received the name of Octavia. For the Temple of Jupiter and Juno in this building he was commissioned to make *an Ivory statue of Jupiter*, which would alone suffice to show the high estimation in which he was held. His contemporary, the learned Varro,³ speaks of him with great praise, and says that he was 'excellent in all things' which he undertook. Pliny, too, speaks of him as an admirable writer, saying that he had composed 'five volumes on the chief works of art throughout the world.'⁴ We learn from Varro something of the manner in which he exercised his art. 'Pasiteles,' he says, 'called modelling in clay (*plastice*) the mother of metal-chasing or toreutics (*cœlatura*), statuary and sculpture, and never executed any work without first forming it in clay.'⁵

It is evident from the favourable testimony of his contemporaries Varro and Cicero that Pasiteles developed in the region of art the sound enlightened judgment, the pure and correct taste, which distinguish the literature of the Augustan age. He had the insight and the wisdom to recognise the incapacity of his generation for original creation, and endeavoured to found his school on the groundwork of a deep study, and a close but not servile imitation, of the works of

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 40.

² *Ibid.* xxxiii. 154.

³ Ap. Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 156.

⁴ *N. H.* xxxvi. 39. ⁵ *Ibid.* xxxv. 156.

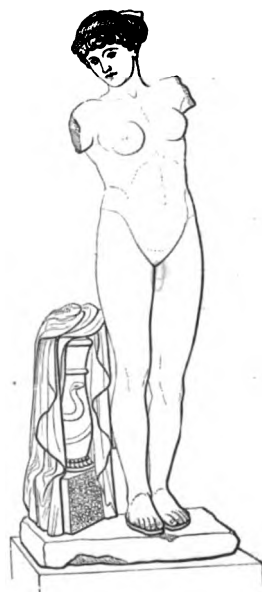
the greatest masters of Greek art. In this respect he followed the example of the great writers of the period, Cicero and Horace, who recommend for the study of youth the orators and poets of the golden age of Greek Literature, and not the showy, brilliant, but turgid rhetoricians and sophists of the Alexandrian period, or even the earlier writers of their own country.

Besides the ivory statue mentioned above, Pasiteles executed a silver figure of the 'learned' *Roscius* as a boy, sleeping in the folds of a serpent, according to the legend.¹ The careful industry which is recorded of him as one of his chief characteristics is attested by another story, that when he was studying and copying a lion in a menagerie, he nearly fell a prey to an escaped panther.²

We have, unfortunately, no work which we can with any certainty attribute to Pasiteles, and he is chiefly celebrated as founder of a school. There are, however, several works whose style and character lead to the conclusion that they are productions of his pupils and imitators. Among these is the so-called

'*Esquiline Venus*' (fig. 255), brought to light a few years ago by the excavations on the Esquiline Hill, and now in the Conservatori Palace on the Capitol at Rome.³ The figure is nude, and the drapery has been dropped on to a vase of peculiar shape, round which a serpent is entwined. The hair, in imitation of the archaic style, is arranged in small corkscrew curls over the forehead, and the back of the head is bound *à la Sappho*, with three bands of four threads each. Both arms are wanting, but there are remains of the left hand on the head, and both hands appear to have been engaged in binding the hair at the back of her head. The form of the back is singular, and

FIG. 255.



THE 'ESQUILINE VENUS.'

¹ Cicero, *de Divinat.* i. 36, 79.

² Pin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 39.

³ This figure is familiar to the English public in the very beautiful picture called

'*The Painter's Model*,' by Mr. Alma Tadema, in which the painter has improved on the sculptor.

the upper part of the body from the waist is too short. The bosom is large and full, and the breasts very far apart. It is altogether too realistic and too *individual* to deserve the name of a Venus or the extravagant laudation which greeted its first discovery. It is much more probably the very faithful portrait-statue of some real person.

The connexion of the foregoing with Pasiteles or his school is purely conjectural, but there is a statue which bears on it the name of

STEPHANOS, who is expressly called the pupil of Pasiteles.¹ This is a nude athletic figure in the Villa Albani, at Rome, well known under the name of

Orestes. This figure affords a good example of the tendency to imitate the antique, of which we have spoken above; but in this instance the artist has not had sufficient original power to give freshness and novelty to his work. All the more prominent characteristics of the archaic style, as seen in the Apollo of Tenea, are carefully reproduced—the small narrow head, the angular shoulders, the high-arched ‘pigeon-breast,’ the hollow back, the soles of the feet flat on the ground, the wide mouth, long chin, and unmeaning expression. All that a mechanical copyist could do has been done; but he has failed to reproduce the *naïveté* of the genuine archaic manner, which is pleasing even to those who are accustomed to the productions of the freest and most perfect art.

There is a *torso* of great beauty in Berlin, which has been proved by measurement to be a copy, and a very superior one, of the same original from which the Orestes of the Villa Albani was taken. Other repetitions of this figure have been found, of which the most noteworthy is a bronze ‘Apollo,’ discovered in the Casa del Citaredo at Pompeii, and now at Naples.² In all of them ‘Orestes’ is represented with his right hand raised as if in the act of speaking, which is singular, as he is alone. It has been thought probable, therefore, that this figure has been selected from a group, as was often done, especially as we have at least two groups in which the same figure occurs, one of them

¹ *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* No. 6169.

² *Annal. d. Inst.* 1865, p. 55. For other

copies conf. Overbeck, *Ges. d. Plastik*, ii. 343.

by a member of Pasiteles' school. The best known and most interesting of these is the

'*Orestes and Electra*' (fig. 256), in the Villa Albani, by Menelaus, a pupil of Stephanos. We have adopted the interpretation of Winckelmann, which is powerfully supported by Welcker and Friederichs,¹ according to which the meeting of the brother and sister after the murder of Agamemnon is here represented. It has been objected that the whole tone of the group is too calm and unimpassioned to suit the circumstances. Yet there are lines in Euripides which show that Electra's rising joy is checked by doubt and fear, and her trembling joy expressed in the pathetic cry,

ὦ χρόνῳ φανεῖς,
ἔχω σ' ἀέπτως.²

soon followed by the touching appeal —

ἐκεῖνος εἴ σὺ ;
And art thou he indeed ?

And his rejoinder—

εἶεν· φίλος μὲν ἦδονας ἀσπασμάτων
ἔχω·

might be not unworthily portrayed in the Albani group. It must be allowed, however, that there are some objections to this view. The very singular fact that Electra is represented a head taller than her brother is one of these, which some connect with the well-known motherly relation in which she stood to Orestes, whom she had reared, and the fact that she originated the plot against Clytemnestra. Other writers see in them Theseus and Æthra ; others Penelope and Telemachus. The most plausible deviation from the

FIG. 256.



ORESTES AND ELECTRA.

¹ Friederichs' *Baust.* p. 427.

² Eur. *Electra*, v. 578.

general view is that of O. Jahn,¹ who calls the group *Merope and Æpytus*. The myth is well known. Merope, the wife of Cresphontes, king of Messene, who was murdered by Polyphontes, was the mother of Æpytus. She was forced into a marriage with the usurper, but managed to send her son into Ætolia. On arriving at the age of puberty Æpytus comes to the court of Polyphontes, where he gives out that he has murdered Æpytus according to the suggestions of the

FIG. 257.



ORESTES AND ELECTRA.

usurper, who therefore receives him joyfully. Merope, on the other hand, determines to avenge her son on the unknown stranger, and is only prevented by the pedagogue who recognises Æpytus. A joyful meeting follows between mother and son, which, according to O. Jahn, is here represented. This interpretation, though accounting for the relative size of the persons, has to contend with many difficulties, the chief of which is that the son is far more demonstrative in the expression of his feelings than the mother, which suits ill with the very exciting circumstances in which she is placed.

However much we may differ in our views concerning the *motif* of

this interesting work, no one can remain insensible to the beauty of the figures themselves, and the charm thrown around them by the mild joy and tender affection expressed in their attitudes and looks.

The second group, in which the same figure of Orestes occurs, is the well-known '*Orestes and Electra*' (fig. 257), in Naples. The male figure corresponds even more exactly with the statue of Stephanos, both in the position of the left arm and in its entire nudity, in which it differs from its counterpart in the Villa Albani. The

¹ *Archaeol. Zeit.* 1854, p. 233.

chief merit of this work lies in the treatment of the nude form of Orestes. The expression in the faces, on the other hand, is unpleasant, and in this point they are very inferior to the work of Menelaus and the corresponding group in Rome.

To the same school of Pasiteles another very interesting statue has been referred by high authorities,¹ viz.—

The Racing Girl, which Clement XIV. (A.D. 1769–1775) bought of the Barberini family and placed in the Vatican. The right arm is restored, and not rightly, for it is made to express surprise, which is unsuited to the occasion.² The head bears a very striking resemblance to that of Orestes in the foregoing groups. In this naïve and charming figure we have a representation of one of the young virgins who raced at Olympia in honour of Hêrê. On such occasions their hair was allowed to flow loosely down the back, the closely fitting garment reached not quite as far as the knee, and the right shoulder was left bare down to the breast. The course was shortened by a sixth part for their convenience. Those that conquered were crowned with olive leaves, and received a portion of the ox sacrificed to Hêrê. They were likewise permitted to dedicate pictures of themselves.³ It will be seen at a glance that the garb and hair of the ‘Racing Girl’ answer very closely to the description of Pausanias. The chief difference is that the tunic is much shorter in the statue, and is, moreover, open at one side, after the Spartan fashion,—modifications which a sculptor would naturally adopt in the interests of his art. The tunic is gathered into artificial folds, and confined by a very broad belt or sash under the waist, which makes it fit more closely to facilitate her running.

She is represented in the very act of starting, with raised foot, and body leaning slightly forward; the arms should be held straight down, and not as in the restoration. The position of her head shows that her attention is intently fixed on the task before her; her whole form expresses strength, activity, and lightness; and the entire absence of self-consciousness and coquetry, the naïve and virginal expression of the face, lend a more than common charm to this simple figure.

¹ Kekulé, &c.

² Friedrichs' *Baust.* p. 110.

³ Pausan. v. 16. 3. Conf. Xenophon (*de*

Rep. Lacœn. i. 4), on the nude exercises of the Spartan maidens.

We may conclude from the archaic style that this figure is a copy—probably from a bronze original by an artist of the fifth century B.C. and of the Peloponnesian school.

ARCESILAUS,

a slave (*familiaris*) of Lucullus, and a contemporary of Pasiteles, of whose nationality we have no intimation, was chiefly celebrated for the excellence of his clay models, for which, we are told, he received a higher price from artists themselves than other sculptors for their finished works.¹ In 46 B.C., towards the end of his life, he was employed by Julius Cæsar to make the temple-image for the Temple of *Venus Genetrix* in his new Forum, which was consecrated by the impatient dictator before it was finished. Lucullus the younger, who was killed at Philippi, commissioned Arcesilaus to make a statue of *Felicitas* for 60,000 sesterces (450*l.*), which remained unfinished in consequence of the death of both parties to the bargain.²

Of his *Venus Genetrix* we have copies both in statuary³ and on the coins of Sabina,⁴ the infamous wife of Nero, to whom, after her death, a temple was dedicated, bearing the inscription, 'Sabinae deæ Veneri matronæ fecerunt.' The Goddess is here represented in the twofold character of divine ancestress of the Julian race, and patroness of legitimate and conjugal love. She is accordingly moulded in fuller and more matronly proportions than usual. She is clothed as becomes her dignity; but as it would be unsuitable to the idea of Venus to conceal her beauty altogether, the artist has compromised the matter by arraying her in a transparent Coan vest clinging closely to her form, and slipping from the left shoulder.⁵ With the right hand the Goddess draws a veil over her right shoulder—a movement full of charming grace.

Of a very different character was another work of Arcesilaus in the collection of Varro. This was a humorous group ('omnes ex

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 155: 'Cujus proplasmata pluris venire solita artificibus ipsis quam aliorum opera.'

² *Ibid.* 156.

³ Several of these have been wrongly restored: one in the gallery at Florence (Gori, *Mus. Florent. Sta.* pl. xvi.) as a Muse,

another in the Villa Albani as a Nymph with the addition of an urn!—Visconti, *P. Cl.* iii. 44.

⁴ Müller, *Denkm. d. a. K.* ii. 266.

⁵ Visconti quotes Apoll. Rhod. *Argon.* i. v. 742.

uno lapide")¹ representing a number of *Winged Cupids playing with and tormenting a Lioness*, which they hold in bonds, and compel to drink out of a horn, while they try to put slippers on to her feet. The contrast between the mighty form of the queen of beasts and the mischievous, sportive boys is a happy one. An idea of Arcesilaus' work may be formed from the similar but nobler *motif* of the beautiful gem of Protarchus,² in Florence, in which Eros is sitting on a lion, and soothing it by the strains of his lyre. Such plastic representations are akin to the *Erotopægnia* (love sports, amatory poems) of the Anacreontic school, in which Eros becomes a boy, and rides all sorts of wild animals and monsters—lions, panthers, boars, centaurs, hippocamps, dolphins, dogs, and deer. We cannot give Arcesilaus the credit of inventing the type of infant cupids, which belongs to the Alexandrian period, but he appears to have brought them into new and effective combinations in a very pleasing and humorous manner.

Cognate in idea and sentiment, as representing wild brute force under the softening influence of gentler feelings, was another group by Arcesilaus in the possession of Asinius Pollio, viz. *Centaurs ridden by Nymphs*,³ of which some of the wall paintings in Pompeii may aid our conception.

COPONIUS.

We know nothing more of this artist than that he was employed to execute *the Statues of fourteen nations* conquered by Pompey the Great. These were set up round his theatre at Rome, and gave rise to the name '*Porticus ad Nationes*,' by which the entrance hall was known. With these figures is connected the curious story of Suetonius. 'Nero,' he says, 'who before the murder of his mother was never wont to dream, saw the "statues of the nations" in a vision, surrounding him and staying his progress.'⁴

Passing over a doubtful '*DECIUS*,' mentioned by Pliny,⁵ we come to a more important name, that of

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 41.

⁴ Sueton. *Nero*, 46.

² *Gall. di Fir. Gem.* ii. 1.

³ *N. H.* xxxiv. 44. Brunn, *K.-G.* i. 692.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxvi. 33.

ZENODORUS,

renowned for the fabrication of *Colossi* of enormous magnitude. One of these, ordered by the State of the Arverni in Gaul, took ten years to make, and cost 40,000,000 sesterces, or 335,000l.¹ Zenodorus was subsequently summoned to Rome by Nero to make a *colossal statue of the tyrant* himself, which is said to have been 110 or 120² feet high, five or fifteen feet higher than the Colossus of Rhodes. It was set up before the Golden House of Nero, where the Temple of Venus and Roma was subsequently built; but after Nero's death it was consecrated to the Sun-god by Vespasian. In Hadrian's reign the architect Decrianus removed it with great difficulty (*ingenti molimine*) in an upright posture by the help of twenty-four elephants.³ The head of this statue was taken away by Commodus, who substituted his own.⁴

This statue is of especial importance in the history of plastic art, because Pliny tells us that it indicated the 'loss of the art of casting bronze.' 'We admired,' he says, 'in the artist's studio not only the excellent likeness in the clay model, but even the framework of very small sticks which formed the first foundation of the work.' But he adds, 'this statue proved that the art of casting bronze was lost, although Nero was prepared to bestow gold and silver' (to colour it), 'and Zenodorus was inferior to none of the ancients in moulding and chasing metals.'⁵ It is rather difficult to understand what part of the art he refers to as *lost*, for bronze was not only cast on the occasion of which he speaks, but long after his time. He refers, perhaps, to some of the more delicate processes and the finer *technique*, which, like good cooking, are not to be learned from books, or ensured by mere attention to weight and measure.⁶ His skill in the toreutic art was shown in facsimiles which he made of two goblets chased by the hand of Calamis (the *cælator*, not the sculptor), which were so like

¹ According to the reading of Ulrichs, *Chrest. Plin.* p. 314. Others read 400,000 sesterces, 3,450l., which seems too small a sum.

² Sueton, *Nero*, 31.

³ *Æl. Spartian. Hadrian*, xix. 12. Ha-

drian wished to have a similar statue as an offering to the moon.

⁴ Herodian. i. 15. 9.

⁵ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 46.

⁶ O. Müller, *Arch. d. Kunst.* 197, sec.

the originals that they could hardly be distinguished from them. The goblets of Calamis had once belonged to Germanicus Cæsar, who gave them to his tutor Cassius Salanus.¹ The name of

MARCUS COSSUTIUS CERDO,²

who probably belongs to the period between 134-74 B.C., is found on *two statues of Satyrs*, found in the Civita Lavigna (Lanuvium), south-east of Rome, near the Appian Way, and now in the British Museum.³

These are two exactly similar figures, probably pendants, employed for decorative purposes. They have goat's ears and small horns, but belong to the more refined type of the followers of Bacchus. The style is correct and pleasing, and not without simple grace. There are three very similar statues in Dresden.

MENOPHANTUS,

to whom we have already referred above, executed a *Nude Venus* after an unknown statue in the Troad, which is to be seen at Rome under the name of *the Chigi Venus*.⁴ There are several replicas of this figure, which is a modification of the Aphrodite of Cnidos.

ANTIPHANES, SON OF THRASONIDAS OF PAROS,

executed a *Statue of Hermes*, which was found in the same district of the island of Melos as the Venus of the Louvre, and is now in the Museum at Berlin. It is carefully and neatly executed, but has no particular interest for us, except as a specimen of the work of this period.

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 47.

² *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* No. 5155.

³ *Marbles of Brit. Mus.* vol. ii. pl. 43.

⁴ *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* No. 6165, *supra*, p. 589.

CHAPTER LIII.

REPRESENTATION OF ABSTRACT IDEAS AND
HISTORICAL EVENTS IN SCULPTURE.

IN the foregoing history we have observed that the Romans contributed but little to the number or variety of *the subjects* of plastic art. There is, however, one class of representations, not indeed altogether unknown to earlier periods, but alien to the genius and character of Greek art, which found great favour with the Romans, viz. *the personification of abstract ideas*, and of the qualities, moods, and relations of men. It is true that allegorical figures may be found, both in the Poetry and Art of Greece—e.g. *Nike* (victory), *Hebe* (youth), *Aretè* (valour), *Eleutheria* (freedom), *Eunomia* (good order), *Euthenia* (prosperity), *Limos* (famine), *Momos* (blame), *Eris* (contention), *Phthonos* (envy), *Paideia* (education), *Poina* (punishment), *Æstros* (frenzy), *Palæstra* (arena), *Agon* (contest), *Polemos* (war), *Deimos* and *Phobos* (terror and fear), and many others.¹ But these were, for the most part, the constant subordinate attendants on some superior deity, or those who had received their *apotheosis*, and become true deities in the eyes of their worshippers. *The Kairos* of Lysippus,² indeed, was an example of allegory of the most colourless and frigid kind. But in general the Greek representations of abstract ideas seem to us more real than the *Honor*, *Virtus*, *Concordia*, *Fides*, *Æquitas*, *Pudicitia*, *Victoria*, *Spes*, *Salus*, *Libertas*, *Pietas*, *Harmonia*, and *Pax* of the Romans, who assumed the character of distinct and independent divinities. Most of these were distinguished solely by external attributes, and only a few, such as *Pallor* and *Pavor*, by characteristic attitudes or expression of face.

¹ O. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* sec. 406.² Vide *supra*, p. 481.

Analogous to these is another large class of figures in Roman art, viz.—

The Personifications of Towns, Countries, and Peoples. These, too, were known in the best period of Greek art; for we are told that Panænus, brother or nephew of Pheidias, painted Hellas and Salamis, the latter with a beak of a ship as attribute. Euphranor made a statue of Hellas crowned by Aretê, and Eutychides one of the Tychê of Antioch.¹ In the period of the Diadochi, as we saw, these semi-allegorical figures were grouped with the portrait statues of princes and warriors.² A fresh impulse to the production of this class of statues was given in the Roman period by the desire of exhibiting conquered cities and nations in the light of captives to the Genius of Rome.³ An example of this kind is seen in the so-called Porticus ad Nationes of the Theatre of Pompey, of which we have no *certain* remains, but of which the well-known and highly interesting statue called 'Thusnelda,' or 'Germania devicta,' in the Loggia de' Lanzi, at Florence, may give us a vivid idea. That it is intended for a German is certain not only from the characteristic face and form, but from the shape of the shoes. The artist of the Germania devicta, whether Coponius or another, shows a full sense of the barbarian dignity of the person whom he represents, and a manly sympathy with her sorrows. The national type, which is exceedingly well rendered, is evidently copied from Gallic statues from Pergamon, of which we have spoken above.⁴

• Of the same character as the foregoing statues were *the Sixty figures of Gallic nations* in relief on an altar at Lugdunum (Lyons), consecrated to the deified Augustus.⁵ Of the nature of this latter work we may gain some notion from extant monuments; viz.—

I. *The fragment of a relief representing tutelary deities of Etrurian cities*, discovered at Caere (*hod.* Cervetri) in 1840, and now in the Lateran Museum at Rome. The preserved slab contains the images of the towns of *Vetulonia, Volci, and Tarquinii*. The mutilated

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 492.

² Vide *supra*, pp. 90, 179, and 360.

³ Virg. *Æn.* viii. 722:—

Incedunt victæ longo ordine gentes.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 561.

⁵ Strabo, iv. p. 142.

state of the figures renders the interpretation of this relief extremely difficult, and a great variety of opinion prevails on the subject. The best supported theory is that of Canina, who thinks that the fragment in question formed one side of the *Emperor Claudius' square throne*, each of the sides of which contained four of the Twelve Gods of Etruria.¹

II. *The Basis of Puteoli* (fig. 258), in which we have a copy of the reliefs representing towns of Asia Minor on the basis of a statue of Tiberius, erected to commemorate an act of imperial beneficence. In

FIG. 258.



THE BASIS OF PUTEOLI.

the year 17 A.D., we are told, *twelve towns of Asia Minor* were destroyed by an earthquake. A short time afterwards *Cibyra*, in Pamphylia (in 23 A.D.), and *Ephesus* (between 23 and 30 A.D.) met with the same fate. Tiberius with prompt generosity, or calculating policy, came to the rescue of the afflicted townsmen, and the cities, newly built by his aid, erected his statue, of which we have copies on his coins, in the vicinity of the Temple of Venus Genetrix. The basis of this statue—erected A.D. 20, before the destruction of Cibyra and Ephesus—was in the first instance adorned with reliefs of only twelve ruined cities, to which those of Cibyra and Ephesus were subsequently added. This

¹ *Die antik. Bildw. d. Lateran. Mus. von Benndorf u. Schöne, Leipz. 1867. Conf.*

Canina, *Etruria marit. I. auf dem Titelblatt und Tav. ii. p. 28.*

work was copied on a smaller scale, and in high relief, by the *Augustales* (municipal knights) of Puteoli. The towns represented are *Sardis* and *Magnesia*, on the front of the basis, to the left and right of the inscription; then *Philadelphia*, *Tmolos*, and *Cyme*, *Temnos*, *Cibyra*, *Myrina*, *Ephesus*, *Apollonidea*, *Hyrcania*, and *Mostene*. The sex of the figures is determined by the gender of the name of each town; and in the foreign towns an attempt is made to represent the national type both in feature and dress. The different towns are further characterised by appropriate symbols and attributes; *Tmolos*,

FIG. 258, A.



THE BASIS OF PUTEOLI.

for example, so famous for its vineyards, being represented by a thoroughly Bacchanalian figure (fig. 258, 4).

REPRESENTATIONS OF HISTORICAL PERSONS AND EVENTS.

Both in its earliest and its best periods the plastic art of Greece was so intimately and exclusively associated with religion and mythology, that it seldom condescended to take notice of the events and persons of contemporary history. Painting, which was less essentially religious in its origin and character, was from the very first frequently engaged in illustrating and immortalising the more im-

portant achievements of nations and individuals, at the time of their occurrence. We read, for example, of pictures of the battle of Marathon by Micon (or Polygnotus) as existing in the *Pœcile*¹ (στοὰ ποικίλη, or painted hall) at Athens, *braccatis illita Persis*. Even trifling incidents in the battle were here portrayed, e.g. the honourable part taken in it by a dog, which some Athenian took with him as his fellow combatant.²

The few instances in which historical events were represented by the sculptor at an early period were of a nature to invest the actors with a certain heroic character, and thereby to justify the unwonted honour conferred on them. To this category belong *the statue of Miltiades* in the bronze group by Pheidias, set up at Delphi after the battle of Marathon; the statues of *Cleobis and Biton*, offered at Delphi by the Argives, in honour of the youthful heroes whose filial love, according to the touching story of Herodotus,³ was rewarded by the 'best gift of the Gods'—an early death; those of *Harmodius and Aristogeiton*;⁴ and that of *Telesilla*, the Argive poetess and heroine, in the act of arraying herself in her armour and preparing to lead her countrywomen against the Lacedæmonian invaders.⁵ But notwithstanding these and other exceptions, it may be said with truth that the plastic representation of contemporary historical events did not become *common* before the age of Alexander, whose exploits were invested with a romantic splendour well calculated to attract the gaze and inspire the genius of the artist. We have seen above that the subjects of some of Lysippus' most important works were taken from the battles of the Macedonian hero.

Historical sculpture was peculiarly congenial to the Romans, among whom it attained its most complete development—a development in a great degree independent of Greek prototypes—so that of all phases of art *this* may be considered the most characteristically Roman. It was natural, in an age in which success in war was the chief claim to place and power, that the successful general should seek the aid of

¹ Achan, *Nat. Anim.* vii. 38. Conf. O. Müller, *H. der Archæol.* Sec. 135. 2.

² Ælian, *l. c.*: μὴ ἀτιμασθέντος τοῦ κυνὸς ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κινδύνου μισθὸν εἰληφότος.

Conf. Tsetz. *Chil.* iv. p. 120 (ed. Walz.).

³ i. 30. Conf. Pausan. ii. 20. 2.

⁴ Vide *supra*, p. 109.

⁵ Pausan. ii. 28. 8.

art to prolong the memory of his warlike exploits. We cannot, indeed, trace the origin of *plastic* representations of events of Roman history farther back than the time of the Emperors; but the practice of exhibiting *pictures* of actual battles is of an earlier date. *M'. Valerius Maximus Messala* is said to have been the first to set up in the wing of the Curia Hostilia a picture of his victorious engagement in Sicily with the Carthaginians and Hiero the Sicilian king¹ (A.U.C. 491, B.C. 265). *Lucius Scipio* celebrated his victory over Antiochus of Syria, near Magnesia, by exhibiting a picture on the Capitol; and *Lucius Hostilius Mancinus*,² who was the first to enter Carthage when it was captured by Scipio (B.C. 146), made use of a picture of the city and the siege operations to illustrate an account which he gave to the delighted Plebs of the various incidents of the war. By this condescension, we are told, he so ingratiated himself with the people that they made him consul in the following year.

Of historical reliefs in sculpture the principal are those which adorned the triumphal *Arches of Claudius and Titus*—the *Architrave of the Temple of Minerva* in the Forum, begun by Domitian, and finished by Nerva, and generally called *Forum Nervæ*—the *Arch and Pillar of Trajan*—and the *Arches of Marcus Aurelius and Septimus Severus*.

The Arch of Claudius. Of the reliefs of this arch, which stood in the Corso near the Pal. Sciarra, there are two fragments in the Villa Borghese.

The Arch of Titus, in the Velia at the foot of the Palatine, was erected in celebration of the taking of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and was consecrated in the reign of Titus' successor Domitian. On both façades of this arch, which was restored in 1822 by Pope Pius VII., runs a narrow frieze, under the Attike, representing the *pompa triumphalis* combined with a *sacrificial procession*—priests and their attendants, oxen adorned for sacrifice with infulæ on their horns and broad ornamental bands on their backs, and soldiers of the victorious army in civil costume, but bearing their shields and insignia. The most interesting figure in this group is that of *the River God Jordan* under the form of a bearded man borne on a litter. Each figure in

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 22. Conf. Liv. xli. 28.

² Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 23.

this frieze stands clearly out by itself in a quiet and dignified attitude. The oxen are all in profile, while the men are nearly or entirely *en face*, which makes a singular impression, and destroys all idea of progress.

On the interior side walls of the arch are two reliefs of larger size. *The Emperor* appears as triumphator on his quadriga, the horses of which are led by *the Goddess Roma*, while a figure of *Victory* holds a garland above his head. He is accompanied by a train of lictors, and by soldiers and citizens bearing garlands and branches in their hands. On the left side is another portion of the triumphal proces-

FIG. 259.



TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION FROM ARCH OF TITUS.

sion (fig. 259), composed of warriors in the dress of peace, bearing portions of the booty of the plundered city—such as the *Table with the shewbread*, the *seven-branched Candelabra*, the *Ark of the Covenant*, the *silver trumpets*, &c.

In the centre of the arch, again, we see *the Apotheosis of the Emperor*, who is borne aloft as *Divus* on the back of an eagle.

The Arch of Trajan, though no longer standing, is mentioned here, because the reliefs with which it was adorned are still extant in *the Arch of Constantine*, of which we shall speak below.

The Pillar of Trajan, on the other hand, is one of the best preserved monuments of Roman antiquity. This splendid column formed the centre of the magnificent Forum Trajani, built by the Greek

architect Apollodorus in 113 A.D., in accordance with a decree of the Senate and people of Rome, in commemoration of the Emperor. It is altogether about 100 old Roman feet (106 feet) high, and 12 feet in diameter below, gradually decreasing to 10½ feet above, and consists of twenty-three drums of white marble. It was originally surmounted by a bronze statue of Trajan, for which Sixtus V. substituted that of St. Peter. The rich reliefs with which it is profusely adorned run round the pillar in a spiral band, 600 feet in length, which becomes broader as it rises, in order that the figures may be better seen. They represent the Emperor's *campaign against the Dacians*, the incidents of which are portrayed with marvellous accuracy and fulness of detail.

The pedestal, which is much larger than that of any preceding monument of the kind, and contained the ashes of the Emperor, is adorned by well executed *reliefs of trophies* constructed of Parthian and Sarmatian weapons. The great height of the Pillar itself withdraws from our view the greater portion of the very beautiful and elaborate work with which its entire surface is covered; and it is only in casts¹ that we can really study or enjoy it. The whole composition, which is intended to be a complete chronicle of the Dacian war in stone, consists of more than a hundred different scenes, separated from one another by trees on either side. It is said to contain altogether about 2,500 human figures, besides many horses, &c., all executed with great accuracy and finish.

The main purpose of the whole work which forms the pedestal to his statue is the glorification of the Emperor Trajan. Not only is almost every warlike operation of the campaign, which, as we know, he conducted in person—the engagements of the hostile armies—the charges of cavalry—the storming of forts—the passage of rivers—the plundering and burning of cities—the execution or pardoning of prisoners—portrayed with the most realistic fidelity, but there are innumerable scenes in which the Emperor himself appears, encouraging his troops and leading them to the fight—sitting in judgment on captives—giving audience to envoys—and even protecting the women of the vanquished.

¹ There is a fine cast of this pillar in the South Kensington Museum.



FIG. 260. FROM THE RELIEFS OF TRAJAN'S COLUMN.

One of the most striking figures on the lower part of the pillar is that of *the River Danube* with his nude body half out of the water. With angry mien he is watching the Roman army as they march out of the gate of a fortress on his bank, and prepare to cross a bridge over his stream.

In another scene we see *an assault in winter on a Roman fort by Dacians*, with their dragon-ensign, some of whom have safely crossed the ice, while others are falling through its broken surface. A part of the attacking force consists of *Parthian (or Sarmatian?) cavalry*; and in the scale-armour by which both man and horse are protected we recognise the *Cataphracti* (Cataphractarii) referred to by Tacitus¹ (fig. 260).

The whole work has an especial interest and importance in the history of plastic art, because it is so characteristically Roman; and because it shows us the greatest height

¹ *Hist.* i. 79: 'Lapsantibus equis et cataphractarum pondere.' Cataphracti in the Roman army are first mentioned in the reign of Constantine.—Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.

to which merely realistic historical sculpture can attain. As far as design and composition are concerned the artists owe nothing to the past—they have almost entirely broken with mythology. The whole composition contains only two mythological figures—those of *Seléné* and *Jupiter tonans*—used to indicate *night* and *storm*. Their sole object is to portray with the greatest possible accuracy the actual scenes and occurrences of a particular campaign; and these subjects are not ideas but facts, which suggest nothing more than can be seen. Many of the figures and faces, however, are not only correctly drawn, but of great elegance and beauty, and when compared with the analogous historical reliefs of Assyria and Egypt, show us how much Greek schooling had done even for the coarse Roman natures in respect to knowledge of the human form, and the perception of its beauty.

The Pillar of Antoninus Pius. Of this column of granite, which M. Aurelius and Lucius Verus erected in honour of Antoninus Pius, only the pedestal, which is now in the gardens of the Vatican, has been preserved. The subject of the reliefs in the front is *the Apotheosis of the deceased Emperor and his wife, Faustina the elder*, who are borne aloft on the back of a *serpent* as Genius of Eternity, and attended by *two eagles*, the official symbols of deification. On two sides of the basis the *decursio funebris* is represented. Notwithstanding the great care, and a certain degree of technical skill, manifested in this work, the effect of the composition as a whole is unpleasing and even ridiculous.

The Arch of M. Aurelius was still standing in good preservation on the Corso, near the Palazzo Fiano, as late as the year 1622 A.D., when it was removed by order of Pope Alexander VII., because it was an obstruction to the horse races during the Carnival. The reliefs with which it was adorned are preserved in the Conservatori Museum on the Capitol. They represent *the Apotheosis of Faustina*, the infamous wife of Marcus Aurelius, and *a sacrifice* before her temple, which is still standing in the Forum. M. Renan, in a lecture delivered in London (1880) says, 'Dans un bas-relief qui se voit encore à Rome au Musée du Capitol, pendant que Faustine est enlevée par une Renommée, l'excellent Empereur la suit de terre

avec un regard plein d'amour. Il était arrivé, ce semble, dans les derniers temps à se faire illusion à lui-même et à tout oublier.'

The Pillar of Marcus Aurelius. The Senate erected a Temple and Pillar to this Emperor after his death. The former, of which remains have been found, occupied the site of the present Palazzo Chigi; the latter is still standing close by in the Piazza Colonna. It bears a great resemblance to the Column of Trajan, and its surface is likewise covered with reliefs representing *the wars of Marcus Aurelius against the Marcomanni on the Danube*. The most remarkable scene is that which contains the figure of *Jupiter Pluvius*, from whose extended wings and flowing locks refreshing rain descends on the Romans.

The Arch of Septimius Severus is a well-known feature of the Forum Romanum. It was erected by the Senate, in 203 A.D., to this Emperor and his sons Caracalla and Geta, in honour of his victories over the Parthians, Arabians, and Adiabeni. It is built of Pentelican marble, and has three arches, a larger one in the centre, and a smaller one on each side; over the latter are reliefs representing some glorious achievement in the war. The arch was once surmounted, as we learn from a coin of Caracalla, by a triumphal chariot, in which two figures were borne, no doubt of Septimius Severus and Caracalla. The subject of the relief is very obscure, and the restorations¹ entirely arbitrary. Each of the four triumphal processions portrayed on this arch is moving in the direction of a figure of *Roma*, whom *captives* supplicate for mercy. In each relief there is a figure in barbarian dress, representing the conquered *Parthia*; in the angles of the central arch are *Victories* with trophies, and below them *the Seasons*. In the corners of the side arches are *River Gods*; and on the base of the pillars *Romans with captive barbarians*. The plastic work on this monument has no artistic, but only an historical interest, and that a melancholy one; for it shows the depths of degradation to which art had sunk in the beginning of the third century of our era.

The Arch of Constantine was erected to this Emperor by the

¹ E.g. by Santi Bartoli in his engravings.

Senate as a mark of their gratitude to him for delivering the State from the tyranny of Maxentius, as we learn from the inscription on the Attike. Considering the date of this monument (after 311 A.D.), we are surprised at first sight at the comparative excellence of the plastic ornament; but, as we have stated above, the greater part of it belonged to the Arch of Trajan, and the rest is entirely worthless.

To the sculptures from the Arch of Trajan belong those on the Attike. Beginning at the left hand (of the spectator) on the southern façade we see: I. *Trajan's entry into Rome* after the first Dacian war. II. *The continuation of the Via Appia* through the Pontine Marshes to Brundisium. The Via is personified by a female figure with her left hand resting on a wheel, and her right raised towards the Emperor. III. *Trajan affording his protection to the orphans of free parents*. IV. *Trajan sitting on a tribunal*, and before him a barbarian of rank, probably *Parthamasires, King of Armenia*. V. *Trajan bestowing the crown of Parthia on Parthamaspatēs*. VI. *Warriors dragging two barbarian prisoners into the presence of the Emperor*, supposed to be the assassins sent by Decebalus, King of Dacia, to murder Trajan. VII. *The Emperor addressing his soldiers* and offering the *suovetaurilia* (a sacrifice consisting of an ox, a sheep, and a pig) for his army. All the heads of Trajan in these compositions are new. Below these are eight medallions, in which *hunting scenes and sacrifices to different deities* are represented. On the narrow sides of the Attike are two beautiful reliefs of *battles against the Dacians*; and there are two more on each side, under the middle arch, one of which represents *captives supplicating the Emperor*, and the other *Victory placing a crown on his head*.

The inferiority of the reliefs of the time of Constantine is recognised at the first glance. These are *Four Victories* in the corners of the two smaller arches; *the Bassi rilievi* which form a frieze round them, and represent various actions of the Emperor Constantine—*battles, triumphal processions, allocutions to the soldiers, &c.*; and *two medallions* representing *the Sun on a Quadriga*, and *the Moon on a Biga*. On the pedestal of the pillars, which are of Giallo antico, are *soldiers*

*and captives.*¹ The character of the work taken from the Arch of Trajan is similar to that on his Pillar, of which we have already spoken, and in some instances superior to it. There is the same correctness and beauty of form, and the same pathetic expression in the faces of male and female captives, many of which are of great beauty.

¹ *Beschreibung Rom's*, Plattner und Ulrichs.

CHAPTER LIV.

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE.

THIS branch of sculpture, of which, for want of space, we can only speak very briefly, was not only cultivated but attained to its most luxuriant growth in Rome. Even in its origin, perhaps, and certainly in its development, it was to a great degree independent of Greek art.

PORTRAITS OF GREEKS.

In Greece, as we have seen, portrait sculpture was an offshoot from the great stock of religious sculpture. The honour of 'standing in bronze,'¹ once the exclusive privilege of Gods, was extended first to 'god-like heroes,' and then to the victors in the Olympic games whom 'the ennobling palm exalted to the Gods.' Among the first who enjoyed this *ἡρωικὴ τιμὴ* were: *Arrachion*, the Pancratiast of Phigaleia, who was crowned after his death, and whose statue was erected by the Phigaleians in their Forum; *Praxidamas* of Ægina, the boxer, who conquered in Ol. 58 (548 B.C.); and *Rhexibios* the Opuntian (Ol. 61, B.C. 536). The statues of both the latter were carved in wood—the former of the cypress tree, the latter of the fig-tree—and stood near the pillar of Ænomaus, in the Altis at Olympia.²

The setting up of statues to distinguished individuals was completely secularised—if we may use the expression—in the age of Alexander the Great. Not only were portrait statues raised of the great conqueror, and of his generals, but it became common to bestow a similar honour on all who distinguished themselves in any walk of life above their fellow citizens. In the Alexandrian age, in

¹ 'Ut stes æneus.'—Horace.

² Pausan. vi. 18. 4.

which learning succeeded to original creation, the statues and busts of poets, orators, and philosophers were in great demand for the decoration of the numerous libraries¹ and other places of public resort in the great centres of Hellenic civilisation, such as Alexandria and Pergamon.² Men naturally desire to look on the forms and features of those whose works they admire, and it seems probable that most of the statues and busts of the great men of Greece of which we read in literature, many of which have been preserved, owe their origin to the Alexandrian period.³ Some of these were purely ideal, or rather imaginary—e.g. the noble Farnesian *bust of Homer*⁴ at *Naples*, and the greatly inferior ones in the Capitol at Rome, the Louvre, &c., the type of which was freely evolved from the artist's own consciousness;⁵ as was also that of *Æsop* in the Villa Albani, of which we have spoken above.⁶ Of a similar imaginary character no doubt were the *Seven Wise Men* by Lysippus, mentioned in the same epigram with *Æsop*. The number of portraits, chiefly busts, of distinguished Greeks which have been preserved is extraordinarily great, and seems to indicate an attempt—made probably in the Alexandrian period—to form a complete series of the most famous men in Greek history. Of philosophers we have well authenticated portraits, in statues or busts, of *Epimenides* with closed eyes,⁷ *Bias* of Priene,⁸ *Socrates*⁹ (perhaps imaginary), *Plato*,¹⁰ *Aristotle*¹¹ (statue), *Epicurus*,¹² *Antisthenes*, *Theophrastus*, *Diogenes*¹³ (statue), *Carneades*,¹⁴ *Theon* of Smyrna, *Zeno*,¹⁵ *Chrysippus*, *Posidonius*¹⁶ (statue), *Metrodorus*,¹⁷ *Hermarchus*, &c.

Of the poets *Alcæus* is only found on coins, but there are busts of

¹ 'Siquidem nunc ex auro argentove aut certe ex ære in bibliothecis dicantur illis quorum immortales animæ in locis isdem loquuntur.'—Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 9.

² 'An priores cœperint Alexandræ aut Perganii Reges . . . non facile dixerim.'—*Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Christodorus (*Ecpheasis*, v. 311), in speaking of the portrait of Homer, says, that it was no mortal who fashioned it, ἀλλ' αὐτὴ πολὺμνητις ἀνέπλασεν χερσὶν Ἀθήνη.—'Quin immo etiam quæ non sunt finguntur pariuntque desideria non traditos voltus, sicut in Homero id evenit.'

⁵ Pausanias says that the Argive Dionysius (Ol. 76–78) made small figures of

Orpheus, Homer, Hesiod, &c.

⁶ Vide *supra*, p. 486.

⁷ In Hall of Muses, Vatican, No. 512.

⁸ Chiaramonti Gall. Vatican, 528.

⁹ In Vatican, Louvre, B. Mus., &c.

¹⁰ Capitoline Mus.

¹¹ Statue in Villa Spada, Rome.

¹² Hall of the Muses, 498.

¹³ Statue in Villa Albani.

¹⁴ Chiaramonti Gall. Vat. 598, and in Louvre.

¹⁵ Busts of Zeno, in the Hall of the Muses, in the Capitol. Mus. and in the Torlonia Museum at Rome.

¹⁶ In Louvre. Somewhat doubtful.

¹⁷ Double bust of Metrodorus and Epicurus in Capitol. Conf. copy in the Louvre.

*Sappho*¹ in the Vatican, the Villas Albani and Borghese, and in Berlin, which are, however, not altogether free from suspicion. There are also interesting statues in the Villa Borghese (found in 1836, near Montecalvo) of *Anacreon*,² and perhaps of *Tyrtæus*.

But the most remarkable of all is the famous life-size statue of *Sophocles* (fig. 261), in the Lateran.³ This gem of all portrait statues (see frontispiece) was found not long before the year 1839 in Tarracina (Anxur), and presented by Count Antonelli to Gregory XVI., who placed it in his new museum in the Lateran. It was skilfully and correctly restored by Tenerani. The poet is represented in the ripe age of manhood, and not only handsome, as he is known to have been, but with a certain easy aristocratic grace and elegance. He is the truest representative of the *καλοκαγαθός*, at the highest period of Athenian culture and civilisation, trained in all gymnastic and warlike exercises, in philosophy and science, and in the lighter accomplishments of music and the dance.⁴ His well arranged hair and elegant dress, and the mingled

FIG. 261.



SOPHOCLES.

¹ Christodor. *Ecphrasis*, v. 69 :—

Πιερίκη δὲ μέλισσα, λιγύθροος ἔζετο Σαπφώ.

² Vide *Monum. d. Inst. Arch.* vol. vi. Tav. xxv.

³ Benndorf u. Schöne, *die antiken Bildwerke d. Lateran. Mus.*

⁴ Athenæus, i. 20 : Σοφοκλῆς δὲ πρὸς τῷ καλῷ γεγενῆσθαι τὴν ὥραν ἦν καὶ ὀρχηστικὴν δεδιδασκεμένος καὶ μουσικὴν, ἔτι παῖς ὢν παρὰ Λάμπρῳ· μετὰ τοῦν τὴν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίαν περὶ τρόπαιον γυμνὸς ἀγλιμμένος ἐχώρευσε μετὰ λύρας.

pride and modesty of his bearing, bespeak the man of the world, whose genius has not driven him into solitude, but secured him an honourable place among the noblest of his countrymen. There is a strong individuality in the face, but its general ideal beauty is not sacrificed to the realistic tendency which is so marked a feature of Roman portraiture. The attitude, though simple, is well chosen to show the most graceful lines of the figure; and the position of the arms—the one gracefully enveloped in the himation, and the other firmly planted on the hip—gives to the whole form an air of mingled ease and dignity. The face is handsome and full of winning grace, and bears the stamp not only of the creative genius of the poet, but of the experience of the active citizen; of one who has felt both the joys and the sufferings of human lot, and preserved amidst them the constitutional calmness,¹ the gentle benevolence, the tranquil meditative piety for which he was renowned and loved by the people among whom he lived and sung.²

The same perfect mastery and exquisite taste are displayed by the artist in the treatment of the drapery, the lines of which are so arranged, that while it serves all the purposes of a becoming and comfortable dress, it awakens in the beholder a sense of harmony and beauty. The artist has succeeded in the most difficult of tasks, that of giving, as it were, a separate existence to the dress while preserving its close relation to the wearer. We see that the limbs move freely beneath their covering, and that even where the garment cleaves most closely it is entirely independent of the form it envelopes.³

This statue is supposed by some to be a copy of the bronze original set up on the motion of the orator Lycurgus in 368 B.C.;⁴ if so, it has been freely translated into marble by an artist of genius.

Euripides is found in several double busts in combination with Sophocles,⁵ and alone in the Vatican;⁶ and the life-like seated figures of *Menander* and *Posidonius* are known to every visitor of Rome.

¹ Aristoph. *Ran.* 740 :—

ὁ δ' εὐκόλος μὲν ἐνθάδ', εὐκόλος δ' ἐκεῖ.

Gentlemanlike and amiable in Hades, as on earth.
Conf. Æschylus' opinion of Sophocles, *Ibid.* v. 1433.

² *Anthol. Gr.* i. p. 100 :—

Ἥρην ὑπὲρ τύμβῳ Σοφοκλέος, ἥρην κισσῶ.

³ There is a statuette of Sophocles in the

Vatican which resembles the Lateran figure.

⁴ Lycurgus proposed a decree ὡς χαλκᾶς εἰκόνας ἀναθεῖναι τῶν ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλου, Σοφοκλέους, Εὐριπίδου κ.τ.λ.

⁵ Conf. double bust of Sophocles and an unknown poet in the Louvre.

⁶ There is also a marble statuette of Euripides in the Louvre.

The orators are represented by busts of *Isocrates*, *Lysias*, by a statue and bust of *Æschines*, at Naples and in the Louvre respectively, and by a statue¹ and a bust of *Demosthenes*, in the Vatican.

Of historians we have only *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* in the famous double bust at Naples; and *Thucydides* alone in the beautiful *Holkham bust*, belonging to Lord Leicester.

Of Athenian statesmen we have certain portraits of *Miltiades*;² and perhaps one of *Themistocles*, in the Vatican bust; and of the same hero with a sailor's cap and a laurel crown on coins of Lampsacus. The best bust of the *Olympian Pericles*,³ found at Tivoli in 1781, is in the British Museum, and there is another in the Vatican. He is represented in a helmet, in his character of *στρατηγός*, and not, as some suppose, to conceal his pointed head, which gained him the soubriquets of *σχινοκέφαλος* and *κεφαληγερέτης*.⁴

Aspasia is the first woman of whom any certain portrait has come down to us.⁵ *The Herma-bust in the Vatican*, which is of little merit as a work of art, shows us the distinguished friend of Pericles veiled, and with interesting though not beautiful features.

Portraits of *Alcibiades* are very common. *The bust in the Chiaramonti*,⁶ which with good reason is called *Alcibiades*, is from the best period of Greek art, and combines ideal with individual treatment. It does not represent the Dionysiac side of his character, but the lower part of the face is characteristic and somewhat sensual, while the upper half is more ideal. It hardly, however, gives us an idea of the extraordinary beauty for which he was universally celebrated.

There is a *fine statue in the Vatican*⁷ of a warrior full of life and vigour, with his advanced foot on a helmet, pressing forward sword in hand to the attack. It has been called *Alcibiades*, though the face bears no strong resemblance to the bust of the Athenian hero in the Chiaramonti gallery.

There is also a good *Herma-bust of Alcibiades* in the Museo Torlonia at Rome, which formerly stood in the Villa Albani.

¹ *Annal. d. Inst.* viii. 159.

² Conf. Pausan. x. 10.

³ Vide *supra*, p. 236.

⁴ Cratin. *Chir.* 3. Cratin. *Θπρττ.* 1 and Plut. *Pericles*, 3. Cf. Pausan. x. 10. 1.

Müller, *H. d. Arch.* Sec. 420. 6.

⁵ Visconti, *P. Cl.* vol. vi. pl. 30.

⁶ *Annal. d. I.* 1866, p. 228.

⁷ Visconti, *P. Cl.*

There is a highly interesting statue in the Vatican to which Visconti gave the name of *Phocion*, by which it is still called for want of a better. It is no doubt a portrait, but it is treated in an ideal manner, in marked contrast to the highly characteristic portraits of Demosthenes and others. He is not clothed in the dress of actual life, but in a helmet and a simple cavalry cloak of some thick substance, with few folds, to express, as it were, the severe and simple character of the wearer. The figure was well known in antiquity, for it was copied in the time of Augustus as a Hermes by a celebrated stone-carver named Dioscurides.

We have already noticed some of the portrait busts of *Alexander*.¹ The features of many of his successors are known from coins.

ROMAN PORTRAIT SCULPTURE.

The fact that Roman portrait sculpture received a great impulse from the migration of Greek art to Rome, and was practised there almost exclusively by Greek artists, has given rise to the belief that it was a mere foreign importation from Greece. Even Pliny² is under this impression when he says, 'The practice of setting up statues was received (from Athens) by the whole world with an ambition natural to man; and in the fora of all municipal towns statues began to be erected as ornaments, that the memory of distinguished men might be prolonged, and their honours inscribed on the bases of statues (during their lives), that they might not be read on their sepulchres alone.' We know that the practice of preserving likenesses of departed ancestors prevailed in Rome from the earliest period, and that the *jus imaginum* was among the most cherished of patrician privileges. These likenesses, or masks, were taken from the face of the dead in wax, and were worn in the funeral procession by one of the mourners, who also assumed the dress and insignia of the departed.³ In these waxen images the great object aimed at was not so much perfection of art as perfect resemblance, and this characteristic tendency, by

¹ Vide *supra*, p. 484.

² *N. H.* xxxiv. 17.

³ 'Non signa externorum artificum nec æra aut marmora expressi cera vultus singulis dis-

ponebantur armariis.'—Plin. *N. H.* xxxv. 3. Conf. Ovid, *Her.* xiii. 152:—

Quæ referat vultus, est mihi cera tuos.

which Roman is distinguished from Greek portrait sculpture, may be traced throughout its whole development.

The date of the first portraits in Rome is extremely uncertain. The statues of the kings,¹ which were probably copied from waxen images, were almost certainly of a later date than the persons represented; as were also those of the Sibyls, Horatius Cocles, Clelia, Taratua Gaia, Attus Navus, and others.² Roman writers³ say that Romulus set up his own statue crowned by Victory on a Quadriga made from the bronze which was carried off as booty from Camerinum.

The first authentic busts appear to be those of *Scipio Africanus*, and we read that a statue of the poet *Lucius Attius* (170-103 B.C.), 'of the largest size,' was offered in the Temple of the Camenæ.⁴ It is evident that statues were set up in great numbers in the middle of the second century B.C., for in 158 B.C. Cornelius Scipio and M. Popilius ordered that all statues should be removed from the Forum which had not been placed there by the authority of the Senate and People of Rome. The heroic statue of *Pompey* in the Villa Spada at Rome is open to suspicion. Of *Julius Cæsar* there are several portraits—the Farnese and Capitoline busts, the fine head in Berlin, and another in the Pal. Casali at Rome. Of his destroyer, *Junius Brutus*, there is a bust in the Capitoline Museum. We have also portraits of the chief Roman poets, and their great patron *Mecænas*; and of the orators we have *Hortensius* and *Cicero*. One of the most interesting portrait statues is the seated figure of *Claudius Marcellus*, the conqueror of Syracuse (212 B.C.), in the Capitoline Museum, in which the character of the rude stern soldier of ancient Rome is represented with singular force and truth. He wears the coarse woollen tunic instead of the linen dress of more luxurious times, and the face, though rugged and unsympathising, has a simple dignity and earnestness which attracts and interests us.

Another example of the Roman citizen in the simple period of the early Republic is found in the Vatican group called, without any warrant, '*Cato and Portia*.' This work was imitated on the tomb of Niebuhr and his wife, at Bonn, by order of the late King of Prussia.

Even distinguished barbarians found a sculptor, and one of the

¹ Plin. *N. H.* xxxiv. 23.

² Dion. Halicarn. *Antiq. Rom.* II. i. 54, p. 112; v. 25. 281.

³ *Ibid.* 20-28.

⁴ Plin. xxxiv. 19.

most remarkable busts in the Capitol at Rome is that of a *noble German* (to judge by the thin beard peculiar to the Teutonic race), which some regard as a portrait of the hero *Arminius*.

But the great mass of extant Roman statues and busts represent the Emperors, members of their families, and their chief ministers and favourites. A good example of the *busts* is the life-like *head of Galba* in the Capitol (fig. 262). Augustus is said to have conceived the truly Roman idea of setting up a complete series of portraits of illustrious Romans from *Æneas* downwards. The whole imperial period is represented by existing portraits, and, as we learn from Horace, the

FIG. 262.



BUST OF GALBA.

desire '*to stand in bronze*' penetrated even into the smallest municipia. As the demand for statues, especially of the Emperors, grew, it became customary to fashion them after fixed types of attitude, gesture, and dress, as priests, warriors, magistrates, scholars, &c. These were kept in stock, so that when an order was received for a member of any of these classes, it was only necessary to add the head. The principal divisions were into *Naturalistic* and *Ideal* statues. The former of these was subdivided into: I. *Effigies togatæ*, to which class belong several statues of Emperors *in civili habitu*, as chiefs of the Senate or as Pontiffs. Some busts belonging to this category have the *corona civica*, as the *Munich bust of Augustus*; others, as the *bust of Augustus at Madrid*, have the *corona radiata*, which was the official emblem of the deification of a deceased emperor. Nero alone assumed, on coins,¹ the rays or halo of divinity during his lifetime, as the *alter ego* of Phœbus Apollo on earth. II. *Statuæ thoracatæ*, or statues in armour, for the most part figures of Emperors at the head of the army engaged in haranguing the troops (*allocutio*), an occupation tending to throw the figure into an attitude of manly dignity. Of this class of statues we have several

¹ Eckhel, vi. p. 269.

remarkable specimens. One of these, representing Augustus, is of such extraordinary merit as to deserve a closer examination.

The Statue of Augustus in the Vatican (fig. 263), in the attitude of an Emperor haranguing his troops, was discovered in 1863, in a villa built by Livia, the wife of Augustus, at Porta Prima, about nine miles from the Porta del Popolo in Rome. He appears here in the pride of manly strength and absolute power, firmly planted on the right foot, stretching out the right arm as if to command silence and attention, and holding a sceptre loosely in the left hand. The clear searching gaze of the eyes has the characteristic coldness which affected Niebuhr so much that he declared that he could not work quietly with a bust of Augustus in the room.¹ The brow is broad and massive, the eyebrows are sharply defined, the deep-set eyes are very carefully chiselled, and the simple and natural arrangement of the hair suits well with the native dignity of the man, which owes but little to the insignia of his power. The bare head and naked legs and feet give an heroic character to the form. The likeness is perfectly preserved, and yet the artist has thrown around the whole figure an air of quiet majesty which is almost ideal. The details of the dress, though elaborated with the greatest care and nicety, do not detract from the general effect.

FIG. 263.



STATUE OF AUGUSTUS.

Over the scarlet tunic the Emperor wears a breastplate richly ornamented with reliefs, which is, in all probability, an accurate copy of a real coat of mail. How beautiful and delicate *the chiselling of armour* in those days was may be gathered from *the fine specimen found in Pompeii*, and from *the epaulet of a breastplate in the British Museum*, on which there is an exquisite *relief of Ajax and an Amazon*. Round his loins a mantle is loosely wrapped, both ends of which meet

¹ O. Jahn, *Pop. Aufs.* 286.

on the left arm, and fall to below the knee. *The Cupid riding on a dolphin* by his right foot reminds us that Venus was the great progenetrix of the Julian race, and the especial patroness of the Emperor.¹

The plastic decoration of the breastplate has an unusual degree of interest, because it refers to *the recovery* (17 B.C.) *of the Roman standards taken from Crassus by the Parthians*—an event which formed one of the chief glories of Augustus' reign.

Tua, Cæsar, ætas
Fruges et agris retulit uberes
Et signa nostro restituit Jovi,
Derepta Parthorum superbis
Postibus.²

The scene is arranged with a nice sense of symmetry and harmony, and skilfully adapted to the nature of the space which it occupies. At the top of the breastplate is the figure of the bearded *Cælus* (God of heaven), nude to the waist, holding up a purple curtain, which forms an arch above his head. Immediately below him is *Helios* (the Sun-god), dressed in the long robe of the Greek charioteer, standing on a chariot of scarlet, and driving a team of four furious horses.³ Before him floats a light female figure on outspread wings of blue, with an oinochoe in her hand, and bearing on her back another female form, whose veil is arched above her, and who holds a torch. In these we see *Pandrosos* (the Dew-goddess) and *Aurora*, the fair forerunner of the rising Sun.

At the bottom of the field, answering to *Cælus* at the top, is *Ge* (the Earth-goddess), wearing a garland of corn in her blonde hair, and holding a cornucopiæ in her right hand. *Two little children* nestle by her left breast. A little above the reclining figure of the universal Mother, on her right and left respectively, are *Apollo*, to whose aid Augustus owed the victory of Actium, and *Diana*. The former, robed in a scarlet mantle, and holding his lyre, is mounted on a *griffin* with blue wings; the latter, also with scarlet drapery, and bearing her attributes, the quiver and torch, is riding a reddish brown *stag*. In the centre of the whole composition stand the two main

¹ 'Clarus Anchisæ Venerisque sanguis.'—Hor. *Carm. Sec.* v. 50.

² Hor. *Od.* iv. 15. 4.

³ 'Alme Sol,' &c.—Hor. *Carm. Secul.*

figures. To the left is a Roman general—no doubt intended for *Augustus* himself—holding out his hand to receive the Roman eagles, lost by Crassus, from a *Parthian* distinguished by his bow and quiver and trowsers. The armour of the Emperor was coloured blue and red, his tunic was scarlet, his mantle purple, and his helmet blue. The bearded Parthian in scarlet tunic and blue trowsers is holding up the insignia with both hands, and presenting them to the conqueror, but without any sign of servile fear. By the side of Augustus is *the Wolf*, the favourite beast of Mars, in whose Temple of Mars Ultor, still standing in Rome, the recovered standards were deposited. The wolf is an appropriate attendant on Augustus, as indicating the favour of the God of War, who was also the father of the first kings of Rome. To the right and left of the central group are *two seated figures*, with heads bowed, as if in humiliation and grief. These are probably intended to represent *Celts* (or Germans, whom the Romans confounded with them), judging from *the boar* on the standard, and *the trumpet* ending in the head of a beast.¹

It is interesting to compare this noble statue, which represents the first Emperor in the pride of manhood, with the beautiful bust in the Vatican, known under the name of the '*Young Augustus*,' on the one hand, and on the other with *the statue of Augustus* (also in the Vatican) bearing all the marks of advanced age, and veiled as a priest—one of the *Fratres Arvales* of *Divus Cæsar*.

III. The *Statuæ equestres*, 'orto sine dubio a Græcis exemplo,' says Pliny,² of which we have a good specimen in *the Young Caligula*, or Caracalla, of the British Museum; in *the two Balbi* at Naples; and in the *Marcus Aurelius* of gilt bronze, on the Capitol.

IV. *Statuæ in bigis aut quadrigis*, statues in two-, four-, and (in the case of Augustus) six-horsed chariots, and chariots drawn by elephants.³

In the second great division—*the Ideal statues*—an attempt was made to invest the person represented with the attributes of a hero or a God. These, too, are subdivided into classes: I. *Effigies nudæ*

¹ See an exhaustive analysis of this work in O. Jahn's *Populäre Aufsätze*.

² xxxiv. 19.

³ Juvenal, vii. 125 :—

Hujus enim stat currus æneus, alti
Quadrijuges in vestibulis, atque ipse feroci
Bellatore sedens curvatum hastile minatur
Eminus et statua meditatatur prælia lusca.

tenentes hastam (nude figures holding a lance), called *Statuæ Achilleæ*,¹ and generally supposed to have been made after the model of the Ephebi in the Greek gymnasia. It seems, however, more probable that they were intended to imitate the statues of Olympian victors. Of these we have many examples, e.g. *the noble statue of Pompey* (?) in the Villa Spada at Rome, *the colossal statue of Agrippa*, taken from the Pantheon (?) in the Pal. Grimani, and many others.²

II. *Deified Emperors*. The opinion so coarsely expressed by the flatterers of Demetrius Poliorcetes, that he was virtually their only deity, was still more deeply and universally entertained by the Romans in respect to their Emperors.³ Little surprise, therefore, and no opposition were aroused when the masters of the Roman world assumed the form and attributes of divinity. In this innovation the way was led by Alexander the Great, whom Apelles the painter represented as Zeus on earth, with the thunderbolt in his hand. The most familiar example of the same kind from the Roman period is *the statue of Nerva as Jupiter* in the Vatican. He is seated in the typical form and attitude of the great father of Gods and men, with the upper part of the body bare, and the lower limbs wrapped in the himation.⁴

The same classification holds good for the statues of *Roman women*, many of which are of great interest and beauty. The female members of the Imperial family, who play so great and generally so sinister a part in Roman history, are represented in the attitude and costume of common life, as well as in ideal and godlike forms, and we have splendid representatives of both these classes. Of the former no better example can be found than the graceful and majestic figure of *the elder Agrippina* (fig. 264); of whose high and somewhat impetuous spirit,⁵ tempered and turned to good by her impenetrable purity and conjugal love, and of whose guileless nature,⁶ unhappy life, and early death the great historian has given such an interesting and pathetic picture. Her powerful and vigorous yet

¹ Plin. xxxiv. 10.

² O. Müller, *Arch. d. K.* Sec. 199. 5.

³ Hor. *Od.* iii. 5. 2:—

Præsens divus habebitur
Augustus, adjectis Britannis
Imperio, gravibusque Persis.

Conf. iv. 5. 25. Virg. *Ecl.* i. 6:—

O Melibœe, Deus nobis hæc otia fecit;
Namque erit ille mihi semper Deus.

⁴ Conf. a coin of Hadrian.

⁵ '*Paullo commotior nisi quod castitate et mariti amore quamvis indomitum animum in bonum vertebat.*'—Tac. *Annal.* ii. 43.

⁶ '*Simulationum nescia.*'—*Ibid.* i. 33
Conf. iv. 52, 53, 54.

elegant form, completely robed from neck to feet in the long tunic, with the chlamys over the knees, rests in an easy and graceful attitude on a chair. The outstretched and crossed legs denote complete repose, but it is not the repose of habitual self-indulgence or listlessness. The proud and stately bearing of the finely shaped head bespeaks the innate greatness of mind which enabled her to take on herself the duties of a general, to rebuke the timidity of the less heroic *men* who would have broken up the bridge over the Rhine, to encourage and reward the victorious legions of her husband by her thanks and praises, and to minister with her own hands to the wants of the sick and wounded. It is altogether a noble work of art, and, always excepting the matchless Olympian dames of the Parthenon pediment, who are not

of this world, we know of no draped reclining female form in statuary in which the mingled grace and dignity and the aristocratic refinement of the high-born lady are better portrayed. Analogous to this admirable work are : the affecting statue at Naples, of *the younger Agrippina*, the mother

FIG. 264.



AGRIPPINA THE ELDER,

of Nero, at an advanced period of life ; and the statue of *Livia* (?), the wife of Augustus, in the Museo Torlonia, in the Lungara at Rome.¹

The refined taste in dress displayed in these figures, and in other works of the Roman period—e.g. the so-called *Pudicitia* of the Vatican—carries us back to the golden age of Greek art. That the noble and graceful drapery which we meet with in sculpture was in actual use is proved by the exquisite draped figures of ladies in

¹ Publ. in *Mon. d. Inst.* Vol. xi. Tav. 11.

terra cotta from Tanagra and other places, which belong to the best period of Greek art (fig. 265).

Among the portrait busts of Roman ladies deservedly celebrated for their beauty is the so-called '*Clytie*,' bought in 1772 at Naples by Townley, and now in the British Museum.¹ The name is arbitrarily given to it because it rises from the leaves of a sunflower, into which Ovid² relates that the lovelorn maiden Clytie was transformed. It

FIG. 265.



STATUETTE OF TERRA-COTTA.

is quite unnecessary to look for a mythological explanation of this pretty *motif*, the object of which is purely decorative, designed to give the charming head the appearance of a flower rising out of its calyx.

The great ladies of Rome, like their fathers and husbands, were frequently invested with various forms and attributes of divinity. A striking example of a deified woman is *the noble statue of some unknown Empress in the form of Juno*, in the Capitoline Museum. *Livia*, the wife of Augustus, appears as *Ceres*; *Julia*, his daughter, as *Cora* (Proserpine) or *Flora*; *Domitia* as *Diana*. It was not until after Hadrian's time that the ladies of the imperial court were sufficiently 'enlightened' to allow themselves to be represented in the form of Venus. In such cases the end was certainly not satisfactory enough to justify the means, for the poor prosaic face and absurd *coiffure* of the latest fashion present a startling contrast to the ideal forms of the nude. Among the best known examples in the Vatican are: the statues of *Julia Soæmias*, mother of Heliogabalus, with a moveable perruque;³ *Sallustia*,⁴ wife of Lucius Verus; and *Sabina*, wife of Hadrian, in transparent drapery, with the apple of Paris in her hand.⁵

¹ Ellis, *Townley Gall.* ii. p. 20.

² *Mét.* iv. 269 :—

*Illa suum, quamvis radice tenetur,
Vertitur ad Solem mutataque servat amorem.*

³ Visconti, *Pio. Cl.* ii. 51.

⁴ *Ibid.* 52.

⁵ Chiaramonti Gall. Vatican, No. 546.

CHAPTER LV.

PORTRAIT SCULPTURE

(CONTINUED).

ANTINOUS.

THE story of Antinous throws a strange and lurid light on the imbecility and corruption of the Roman world, which not only awarded divine honours to its Emperors after death, but received a god at the hands of a living Emperor in the person of an obscure Bithynian youth.

Among the plastic representations of the second century of our era, the only one which possesses any real novelty or originality is that of this favourite of Hadrian. In this well-known figure we have a new type which has no antecedents in earlier art, and does not seem to have been further developed at a later period. But though it thus stands alone, it can hardly be said to be the new ideal creation of the unknown artist—it is simply the more or less idealised portrait of a real individual.

Little is known of the short career of Antinous beyond the extravagant affection shown him by the Emperor Hadrian. He was born of unknown parents in Bithynium¹ (or Claudiopolis) in Bithynia, and was brought very early in life—probably on account of his remarkable beauty—to the imperial court at Rome. He immediately attracted the attention of the Emperor, whose inseparable companion he became, and with whom he travelled through the eastern portion of the Roman Empire. Among other countries they visited Egypt, which possessed strong attractions to a lover of antiquity and mystery

¹ There is a coin of Bithynium, where Hadrian was born, bearing the head of Antinous with the legend Η ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟΝ

ΘΕΟΝ. On the reverse are a herdsman and a bull.—Eckhel, vi. 528.

like Hadrian. During an excursion on the Nile, in the year of Grace 130 or 132, Antinous was drowned—by accident, as the Emperor reported in his letter to the Senate, but in all probability by an act of self-devotion.¹ The Magi, glad, no doubt, to have an opportunity of making themselves important in the eyes of their master, had predicted danger to Hadrian's life, and demanded a substitute, as the only means of prolonging it. Such a prediction would take great hold on Hadrian's superstitious mind,² and the more real and near the peril seemed to his fears the greater in his eyes was the merit of Antinous, who *voluntarily*, as was said, appeased the dark powers of fate by the sacrifice of his young life and brilliant prospects. The gratitude and regret of the Emperor were unbounded, and no doubt sincere. He summoned the whole world to sympathise with his grief, and to pay divine honours to the glorious martyr of devoted loyalty. The town of Besa, in the Thebais, near which Antinous was drowned, received the name of *Antinoopolis*, and was rebuilt in the Grecian style. Temples were erected for his worship both in Egypt and Greece; oracles were delivered in his name; games instituted in his honour; and countless statues of him set up in every part of the Empire. His departed soul appeared in the shape of a new star (between Aquila and the Zodiac), which still bears his name. Pausanias, in speaking of him, says, 'I never saw Antinous alive, but I have seen statues and pictures of him. . . . There is a house in the Gymnasium of the Mantineans which contains statues of Antinous . . . and many pictures of him, mostly in the form of Dionysus.' But he was also represented under the form of Pythius Apollo, Hermes, Heracles, Aristæus, Ganymede, and Agathodæmon. Many of these have been preserved, and Levezow³ treats of no less than ten statues and eighteen busts, most of which were discovered in the ruins of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli. Of the statues the most noteworthy are: the colossal figure of *Antinous-Bacchus in the Vatican Museum*, and the *Antinous Hermes* (fig. 266)

¹ Dio Cassius, lix. 11: εἴτ' οὖν εἰς τὸν Νεῖλον ἐμπεσὼν ὡς Ἀδριανὸς γράφει (to the Senate, c. 2, or in his life, Spartian. c. 16) εἴτε καὶ λευουργηθεὶς, ὡς ἡ ἀλήθεια ἔχει. Conf. Spartian. *Hadrian*, 14, and Aurel. Vict. 14, and Tertullian (*de Cor. Mil.* 13),

who calls him 'misellum Archemorum.'

² Dio Cassius, *ibid.* τὰ τε γὰρ ἄλλα περιεργότατος Ἀδριανὸς ὥσπερ εἶπον ἐγένετο καὶ μαντινείαις καὶ μαγγανείαις τε παντοδαπαῖς ἐχρήτο.

³ K. Levezow, *über d. Antinous*, &c., Berlin, 1808.

in the Capitol. The finest busts are: *one in the Sala Rotonda of the Vatican; the Antinous Mondragone in the Louvre; and the magnificent alto-rilievo bust in the Villa Albani* (fig. 267). All these works show the same very peculiar features by which the most casual observer cannot fail to recognise the unhappy favourite of Hadrian. The skull is of great breadth, the forehead low and prominent, and shaded by clusters of locks. The eyes are deep set and half closed, and the cheeks and chin are full and round. The broad and highly arched chest gives an appearance of robust strength, which is, however, marred by the effeminate fullness and softness of the limbs. But, after all, the most striking characteristic of Antinous is the pensive inclination of the head, and the fixed dreamy gaze of the half-closed eyes. The singular expression of the face has been accounted for by supposing that he is gazing with mysterious foreboding on the waves which were soon to flow over his lifeless body.¹ Such an explanation, however ingenious and pleasing, seems hardly justified.

It is difficult to analyse the feeling which this strange being, so unlike anything else which we have met with in Greek or Roman art, excites in the beholder. He is young, beautiful, and strong, but the contemplation of his youth and strength and beauty does not yield us unmixed pleasure. Nor does the

FIG. 266.



ANTINOUS AS HERMES.

FIG. 267.



RELIEF IN VILLA ALBANI.

¹ Welcker, *Kunst-Museum zu Bonn*, p. 53: 'Es ist denkbar dass der Künstler den Antinous fasste in dem Augenblick seiner

Weihung, da er (wie Göthe's Fischer) starr auf die Wellen blickt die ihn aufnehmen sollen.'

strange sadness of the face call forth that not unpleasing sympathy with which we regard the '*beaux chagrins*,' the 'sweet sorrows' of youth, which we know will pass away like clouds in April. The look of Antinous is one of an almost sullen despair; it betrays a morbid condition of the mind, and produces an undefined, incongruous, and almost painful impression upon us.

The colossal statue of Antinous-Bacchus in the Vatican, referred to above, was discovered in Palestrina (or Hadrian's Villa?) in the beginning of last century by Gavin Hamilton, and has been lately removed from the Lateran. The garment, probably of bronze, which wrapt the middle of the body, was missing, and was restored in marble by Pierre. The pine-cone on the crown of the head, and the thyrsus in the left hand, are also restorations. In his character of Bacchus he wears the long locks appropriate to the God, and the ivy crown, which the artist has elaborated with the greatest care and skill. In some respects the Bacchus-type seems to be peculiarly suited for the ideal representation of the deified Antinous, who, like the God, was young and beautiful, pleasure-loving and luxurious, yet subject to melancholy. But how different is the romantic dreamy sadness—

‘Sad as night for very wantonness’—

which is only one form of youthful enjoyment, in the face of Bacchus from the dark hopeless brooding of this victim of a gloomy superstition!

The Statue of Antinous in the Capitol. The designation given to this statue, from the likeness which it bears to other heads of the same hero, might perhaps be disputed on account of the short curly hair, and the manner in which the iris of the eye is marked. But he probably appears here in the character of *Mercury* (fig. 266).

The Bust of Antinous in the Louvre, known by the name of *Mondragone*, a Villa in Frascati, is perhaps the finest of the many heads of the beautiful Bithynian. The hair is arranged under a fillet or *tænia* in a manner which is not unknown in Greek works, and it is evident, from the holes round the head, that a metal

garland once encircled it. The eyes, which are now wanting, were separately formed of onyx or ivory, and let into the eye-holes. Winckelmann¹ is loud in his praises of this beautiful bust, and points out more especially the skilful treatment of its colossal proportions, and the exquisite elaboration of the hair, which, he says, is unrivalled in the whole of antiquity.² On either side hang two long, and some shorter and thinner, locks of hair, such as are found on heads of Dionysus. In this case, too, the head was encircled by a garland of ivy or vine-leaves, of which only the leafless stalks remain.

The well-known and very beautiful *Relief-bust in the Villa Albani*, found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, probably belonged to a larger composition. Winckelmann thought that it represented the consecration of Antinous as a charioteer ascending Olympus, but this interpretation hardly suits the position of the figure. The left hand probably held a garland, but what the lost attribute was intended to denote we are at a loss to conjecture. This bust is peculiar in one respect, that it represents Antinous in his own character and not, as usual, in that of a god.

There is also a *Bacchic bust of Antinous* in the British Museum, and a *statue in the Egyptian style* in the Augusteum at Dresden, and many others, all of which will be found in the work of Levezow.

SARCOPHAGI.

Even the age of the Antonines had its own peculiar growth and development of plastic art, which testifies to its extraordinary vitality—we mean the relief decorations of those stone coffins, which under the name of Sarcophagi have come down to us in such extraordinary numbers. In the early history both of Greece and Rome we find the customs of burying the dead generally prevalent; nor did the practice ever become entirely obsolete. Socrates speaks

¹ *Kunstgesch.* xii. 1. 17.

² Winckelm. *K.-G.* xii. 1. 17, 18. He says that both heads were garlanded with the lotus. Such garlands were called *Antinoeia* at Alexandria. 'Die Ehre und die Krone der

Kunst dieser sowohl als aller Zeiten sind zwei Bildnisse des Antinous, das eine erhoben gearbeitet in der Villa Albani, das andere ein kolossalischer Kopf in der Villa Mondragone.'

of it as uncertain whether his body would be buried or burned. In the first century of the Roman Empire, with which we are now more immediately concerned, the burning of bodies was the prevailing, though not the exclusive custom, and it was not until the time of the Antonines that burying became once more general.¹ It was from this period, too, that the great majority of Sarcophagi have come down to us, most of which are profusely adorned with plastic ornament.

The Sarcophagus was a large stone coffin, capable of holding one or two bodies (*bisomum*). It derived its name (flesh-eater) from having been first made of a stone found at Assos, in the Troas, which is said to have consumed all the body but the teeth in the course of forty days.² The relief ornament on the Sarcophagi, which were hewn from a single block, was generally confined to the front and the two narrow ends, although in some few cases, as in *the Fugger Amazon-Sarcophagus* in the Belvedere Museum at Vienna, all four sides are similarly adorned.

From what has been said above, and especially from the very late origin of nearly, though not quite, all the Sarcophagi which we possess, we cannot of course look for any high degree of artistic merit in the sculptures which adorn them. Yet some of the designs bespeak and embody the deepest and noblest feelings and aspirations of our nature. 'A whole cornucopiæ of poetic flowers has been poured out in the Roman sarcophagi over the resting-places of the dead.'³

The subjects of the great majority of Sarcophagus reliefs are either mythological or allegorical, and indicate an analogy between the fate of the deceased and some person renowned in fable. This analogy is often of the most general kind, as, for example, where the race of life is signified by *the chariot race of Pelops and Oinomaus*, or by *a race of winged Cupids*; or where the toils and hardships, the struggles and dangers, of human existence, are represented by

¹ Lucian speaks too loosely when he says that the Greeks burned and the Persians buried their dead.

² Plin. *N. H.* ii. 98 and xxxvi. 27. The

name was subsequently applied indiscriminately to all stone coffins. Conf. Juvenal, x. 170, 'Sarcophago contentus est.'

³ Feuerbach, *Vatican. Apollo*, p. 317.

the battle of the Amazons and the Centaurs, in which case free use is made of the Phigaleian and Halicarnassian friezes. In other scenes nothing more seems indicated than the sudden violence with which the young and the happy are snatched away by death from the enjoyments and the hopes of life; as, for example, the *Rape of Proserpine* from the flowery fields of Enna; *the Rape of the daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri*; the much lamented *Death of the beautiful Adonis*, and *the Massacre of the blooming Niobids*.¹ The very frequent representations of *Bacchanalian myths* may have both a merely superficial import, as signifying the tumultuous joys of the past life; or a deeper meaning, in connexion with the mysteries of the Dionysiac worship, and the hopes of awakening to a new life of pleasure.

In a few *motifs*, however, the reference to the immortality of the soul, and to the *παλιγγενεσία*, or new birth to a better and more enduring life, is more certain and direct. Among these are the story of *Alcestis*, whose self-devotion for her dastardly husband was rewarded by restoration to the upper world; the beautiful myth of *Endymion and Diana*, in which soft slumber is followed by a joyful awakening in the arms of the beloved; the story of *Protesilaus and his devoted wife Laodameia*; and, above all, in the touching legend of *Eros and Psyche*, in which long separation, with trial and suffering, is followed by reunion in a state of perfect love and never-ending bliss.

Our limits will not allow us to pursue this subject, although it derives an especial interest from its intimate connexion with Christian ideas and Christian art. It must suffice to say that the whole of mythology is ransacked to find types for the expression of every phase of feeling connected with death alone, or with death as the passage to new life.

Among the best known and most beautiful Sarcophagi are the *Amazon-sarcophagus in Vienna*, referred to above, the reliefs of which are so excellent, both in design and execution, that writers

¹ Vide the Niobid Sarcophagus in the Pio. Clem. Mus. of the Vatican.—Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.* iv. pl. 17.

have been misled to claim for them a Greek origin, and to assign them to the age of Praxiteles, or to even an earlier period. It is too evident that the artist has made use of the sculptures of the Mausoleum to allow of our entertaining this opinion.

The Niobid-Sarcophagus in the Vatican, the remarkable feature of which—as of all the sarcophagi with the same *motif*, when compared with the Florentine group—is that Niobe herself is in no way made a prominent figure.

The Bacchus-sarcophagus in the Capitol, on which are represented Nymphs bathing the infant Bacchus, and amusing him with the clash of the cymbals. The peculiar feature of these reliefs, which space will not allow us to describe more exactly, is the admixture of the comic element in the central scene, where *Silenus is whipping a little Satyr boy*, while in the background *an old Satyr is stealthily sipping wine*.

Other favourite subjects for Sarcophagi are *the Rape of the daughters of Leucippus by the Dioscuri* (Vatican); *Achilles with the daughters of Lycomedes*; *Achilles and the Amazons* (Mus. Pio. Clem.); *Hippolytus and Phædra* (St. Petersburg and Lateran, Rome); *Apollo and Marsyas* (Paris); *Marine Gods and Goddesses* (Corsini Pal. Rome); *Venus and Adonis* (Lateran); *Battle of Gods and Giants* (Vatican); and *Tritons and Nereids*; *Endymion and Seléné*; *Dancing Mænads*; *Meleager*; *the Bacchanalian thiasos* with an elephant chariot; *Apollo and Marsyas*; *Marine monsters*; *Drunken Erotes*; *Ulysses and the Syrens*—all in the Lateran Museum.

We may remark in conclusion that though a few of the Sarcophagus reliefs are beautiful and interesting in their conception and composition, and occasionally show a considerable degree of technical skill, the figures of which they are composed are almost invariably copied from earlier types.

STATUES OF FOREIGN DEITIES.

It is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the religious history of mankind that when the streams of religious faith and sentiment leave their natural and accustomed channels, they either lose themselves in the stagnant pools of indifference and unbelief, or plunge wildly into the hidden depths of mysticism and superstition. The Romans of the declining Empire, depraved by luxury and slavery, having left 'the old paths' in which their fathers had walked, delighted to follow up the intricate and winding mazes, to search out the dark and gloomy caverns and the secret and ghostly chambers of the Oriental mind. During the earlier and nobler part of their history, both Greeks and Romans looked with mingled contempt and dread on the gloomy superstitions of Egypt and Assyria, as only fitted for barbarians and slaves. But in spite of the resistance of the Roman Government, the cults of these and other countries gained a firm footing among the dregs of the populace—that *colluvies gentium* which seethed and festered in Rome, the great centre and capital of the world.

The principal Gods of Egypt were not unknown in Greece even at an early period of its history, but they were looked upon as modifications of Grecian deities, and were represented in Greek forms, under which they passed with other types into the Roman Pantheon. Among the best known of these were *Osiris and Isis*, the former probably representing the Nile as the fructifying power on which the fertility of the country depended, and the latter the land of Egypt itself—the Consort of the sacred river. 'These,' says Herodotus,¹ 'were the only Gods worshipped by *all* the Egyptians.' The other Egyptian deities known to the Greeks and Romans were *Sarapis*, and *Horus*, the Egyptian Sun-god, who is identified with *Harpocrates*, the youngest son of Osiris and Isis.

It is not necessary in this place to inquire into the original character and functions of these Gods as they presented themselves to the minds of the Egyptians themselves. We are chiefly concerned

¹ ii. 42.

with them as they appear in a modified form in Greek and Roman art. According to Herodotus, Osiris was identified with Dionysus, Isis with Demeter, and Horus-Harpocrates with their son Apollo.¹ We know little of the worship of

Osiris, although he was nominally the chief God of the Egyptians, and representations of him in art are extremely rare. The worship of

Isis, on the other hand, was widely spread both in Greece and Rome, and Pausanias gives a full account of the rites with which she was honoured at Tithorea, about eighty stadia from Delphi, where a *πανηγυρίς* (high festival) in her honour was celebrated in spring and autumn. 'They say that the Egyptians celebrate the festival of Isis in that part of the year in which she bewails Osiris, and that then the Nile begins to ascend; and that it is by her tears that the Nile is caused to increase and to irrigate the fields.'² It is said that her worship was introduced into Rome in the time of Sulla.³ Decrees of the Senate were passed in the years 58, 53, and 50 B.C. prohibiting the worship of the Goddess inside the walls of Rome; and yet as early as 43 B.C. we find the Triumvirs currying favour with the people by allowing a temple of Isis and Sarapis to be built in the third Region of the city itself. Frequent references to the worship of Isis may be found in the Roman poets, which testify to the prevalence and popularity of her worship.⁴ The statues in the costume of Roman priestesses of Isis are probably intended for the Goddess herself. One of these in the Capitoline Museum at Rome is well known. She is veiled, and an ornament, consisting of a moon surmounted by a lotus-flower, rises from her forehead. In one hand she holds the *situla* (hydria, pitcher) which contained the sacred water of the Nile, and in the other the *sistrum* (the sacred rattle), to which Virgil and other writers sarcastically refer as the weapon of Cleopatra. One of the best examples was found in Naples, and is now in Vienna. The nude parts of the Viennese statue are in

¹ Herod. ii. 42, 59, 156.

² Pausan. x. 32.

³ Apuleius, *Met.* xi. 262.

⁴ Tibullus, i. 3. 23 :—

Quid tua nunc Isis mihi Delia, quid mihi prosunt
Illa tua toties zera repulsa manu?

Juvenal, xii. 28 :—

Pictores quis rescit ab Iside pasci?

white marble, the drapery in black marble. The general characteristics of the Isis figures are the stiffly folded tunic, the fringed upper garment, gathered together in a knot between the breasts. Above the forehead is a crescent and a flower—perhaps of the lotus; and the hair in this and other examples is elegantly braided in long tresses (fig. 268).

Horus was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as *the God of Silence*, and was said to have been born with his finger on his mouth.

FIG. 268.

Quique premit vocem, digitoque silentia suadet.¹

It is very doubtful, however, whether this view of his nature is the correct one. In the opinion of many writers the finger on the lip and the lock of hair on the forehead are intended to characterise his relation to his parents, Osiris and Isis, as *the Child*.² He is identified with Harpocrates and Apollo, and became king of Egypt after his father's death.³ We find him represented chiefly in small bronze statuettes which served as amulets.



STATUE OF ISIS.

Sarapis appears to have been the Egyptian god of the dead,⁴ and he had temples at Memphis and Racotis, on the site of which Alexandria was built. The first Ptolemy, in consequence of a vision, ordered the ancient image of Zeus-Pluto, bearing its appropriate attributes—the chthonic serpent and the hell-hound Cerberus—to be brought from Sinope to Alexandria, where it was immediately called Sarapis.⁵ There is a fine *statue of Zeus-Sarapis* in the Chiaramonti Gallery of the Vatican, with the features of Jove, but with hair drooping over the forehead, and of gloomy aspect. There is *another Zeus-Sarapis* with the modius on his head in the *Villa Albani* (No. 246). Sarapis was little known before the time of Alexander.

¹ Ovid, *Mét.* ix. 891.

² Brunn, *Beschr. d. Glyptothek*.

³ Herod. ii. 144, 156.

⁴ Julian, *Imp. Orat.* iv.

⁵ Tac. *Hist.* iv. 25. Plutarch, *de Iside et*

Osir. Apollodorus (ii. 4. 10) says that Apis (son of Phoroneus and Laodice) having been slain, was regarded as a god, and worshipped under the name of Sarapis.

Anubis, another son of Osiris, is said to have been represented with a dog's head, to signify that he performed the same offices for his father as a dog for his master.

Cum qua latrator Anubis.¹

The worship of

Syrian Gods, which was introduced by Nero, and especially favoured by Septimius Severus, never became so popular in Rome as that of the Egyptian deities, and representations of them are rare in Greek and Roman art.

The Great Syrian Goddess, allied in her character and functions to the Magna mater (Rhea, Cybele) of the Greeks and Romans, was represented sitting on a lion.

Zeus-Belos was a modification of Baal, the chief deity of many Oriental nations.

The Phrygian Atys, the priest and favourite of Cybele, appears to have been a modification of the Trojan Paris, and was represented in the character of a shepherd. Atys appears as *the Sun-god* in a reclining statue in the Lateran. But the most familiar figure among all the foreign deities is that of

Mithras, the Sun-god of the Persians,² whose cult seems to have been partly Persian and partly Assyrian. His worship was introduced into Rome at the end of the Republican period, and was widely diffused in the reigns of Domitian and Commodus. We have numerous representations of him as *a Youth kneeling on a bull*, the head of which he is drawing back with his left hand so as to expose the throat to the knife, which he holds in the right. Fine specimens of this group—the prototype of which was *the Nike sacrificing a Bull* executed by Menæchmus,³ in the period of the Diadochi—may be seen in the Louvre and the British Museum.⁴ *Mithras is some-*

¹ Ovid, *Met.* ix. 690. Conf. Propertius, iii. 11. 39 :—

Scilicet incesti meretrix regina Canopi

Ausa Jovi nostro latrantem opponere Anubim :
and Juvenal, xv. 8 :

Oppida tota canem venerantur nemo Dianam :

Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 698 ; Apuleius, *Met.* xi. p. 262.

² Xenoph. vii. 5. 53. Strabo, xv. 732.

³ Plin. *N. H.* : 'Menæchmi vitulus genu premitur replicata cervice.'

⁴ For a description of a Mithriac group vide Visconti, *P. Cl.* vii. 7, pl.

times represented with a lion's head (Leontocephalus), as in the statue in the Chiaramonti Gallery (567) of the Vatican.

Aeon. The worship of this god was introduced with that of Mithras. He appears to have been a composite deity, invested with the symbols of various qualities—*the Lion's head* indicating strength; *the Wings* swiftness; *the Serpent*, the faculty of reproduction; *the Staff*, moderation; *the Key*, mystery; *Grapes*, fertility; *the Cock*, watchfulness; *the Hammer and Tongs*, labour. It is curious to observe how art, in the weakness and confusion of mind which mark its second childhood, has recourse to the same symbolical mode of expressing its ideas as it employed in the first infancy of its undeveloped powers.

CONCLUSION.

WE have now endeavoured to follow the career of Greek Art from its first infancy passed in the swaddling bands and leading strings of Oriental nurses, through the periods of vigorous and daring youth of independent and glorious manhood, down to its corruption and decline in the bonds of Roman masters. We claim for the subject a very high and not merely an artistic interest ; for the history of Greek art runs parallel with the history of the Greek people ; that is with the history of the development of the human mind as exemplified in the career of the most gifted race of the ancient world.

The real genius and character of a nation may be best learned from a consideration of the way in which it employs its leisure—in other words, of its pastimes and amusements. What men *work* at is generally determined by influences outside themselves—by the exigencies of human life in general, and of the peculiar position in which their lot is cast. But when men *play* they follow the natural bent and predilections of their minds and hearts. The Greeks of old had more leisure than any other European race, and employed it in a nobler manner. When we regard them from this point of view, in how favourable a light do they appear, as compared with other nations of antiquity—for example, with the Romans. Nothing was more popular among the Greek people than public games, and the display of feats of strength and agility ; and *manliness* (*ἀρετή*) was their name for *virtue*. But nothing was so abhorrent to them as the bloody arena of the Romans—the enforced contests of miserable slaves with slaves, or doomed criminals with savage beasts, to the sight of which the highest and the lowest of the Roman people rushed with intemperate delight. Compare the eager but friendly contests of rival athletes at Olympia with the bloody butcheries of the Coliseum at

Rome!— the contrast is as great as between the sublime Odes of Pindar and the 'inhuman shouts which hailed the wretch who won' in the gladiatorial combat.

And therefore it is that we can read a true history of the Greek people, not only in their literature, but in their plastic monuments. Even in *the first rude age* which produced an Apollo of Tenea and the Selinuntian metopes, there are signs of vigour and high endeavour after independence and self-development; and in the productions of *the Pheidian age* we see the faithful reflex of the nobility of spirit which displayed itself at Marathon and Salamis. The decline of faith and patriotism, the loosening of religious, political, and social ties consequent on the long and demoralising contests of the Peloponnesian War, led, as we have seen, to the disintegration of the State and the growth of individual license. Released from all bonds, the nobler spirits developed into greatness, but the mass of the people used their freedom in an eager prosecution of selfish interests and sensual indulgence. The new tendencies incorporate themselves in *the Younger Attic School*, which gave appropriate form to the emotions of the heart, and made beauty and grace the sole objects of its worship.

In the next period, *the Alexandrian*, Greek art is no longer purely Greek, but rather *Hellenic* in the widest sense. It works under the control of the gigantic imperial spirit of an Alexander, and becomes above all things colossal, ostentatious, sumptuous, and courtly. Greek life in Greece itself became so feeble and corrupt under *the Successors of Alexander* that Greek art really gained in strength and dignity by its transference to Rome, where religious faith and morality still retained their hold upon the better part of the Roman people; and *the spirit of the Augustan age* is incorporated in many a grand and beautiful form. The character of plastic art varied, of course, with that of successive Emperors, and declined, with *the declining Empire*, into a pitiable state of feebleness and corruption.

Unfortunately for Greek art, it was so intimately connected in men's minds with the heathen religion that it derived no aid from the influence which brought healing and strength into other spheres of human life. The first collision between Christianity and Grecian art was altogether hostile.

So fleet, so faint, so fair,
The powers of earth and air
Fled from the folding star of Bethlehem.
Apollo, Pan and Love,
And even Olympian Jove,
Grew weak, for killing truth had glared on them.

The statues of heathen divinities were no mere harmless or beautiful objects in the eyes of the early Christians, but powerful and baleful demons, perverters of the people and rivals of the one true God. We trace a spirit of bitter enmity to them in the writings of the Fathers—an enmity which took an active shape among the people, and led to the mutilation by pious hands of many a godlike and beautiful form. What remained of art in ancient Rome ‘descended into the catacombs,’ to rise again in a new form, in which it was no longer feared as a snare and a delusion, but could be loved for its eternal beauty, and pressed into the service of truth and holiness.

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